



1933-09-07 -Indian Social Reformer (883)

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THE INDIAN * SOCIAL * REFORMER.

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Editor:—K. NATARAJAN.

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Vol. XLVI. BOMBAY—SATURDAY SEPTEMBER 7, 1935. No. 1

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Parsis and Moving Pictures:—The agitation started by some Parsis, against the inclusion of two Parsi girls in a film produced by a local agency, is an instance of the extreme of irrationality to which communal conceits often lend themselves. Parsis were among the first to introduce moving pictures to the Indian public. The proprietors of several theatres where these are exhibited, are Parsis. Parsi men, women and children form a considerable proportion of the cinema going public. Parsi actors are among the favourite stars of Bombay-produced pictures. Four prominent Parsi citizens are Directors of the Company which has produced the picture which has aroused the anger of the promoters of the present agitation. This Company has for its central figures two of the most prominent persons associated with picture production, Mr. Himansu Ray and his wife, Devika Rani, niece of the Poet Rabindranath Tagore. The Chairman of the Company is Sir Chimanlal Setalvad. Respectability is writ large in every phase of its organisation. The plays and pictures in which Himansu Ray has taken part, have been of a religious and moral character. Mr. Sri Prakash assured the Legislative Assembly, in the course of the debate on Tuesday on the Bill to amend the Act relating to the censoring of cinematograph pictures that 90 per cent of Indian husbands among the masses did not kiss their wives. (They sometimes bite them as police court reports testify.) But Indian pictures as a rule are free from the routine five-minutes-by-the-watch noisy osculation which constitutes half the show in many imported films. It is obvious that if moral considerations alone are concerned, the present agitation is wholly misconceived. To maintain that under even such conditions Parsi women should not find scope for their histrionic talents, is of course untenable at this day. It is offensive to other communities. People who feel like that should abstain from deriving pleasure or profit from cinema pictures. They should not hire women of other communities for a purpose which they consider degrading to women of their own. This was exactly the argument on which the anti-naught movement was based. It cannot be that they regard that Parsi women have not the same moral stamina as women of other castes. The Parsi Protestants have put themselves in a hopelessly untenable position and the sooner they recede



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from it, the better will it be for the healthy evolution of inter-communal life in Bombay.

*** What Shall We Do with the Reforms?**—This question is agitating many minds at the present time. Nobody says that the Reforms are the best that could have been conferred on or secured by India or that they meet the pressing needs of the country. Indeed, many think that they are inadequate; several think that they are unsuitable; others think that they are irrelevant; still others think that they are likely to do harm to the interests of the country. We ourselves stand in the third and fourth categories. The best that we expect of the Reforms is that they would not make things worse than they are. Approaching as we do the Reforms from the social reformer's rather than from the politician's point of view, we much fear that they may really prove harmful to the true progress of the people. The men whom they will bring to power will be the rank communalists, the reactionaries who have consistently opposed social changes, or, in the alternative the revolutionaries who would abolish everything and make a clean slate though they are not agreed as to what should be written on it. Some good people say that this is the very reason why the responsible elements in the country, should actively interest themselves in the working of the Reforms to avert the contingency. But the dice is so heavily loaded against them, that there is absolutely no chance of their success against blind conservatives on the one hand, and headlong plungers, on the other. They can make themselves useful not by trying to work the Reforms themselves but by gaining the goodwill of the other two classes whom the Reforms will bring to the fore. People who are of our way of thinking, cannot, even if they have the opportunity, conscientiously take part in the working of the Reforms. For the majority of the population, working the Reforms means only paying the taxes and obeying the laws. That they will continue to do in any case. The people who think that the Reforms, though inadequate and unsuitable to the country as a whole, are quite suitable and adequate for themselves, will, of course, enter councils and accept offices under the scheme. It is not right to question their good faith or their patriotism. Whether they succeed or fail in satisfying the public of the beneficence of their services, depends not so much on their strength of character as in their skill in throwing dust in the eyes of the Governors and Governor-General for the time being. The Reforms do not give more freedom. They only change the manner of captivity. Handcuffs will be replaced by fetters.

Why Sterilise?—We are glad to learn from the August issue of *Marriage Hygiene* that it is entering in its second year on a wider field of activities. The setting up of editorial offices in Continental Europe and in the East is matter for congratulation. But it would not be advisable to change the name of the journal just

because, as an editorial note reveals, some individuals and "customs authorities" think it objectionable. It is much more necessary that careful thought should be expended on the editorials now that *Marriage Hygiene* has achieved international status. There is a note, for example, on the decision for voluntary sterilisation of lepers at Jalgaon (*Reformer*, June 10) in the current number which is objectionable. "We do not know," writes the quarterly, "whether anyone now believes leprosy to be an inherited disease. Children born of leper parents, if removed from them at a very early age, do not contract leprosy. This being the case, it looks to us as if beginning the work of sterilisation, the first attempt in India, on lepers will bring it into disrepute. Why not try sterilisation as a birth control measure, the safest and best method for the poor?" In its objection to the Jalgaon scheme, *Marriage Hygiene* is sound. The advance of medical knowledge has reduced the number of incurable diseases. And the only two which today are considered inheritable diseases are syphilis and alcoholism. No one, we are sure, will recommend sterilisation for drunkards. Leprosy cannot be definitely regarded as incurable. The Jalgaon decision, it is true, merely provided facilities for sterilisation for those lepers who applied for it. Even so, however, it was an attempt to shirk a duty which society owes to these unfortunate sufferers. How lepers can really be helped is shown in the annual reports of the Mission to Lepers which has just entered on its sixty-second year of service. The suggestion that sterilisation can serve a useful purpose in restricting births among the poor, is more mischievous in the economic sphere than the Jalgaon one was from the public health point of view. Voluntary sterilisation will be no use with the poor because no poor man will resort to it of his own accord. One cannot sterilise the poor because they are poor, any more than one can the diseased because they are diseased. Sterilisation is not a method of adjusting social problems, or, for that matter, any problem. It is unfortunate that its advocates should seriously recommend it as a lasting cure for the defects of modern society. Moreover, the editor of *Marriage Hygiene* ought to know, better than any one else, that birth control is not abolition of births but restriction. Sterilisation with its irrevocable effects cannot be the "best method" of birth control.

Libraries in India :—The Maharaja Gaekwar was the recipient of a high tribute from a representative gathering of librarians and their friends in London at a dinner given in his honour on the 30th May. His Highness in responding to the compliment, described how in his travels he had been impressed by the value of popular libraries in America and elsewhere, and had desired to provide the same benefits as far as possible to his own people. One of the best speeches at the function was made by Mr. J. H. Roberts of the *New Statesman*, who made some apt observations on the present state of publishing. When he started as a publisher of books, he



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recalled, a good many publishers would publish a book because they felt they must do so, and there were still some fine names in the book publishing world, and men who carried on the traditions of the early days. Unfortunately of late there had crept into publishing certain methods and a certain lack of principle which he regretted. "One of the worst practices," he said, "was that of boosting an author or a particular book out of all reasonable proportion to the merits of the book itself and to the detriment of really good literature. The consequence was that the first class literature of today was suffering very severely by this thrusting into the limelight of books of less merit." Publishing in this respect only shares the plight which has overtaken all professions. The trail of finance has spread over them all. Mr. Roberts added that librarians took much more into consideration the actual merits of books and were not easily swept aside by the enormous shrieks of advertising and the undue boosting of certain authors which were often meant to capture other writers, and not so much to sell the book. But librarians, too, have not escaped the influence which has affected publishers. In connection with this occasion, Mr. Newton Dutt, lately State Librarian of Baroda, has published an interesting pamphlet of his reminiscences of Indian Libraries in which he gives useful information about the important Libraries now existing in this country. In the course of his speech the Gaekwar referred to the difficulty arising in India owing to multiplicity of languages.

Communal Economics:—Mr. K. L. Gauba, Muslim representative in the Legislative Assembly, has issued an exhortation to his community to 'Buy Muslim' in principle. In supporting his appeal, *The Eastern Times* of Lahore remarks that Hindus have followed a policy of 'Buy Hindu' from "time immemorial." It writes, "Their doctrine of pollution by touch, if it be not based on the boycott of others, has practically the same effect. It inculcates a hatred of non-Hindus leading Hindus to boycott, if possible, even the non-food articles manufactured or sold by non-Hindus. This tendency has become more pronounced among them in recent years when some of them have taken to trading even in boots and shoes made of cowhide." *The Eastern Times* apparently does not know that "the doctrine of pollution" cannot be a matter of conviction to those Hindus who have entered into the trade in cowhide. Mr. Gauba, himself a recent convert from Hinduism, fully realises, we are sure, the impossibility of retaining the communities in water-tight compartments.

Italians in India:—We have referred in these columns to the activities of "The Italian Community in India," an organisation formed in Calcutta for Italian propaganda in this country. The fact that the association operates from a post-box number and has not disclosed the names of its prime movers is doing it as

much harm as the methods of propaganda it has adopted. In a recent circular newsheet it expressed its disapproval of the anti-Italian articles of an Allahabad lawyer and concluded with the vague remark that he would hear from the organisation. A press report now declares that a series of circulars have reached the Allahabad High Court Bar Association from "The Italian Community." If that body really desires to promote a better understanding of Italy, we trust it will drop its present anonymity. The public in India are entitled to judge for themselves the strength of the claim of the newly formed Calcutta association to speak for Italians resident in India.

Foreign Propaganda:—A friend writes: "Mr. Subhas Bose seems to give away his whole case when he says in his statement on Indian Propaganda Abroad (*Reformer*, August 10) that China was unable fully to utilise the worldwide sympathy she had secured by her steady and continuous propaganda, because of her military weakness. Czechoslovakia succeeded because her revolutionary leaders who carried on propaganda offered the services of the several thousand Czech soldiers who had surrendered from the Imperial Austrian Army and became technically prisoners of war in Russia, first to the Tsar, then to the Soviet, and then to the Allies. On the other hand, the French and Soviet Revolutions, which changed the face of European politics, were achieved in the teeth of opposition from all Europe. It would thus seem that propaganda is of small use unless backed up by more substantial factors."

Anti-Semitic Issue in South Africa:—Mr. Manilal Gandhi writes in *India Opinion*:—"Ever since the Anti-Semitic movement started in Germany the Greyshirt movement has been inaugurated in South Africa, whose object is to eliminate the Jews from this country. One distressing thing to which our notice has been drawn is that the Greyshirts have been going to Indians for financial help to carry on their movement and that in some parts of the Transvaal such help has been readily given by our brethren. We have been authoritatively informed, further, that a representative of the Greyshirts has come to Durban for the express purpose of collecting funds from the local Indian Community. The openly declared policy of the South African National Party, with which this movement is incorporated, is to extend the laws dealing with the repatriation of Asiatics. We are fully aware of the fact that the experience of the Indian community of the Jews as a part of the ruling race in this country has been none too happy, but vindictiveness is an evil which we would certainly not encourage in our own community. We should view the matter from higher considerations based on moral principles. We have no doubt that the Greyshirt movement against the Jews is wholly unjust and unholy and our sympathy and support, whether it be moral or active, should therefore be entirely with the Jews and not with the Greyshirts."



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AMERICA IN AFRICA.

The Italo-Ethiopian dispute took a dramatic turn last week-end. A Reuter's message from Addis Ababa of the 30th August gave the gloomiest picture published till then of the military unpreparedness of Ethiopia to meet an Italian invasion. It is believed, it stated, that the troops whose morale was excellent, possessed ammunition sufficient only for three days' battle on modern lines. As all previous information was to the effect that the defence which the country was in a position to make, assisted by geographical and climatic conditions, would make the task of Italy extremely arduous, the message gave rise to the impression that a great power was manoeuvring to put pressure on the Emperor to concede all the demands of Italy on the ground that his chances of success in a conflict were negligible. On Monday, therefore, the world was surprised to learn that the Emperor had granted extensive concession to an Anglo-American group to exploit the valuable natural resources of his country, specially in the areas adjoining Italian Somaliland. All knowledge of this concession was promptly denied by the British Foreign Office which was bound by an old pre-war treaty to act in consultation with France and Italy in matters connected with the exploitation of Abyssinia. But Abyssinia was not a party to this treaty to dispose of her future. She had not even been consulted about it. With equal reason, Japan, the Hedjaz and Persia could have entered into a treaty regarding the future disposition of Great Britain. European statesmen, however, have always acted on the assumption that the destiny of coloured races was exclusively their concern. Fortunately for Ethiopia, the United States was not involved in this European conspiracy. It was not bound by this treaty. Yet the American company which had secured the concession has, it is reported, withdrawn from the deal on the very eve of the League meeting. What happened behind the scenes will not be known for some time.

It is clear that Italy was totally unaware of the Ethiopian negotiations with the Americans till the conclusion of the deal. Two months ago, President Roosevelt had given a reply to the Emperor's appeal for his good offices in the impending struggle, which was generally interpreted as a blank refusal. More recently Signor Mussolini publicly held up the United States as an example for other Powers to follow in the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia. The Italian Press was so convinced of the uninterestedness of America, that it condemned the concession when it became known, as the outcome of British machination. But it was later stated that no British capital was behind the transaction and that it was cent per cent American. Capital has no country and one need not take this denial too literally. The American Government had also

announced that the concession to American capitalists would make no difference as regards its neutrality policy. The interpretation placed on President Roosevelt's reply to the Ethiopian Emperor's appeal by the European Press was flatly contradicted by the *New Republic* (July 17). "Despite its oblique diplomatic language," it observed, "the note was a direct slap at Mussolini and Italy's imperial ambitions. According to trustworthy sources, Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Hull are greatly concerned about the impending conflict, and are reported to be in secret consultation with the British Government over possible means of stopping it. The only recent concession of importance granted by Haile Selassie, that for damming Lake Tsana, is held by an American Engineering Company, and is looked upon with great solicitude by our State Department. The Department also shares the general opinion that Mussolini is preparing to take a bigger bite than he can comfortably chew." The American withdrawal from the latest concession to its nationals is an act of self-abnegation which is bound to enhance her moral influence in shaping the course of future events.

The concession to exploit the oil and mineral resources, said to be immense, of Abyssinia, recalls in its effect on world opinion the purchase overnight of the Khedive Ismail's shares in the Suez Canal Company by Disraeli, then British Prime Minister. The purchase of the Suez Canal shares gave Britain a firm foothold in Egyptian politics and the Ethiopian concession to the American Syndicate, though given up on the eve of the League of Nations meeting at Geneva to adjudicate between the Italian wolf and the Abyssinian lamb, gives the United States a voice in determining the fortunes of that country. The association of the wolf with Italy is a compliment to the legend of the founders of Rome having been suckled by a she-wolf. Students of ethnology will note that the deep-rooted rivalry between Anglo-Saxon and Latin has found historic expression in Ethiopia as it did in Egypt. The parallel may be carried further. Kitchener's campaign against Soudan was in all essentials an anticipation of the Mussolinian plans for the conquest of Abyssinia. The fight between the Khalifa and Kitchener was a contest between personal bravery and the magazine gun. The fight between Mussolini and Haile Selassie is also between personal bravery on the one side and poison gas, chemicals to burn unshod Ethiopian feet and the death-ray which Marconi is said to have placed at the service of Il Duce. But there is one difference. There was no world opinion in 1897. There was no League of Nations. Their existence today seems to make no difference. But it does make a difference and a very important one. It shows that humanity is shedding its predatory mentality and that international relations are beginning to be conceived in an ethical as opposed to the biological spirit. There is hope for the future.



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FORTY-FIVE YEARS.

A very eminent Indian recently observed that the strength of the social reformers could not have effected the passing of the Sarda Act. This is true to a large extent if strength means numerical strength. But the strength of social reform was never that of numbers or material resources. It was the strength of ideas; and numbers and material resources always surrender to the power of ideas. "Take your stand on a great idea," wrote Emerson. "All the world will come round to you." Mr. Har Bilas Sarda, the author of the Act, was himself not a very prominent figure in the social reform movement. The majority of members who voted for the Sarda Bill in the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State were not people who had taken an active part in social reform associations or Conferences. The Act could not have been passed without the support of the Government in the two Houses and without the assent of the Governor-General. This would certainly have not been accorded, if it had not been plain beyond doubt that restraint on child-marriages had a large body of support in the country. Social reformers were always few but their ideas had permeated the great mass of intelligent opinion. Politically minded India had been converted from opposition to support of marriage reform. The process of this transformation can be studied in the pages of the *Indian Social Reformer* which completed forty five-years with the last issue and begins its forty-sixth volume today.

The first issue of the *Reformer* was published on the 7th September 1890 in Madras. The National Social Conference had been started two years before. Previous to that, there were individuals of high character carrying on propaganda in some parts of the country. The Brahmo Samaj in Bengal and the Arya Samaj in the Punjab were primarily religious reform movements. In Bombay and Madras social reform which in its early days meant chiefly the overthrow of the restriction on the remarriage of widows, was advocated as having the sanction of the Shastras. The leaders were endeavouring to change the mind of the people as the first and most necessary step to change the custom which they followed. They themselves shrank from breaking the custom before society was ready to follow their lead. Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao published innumerable tracts and pamphlets in Sanskrit, English and the vernaculars to show that the remarriage of widows was completely in accord with the Shastras. But he would not sit at meals with a remarried couple. That was in Madras. In Bombay, Ranade, who was not orthodox like his Madras compeer, went through a form of prayaschit for having taken tea at the house of a missionary. Opponents of social reform twitted him for not having married a widow when the death of his first wife gave him the opportunity of putting into practice his opinion in favour of the reform. Ranade's friend and fellow-worker Telang, got his daughter married at a tender age to the delight of the orthodox and the discomfiture of reformers. These men were not lacking in moral courage. They felt that the time was not ripe for action. They would prefer to go two steps taking the people with them to striding forward ten leaving the latter behind. When the *Reformer* was started in 1890, with its stress on rational and practical methods, personal example being the most important, it was from Bombay and from these friends that the most generous encouragement greeted the small unknown group which conceived and acted on the idea of a journal primarily devoted to the advocacy of social reform. It was in the nature of things, therefore, that ten years later the *Reformer* should have found its home in Bombay.

The *Reformer* was started amidst the throes of the agitation which followed the introduction of the first Age of Consent Bill. Its immediate purpose was to save the *Hindu* newspaper from a serious crisis due to disagreement between Editor, Subrahmanya Iyer, and Manager, Viraraghava Charyar, on the policy to be adopted toward social reform. The late Mr. K. Subba Row, then Assistant Editor of the *Hindu*, and one of the founders of the *Reformer* has told the story in his "Revived Memories" published shortly before his death three years ago. "Mr. Viraraghava Charyar," he wrote, "was in a sense the direct and the immediate cause of the birth in the journalistic fraternity of that promising and unique child, the *Indian Social Reformer*. One day he called me aside and for about two hours explained to me the difficulties he had to contend in the management of the *Hindu*. While he was found fault with by G. Subrahmanya Iyer for the financial embarrassment in which they found themselves often, Viraraghava Charyar explained it was a great deal due to the changed policy of the Editor and he put it to me plainly that by, my throwing in my lot with him completely, I had strengthened the hands of G. Subrahmanya Iyer and weakened his own. He wanted an assurance from me and my friends that we would not utilise the columns of the *Hindu* almost exclusively—in his view—for the propagation of our pet theories and he appealed to me in all earnestness to save him from the apprehension he had strongly entertained, that if we were more amenable to him the concern would improve and he would command more peace of mind. I at once assented and had a sleepless night. I confided in two or three friends and they fell in with my view that a separate weekly paper, solely devoted to social and moral reforms, should be immediately started." There was no strength of men or money behind this bold venture. That it has lived to complete its forty-fifth year, is another proof that the strength of a movement is the strength of the ideas underlying it. As a matter of fact Viraraghava Charya was wrong. The *Hindu's* difficulties were not really due to its social reform writings but to other causes as events showed.

One more instance may be cited. More distressing even than the lot of child widows was that of the girls dedicated to temple service, known as devadasis. The institution originally represented the noble idea that all knowledge, all art, all human activity, should find its consummation in God. A leading article in the *Reformer* headed "Is She Not a Woman and A Sister?" started what was then called the anti-nautch movement. Surprising as it seems at the present day, this movement excited bitter opposition. Mr. K. Subba Row in his delightful book of reminiscences has given some idea of it. He writes: "The handful of us who stood in the front ranks of the agitation came in for a great deal of opprobrium and ridicule. For the ardent lovers of the nautch system, no abuse was vile enough, no vindictive terms strong enough for application against us and our Association. We were charged with the high crime of attempting to kill the fine arts of music and dancing. We were depicted as too impotent to appreciate feminine charms associated with a free life of untrammelled license. Even the most educated and highly placed men shrugged their shoulders at our (in their opinion scandalous also) unpatriotic diversion of public movements to so sordid a matter and our attention was called to the Divorce Courts of Europe and to their theatres and dancing saloons. Leaders of reactionary Indian thought, in a truly saintly spirit and with that spark of divine compassion which pities the follies of erring humanity, informed us that there should be a re-



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cognised outlet for human passions and that otherwise family life in the Hindu social strata would be placed amidst unthinkable and unutterable dangers. But we heeded not." This movement initiated in such unpropitious conditions has steadily made its way and within the last few years laws have been passed against dedication of women in Madras, Mysore and Bombay. Here again it was not the strength of the reformers but the strength of the idea which counted. Legislation for raising the marriage age, full facilities for education of women at all stages, the abolition of caste and the removal of untouchability, were all taken up and action urged even in these early years. Social reform was greatly handicapped by the absence of machinery to give effect to the new ideas in the political and administrative system. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms opened the door slightly, and there has been a rush of Bills seeking legislative sanction for social reforms.

Twice in my long connection with the *Reformer*, I had thought that it was at an end. The first was when I came to Bombay in November 1898. The paper remained behind in charge of friends. But not for long. In a year they told me that it was too much of a burden and asked to be relieved. By a turn of events, I found myself free to resume charge of it and it came here. The second time was twenty years ago. A domestic calamity left me without confidence in my strength to carry on with the paper. I wrote out a notice and had just sent it out when Sir Narayan Chandavarkar walked in. I told him what I had done. He at once recalled it and wrote the leader for that week's paper. He had been a staunch friend of the paper from the start and would not bear of its being stopped. Patent is the word in season. Next week I was myself again.

K. N.

THE NEW MARRIAGE BILL.

Dr. Bhagawandas's proposed enactment for validating Intercaste-Marriages will certainly be more acceptable to the sentiment of Hindus who may wish to intermarry after it becomes law than Dr. Gour's Special Marriage Amendment Act of 1923. Its advantage lies in the simple fact that it calls for no innovation in procedure, carries with it no air of dispensing with religious ministration, and creates no new legal consequences except the one which the parties have set their hearts upon, namely, the validation of their marriage. Whatever treatment such couples may get socially from their respective families and communities, they can at least have the satisfaction of feeling that they have not been guilty of voluntarily straying from the beaten track a single inch beyond what was absolutely necessary to achieve their immediate purpose and that they have not had to adopt for the sake of the marriage any new ceremonial or family law which may seem to mark them off as a class apart from their kith and kin.

It is doubtful if Dr. Bhagawandas can afford to mar the happy simplicity of his Bill by introducing the principle of monogamy, as some reformers may desire, into the family law that should govern the mixed couples under his Act. We wonder if he can venture even to revive the ancient Hindu rule that no man who has a wife living can validly take to himself a second wife except with the former's free and express consent. If not, can he at least give the first wife the freedom to live apart from her husband and claim separate maintenance? If he fails to give any such reliefs we may be sure that not only will the Hindu wife of equal caste with her husband stand in jeopardy of being superseded and subordinated in her own home against

her will by a co-wife of lower caste, but the latter too will often find when too late that inherent danger to the stability of her happiness is far greater than that to which those who marry according to caste rules are ordinarily subject in the present state of Hindu society. The fate of a high-caste woman after she cuts herself off wilfully from the sympathy and support of her people by marrying beneath her rank will naturally be far more precarious. At all events it is premature now to speculate if Dr. Bhagawandas's new enactment will be a happy substitute for Dr. Gour's Act of 1923, whether or not we include among the Hindu castes those who are Buddhists, Sikhs or Jains, of whom the last two are recognised as Hindus by our law courts and all the three are accepted as members by the Hindu Maha Sabha. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar achieved his crown of glory with the simple validation of Hindu widow marriages. But he lived long enough thereafter to feel it a crown of thorns. Much depends upon the personal interest one may take in the practical results of a well-intentioned legislation.

We are by no means inclined to belittle the usefulness of Dr. Bhagawandas's Bill, even as it stands, in facilitating intercaste marriages. One class of such marriages is already held to be valid under the present Hindu law by the Bombay and Madras High Courts. It is the one called *Anuloma* in which the bridegroom is of a caste higher than that of the bride (see A. I. R. 1922 Bombay 32; 1928 Madras 1279.) But few people outside legal circles are aware of this fact even in these provinces. And no Indian High Court has as yet held the converse variety, in which the bride's caste is superior, to be valid. In fact the very text of the *Shashtra* which enabled Justice Lalubhai Shah in 1922 to uphold the validity of *Anuloma* marriages, condemns *Pratiloma* marriages in unmistakable terms. But Justice Venkatasubbarao who followed the Bombay view in favour of *Anuloma* marriages has also recorded an express warning that he 'should not be understood as saying that *Pratiloma* marriages are invalid,' as held by Justice Chandavarkar in 1912. (*Vide* I. L. R. 46 Bombay 871). There is evidently fair room still for the belief that what is deprecated or even condemned by the *smritis* need not necessarily be pronounced invalid in law. Social reformers cannot but feel happy and thankful if the pre-eminent erudition and unquestionable devotion to ancient Hindu ideals for which Dr. Bhagawandas is universally venerated, succeed in dissolving all orthodox and Governmental prejudices and enable him to place his Bill on the Statute Book.

But while we wish every success to the new Bill, we feel we cannot afford to see more faults in Dr. Gour's Act of 1923 than it does actually possess. It is unfortunately true that it has been overlaid with some scarecrow provisions, presumably to placate orthodox sentiment which loves to see reformers as well as social innovators and other caste offenders put as far as possible outside the Hindu pale. These provisions are in truth either harmless or positively good to the marrying couples themselves without causing injustice to any others. But they are undoubtedly playing the enemy's game and scaring away young men from availing themselves of the Act as freely as they might otherwise do for ordinary caste marriages for which it is eminently valuable though it was not designed mainly for that purpose.

Of late, however, a new prejudice seems to have cropped up in a different quarter. A suspicion has evidently gained ground in the minds of friends who are otherwise well disposed towards it that it is somehow working inequitably towards the orthodox members of a Hindu joint family. It seems to be supposed that



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a person marrying under the Act of 1923 gets an undue advantage over the other members of his family, because it provides that as an automatic result of such marriage he shall be deemed in law to be divided from the rest of his coparceners. This view has found expression in an editorial note on "Marriage and Succession," in the *Reformer* of 3rd August 1935. Dr. Gour's observation that "the Amendment was made to enlarge the rights of persons by giving them the advantage of the English law of succession and at the same time by removing the incubus of joint family obligations," has been thought to lend corroboration to this belief. And it has been urged that a new enactment is called for in the interests of justice because, "where there is ancestral property to divide, and the man who marries out of his group against the opposition of his parents wishes to have his share, he should take it subject to the obligations to which he would be ordinarily liable." The implication clearly is that the Gour Act not only helps the self-willed son to marry in defiance of his elders and breaks up their family by creating a legal division for him but also robs them of some of their just rights and makes a free present thereof to the prodigal. It is worthwhile, examining, therefore, whether such an apprehension is well grounded in fact.

The natural instinctive tendency of Hindus as a race is of course to stick to the parent stock and hang together in as large bunches as possible until driven by bitter experience and sad necessity to break up into more manageable and congenial units. That is why Section 23 of the Gour Act is operating as a scare-crow to young men who would like to use it ordinarily for caste-marriages but hate to forego the warmth of the parental nest or seem desirous of abandoning it. But the Hindu social conscience does not reprobate separation as heinous or immoral. It appreciates the practical discomforts and occasional inequities that not unoften mar joint family life in modern conditions. Although it may affect to shed a sentimental tear over the departed beauty and glory of the united Hindu home whenever a division occurs, it accepts it philosophically as inevitable and even good for all concerned in view of the circumstances of each case. The great ancient Hindu law-giver, Manu himself, gave the legal right of separation to every Hindu and even commended family division as meritorious on the ground that it multiplies religious rites because each of the dividing members would thereafter have to perform a separate ceremony on solemn domestic occasions for which a single ceremony sufficed for all when they had a joint household. The Gour Act did nothing more than to declare that the age-long right which every Hindu, married or unmarried, admittedly possesses under the Hindu law to have his share of family assets and liabilities determined at any moment he may choose, shall be deemed to have been exercised by him at the moment he chose to marry by registration under the Act, although he may not utter a word about separation from the joint family and may continue to live under the joint roof and eat from the joint kitchen, if the other members made no objection, without asking for actual partition of property. There is wisdom in this provision. It avoids unseemly squabbles and protects the new couple from much annoyance and harm (*vide the Reformer* of 15th June 1929 page 660 and also of 22nd November 1930 page 189). But above all, it does an act of kindness to the orthodox kinsmen themselves. Community of caste is the *sine qua non* of joint family life in Hindu society. When a heterogeneous element is introduced in the shape of a daughter-in-law of a different caste, whether high or low, that family cannot hold together comfortably for long and the

sooner it is dissolved and the incompatible members are left free to form their own separate home the better for the happiness of all parties, more especially of the orthodox members who set great store by the purity of their castes. The Gour Act therefore deserves their gratitude, not reprobation, for imposing automatically a divided status on its protegee without the unpleasantness of immediate division by metes and bounds.

K. R.

JANE ADDAMS.

Miss Jane Addams, world-famous social welfare worker and peace advocate, died at 6-15 p. m. on May 21st 1935 in Passavant Hospital, Chicago, where she had undergone a major operation four days earlier.

The founder of Hull House, internationally known social settlement in Chicago, and the winner of a Nobel Prize for her efforts in behalf of world peace, Miss Addams would have been 75 years old on September 6.

Miss Addams has been called "the greatest woman in the world," the "mother of social service," "the greatest woman internationalist" and the "first citizen of Chicago." With her idealism, serene, unafraid, militant, was always paramount. Devoted to the cause of social and political reform, to the betterment of the economic condition of the masses, to world peace and to internationalism, Miss Addams's influence was world-wide. She was, perhaps, the world's best-known and best-loved woman.

She made enemies. Her views were sometimes considered dangerously radical. Socialists and other radicals met at Hull House, and her opponents sometimes forgot that her liberal attitude in permitting such meetings did not include a membership in the groups she tolerated. In the World War her efforts for peace were unabated even when the United States entered the struggle and the war-time hysteria which ensued obscured for a time the American public's realization of Miss Addams's purity of purpose and character.

World peace was forever dear to her heart, and from the time of the war she became more and more active in its behalf. But she did not ignore other causes. Lavishly she gave of her self to fight child labour, to lead political causes such as those of Colonel Roosevelt and the Progressive party in 1912 and of Senator La Follette and his Progressives of 1924, to battle for disarmament, for insurance against unemployment, old age and poverty, for woman suffrage and for equal rights of women. But she never left Hull House, her starting place, and remained as its resident head until her death.

She lectured from end to end of the United States. All over Europe and Asia she travelled, everywhere striving to alleviate the suffering of the masses, everywhere serene, helpful, capable, dauntless. She wrote many books. In each she pledged herself anew to fight for justice as she saw it.

Miss Addams was born in Cedarville, Ill., on September 6, 1860, of Quaker ancestry. Had she chosen it, this woman who gave herself so unselfishly to the cause of the poor, the ignorant and the oppressed, could have enjoyed wealth and social position.

Her father, John H. Addams, a friend of Abraham Lincoln, was a banker, who served from 1854 to 1870 in the Illinois Senate. Lincoln's creed of the equality of men became Miss Addams's ideal as a child.

In one of her books Miss Addams wrote: "My father always spoke of the martyred President as Mr. Lincoln, and I never heard the great name



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without a thrill. I remember the day—it must have been one of comparative leisure, perhaps a Sunday—at my request my father took out of his desk a thin packet marked, 'Mr. Lincoln's Letters', the shortest one of which bore unmistakable traces of that remarkable personality. These letters began, "my dear Double D—ed Addams," and to the inquiry as to how the person thus addressed was about to vote on a certain measure then before the Legislature was added the assurance that he knew this Addam "would vote according to his conscience."

As a child, Miss Addams regarded herself as an ugly duckling. She said she was pigeon-toed and twisted in the back so that her head leaned slightly to one side and she didn't want to have any one know she was the daughter of so fine a man as her father. But surgery cured her deformities and she became a young woman described as "beautiful, not pretty," "beautiful" because of her remarkable expression.

She became, too, graceful, erect, with a fine carriage. After she was graduated from Rockford College in 1881, Miss Addams went abroad to complete her education. It was not the Alps, the art galleries or the cathedrals that impressed her, but rather the slums of the great cities. More than ever she was determined to dedicate her life to service of the poor.

She went to London and there saw Toyabee Hall, the first settlement house in the world. She was greatly impressed, as she was by the European slums she visited. Returning to the United States, she was ill for some months, and then, in 1888, she studied for a time in Philadelphia.

In 1889, when she was 29 old, Miss Addams and Miss Ellen Gates Starr, her friend, founded Hull House at 800, South Halsted Street, Chicago. "In the midst of horrid little houses" of the slums. Four years previously the stately red brick mansion had been built by Charles J. Hull on the outskirts of the city. By 1889, however, it stood in the heart of one of the most miserable neighbourhoods of the city. The owner, Miss Helen Culver, gave the two women a free leasehold to the house and later to the land about it, on which twelve additional buildings were built.

Miss Addams moved into Hull House in September, 1889, and it was her home thereafter. It was then between a saloon and an undertaking shop, and there was an annex to a factory in its rear. Thousands of the foreign born—Miss Addams always held welcoming arms to the strangers—including Poles, Jews, Russians, Italians, Greeks, Germans, Irish, Indians and Bohemians, were welcomed there.

Hull House grew to be known as one of the largest and best-known of the nation's settlements. It commenced with the ordinary activities of children's clubs and free kindergartens, and later it sponsored courses in languages, literature, music, painting, history, mathematics, elocution, dancing, wood-carving, pottery, metal work, bookbinding, dress making, lacework, cooking and basketwork. A labour museum was also established at Hull House.

Dozens of clubs were organized to aid working women. A lunch room was opened, as was a nursery for the children of employed women. There was also a gymnasium, a natatorium, a penny savings bank, a lodging house, as well as a circulating library and an employment bureau. Miss Addams personally directed all these activities, which were models for hundreds of others throughout the world.

She also became known for her work in the neighbourhood, the Nineteenth Ward. So disturbed was she by the condition of the streets in the ward that she obtained the post of Garbage Inspector, which she filled with her characteristic successful

thoroughness for three years, until, as she later explained, a politician coveted it for one of his henchmen.

She was early concerned with the welfare of young women who had been led astray or abandoned. She cared for them, for their children, and fought for better conditions for all unfortunate women. The social evil, she once said, made \$ 15,000,000 yearly profit for vice panderers, and she blamed much of this evil on the cold attitude of the church, the "good" women, and on the laws which, she said, often were unfair to women, and far too lenient toward their male oppressors.

In 1909 Miss Addams became president of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections, and served in that post with distinction. Her fight for world peace began early. She had an abhorrence for bloodshed and violence. In January, 1915, when the Woman's Peace Party was organized, she was chosen president.

In April, 1915, she helped to organize and became president of the Woman's International League for Peace and Freedom, then called the Woman's International Peace Congress, which she headed until 1929, when she became honorary international president. The first meeting, held in April, 1915, at The Hague, was, in many respects, a stormy one, as it was attended by women from all of the warring countries, as well as most of the neutral ones.

After the conference Miss Addams toured Europe in an effort to persuade the heads of the belligerent nations to make peace. But she found that the war spirit was dominant. The movement for a conference to offer continuous mediation, which she backed, was checked by the refusal of President Wilson to move in the matter.

She was horrified at the sinking of the Lusitania, but said that "talk of reprisal and aggression can only increase the spirit of bitterness." She opposed going to war over the case, and continued to co-operate with those who wanted to stop the war.

After the war declaration in April, 1917, she met measures for strengthening of the blockade of the Central Powers with the declaration that the United States "should not allow the women and children of any nation to starve." She declared later that "the feelings of German-born Americans should have been considered before the United States entered the war."

She was never accused of being pro-German, but was much criticized for her pacifism. After the war she presided at international conferences of the league in Zurich in 1919, in Vienna in 1921, in The Hague in 1922, in Washington in 1924, in Dublin in 1926, and at Prague in 1929. Always in her peace work she was forward looking. It was noted that in the resolutions adopted at the first conference in 1915, many of President Wilson's Fourteen Points were forecast. In 1924 much opposition was manifested in this country to the conference, to which Miss Addams replied gracefully, without rancor.

She continued to fight for her ideals as the years progressed and often interceded for political prisoners or for persons barred from entry into the United States because of their political or social views. In 1920 she said that a "modification of our ideas of private property is at hand," adding that "nothing is more certain than the imminence of social change." She opposed also secret treaties and advocated entrance of the United States into the League of Nations and endorsed the Pact of Paris and the principles of disarmament.

Of Miss Addams, Professor Halfdan Kott, of the Nobel Prize Committee, said :



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"In honouring Miss Addams we also pay homage to the work which women can do for the cause of peace and fraternity among nations. Miss Addams does not speak much, but her quite, kind hearted personality creates an atmosphere of good-will, which instinctively calls forth the best in all."

New York. P. GOPAL KRISHNAYYA

THE WOMAN WORKER IN EUROPE.

Our upstanding Danish sisters are showing the way to the women of the world in their struggle for the economic emancipation of the woman worker. In Denmark, we are able to meet organised Trade Union women active in their demand that the regulation of work in the interest of the worker shall be the same for men and women, and in their opposition to the special regulation of the work of women which is wrongly called "protection." This support gives new courage. Then, too, we know that Denmark stands almost alone in its successful resistance to the world pressure directed to inducing it to ratify those International Labour Conventions which place special restrictions on women's work. This knowledge gives us new hope that this little Danish heaven will in time leaven the whole world lump. Many enlightened Danish men by their actions show their belief in the justice of the claim that women shall be free to work and protected, as workers, on the same terms as men.

We claim this right for all women, irrespective of marriage, pregnancy, or childbirth. We are not opposed to the regulation of work for the protection of the worker, provided it applies equally to both men and women. For a regulation can only protect the worker if it is based on the nature of the work and not upon the sex of the worker. Nor are we opposed to the provision of help in connection with a child about to be born or recently born, but that is a matter outside the scope of our strictly limited object. It is possible to provide such help without damaging the mother. But it is always wrong to penalise the mother or to restrict her rights as a worker.

It is depressing to have to record that many States are continuing further to curtail the opportunities of the woman worker, both married and unmarried, by special regulations ostensibly imposed in the woman's own interest. At the time of our Prague Conference in 1933 the married woman was already the chief victim of the rapidly extending policy of sacrificing the woman worker in the interest of the male worker by directly prohibiting or curtailing her freedom to work for pay. A most sinister and startling development of the last two years is the spread of this idea that it is justifiable to deprive women of work in the interests of the male worker, the application of this idea to single women, and its acceptance by governments of states claiming to be enlightened and civilised. The idea is seen in its naked ugliness in the many laws and orders intended to reduce the unemployment of men by aggravating that of women. Before our Prague Conference a beginning had already been made in Germany when the permanent appointment of women in Government service before the age of 35 was forbidden. To take other quite recent examples: In Luxembourg, by a Grand Ducal Decree of 14 April, 1934, a special permit is required before a public or private administrative department can appoint a female clerical staff, or retain a woman in employment after marriage.

* Extract from presidential speech delivered at the opening session of the Fourth Conference of the Open Door International for the Economic Emancipation of the Woman Worker at Christiansburg Castle (House of Parliament) Copenhagen, Denmark, 19th-23rd August, 1935.

Yugoslavia, by an Order of 31 March, 1934, has fixed the proportion of women higher grade postal servants at 30 %, intermediate grade at 25 %, and lower grade at 10 %. The Netherlands Minister of the Interior has recommended Local Authorities (Circular dated 19 March, 1934) to replace women by men in posts not specifically requiring female labour. In Germany an Order of August 26, 1934, gives priority of employment to male workers over 40 and to women who have family responsibilities. A German Act of July 8, 1934, forbids married women doctors to practice except when this is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of their families. By another German Order of May 17, 1934, women farm servants and agricultural workers are not allowed to be employed in canning factories, hotels, restaurants and cafes. An Italian legislative decree of November 28, 1933, empowers administrative departments to exclude women or to limit their number, and, under this, percentage limits for women have been fixed at 5 for the higher grade, 15 for the intermediate, and 20 for the lower. In Italy under powers delegated to federations of employers and workers many corporate agreements have been made to restrict the employment of women. There are signs that similar dangerous delegated powers may be given to employers and workers in other countries. Under a circular of the Belgian Council of Ministers August 12, 1934, all posts in public administrative departments, including typists and short hand typists, are to be reserved for men so long as qualified candidates are available.

Another sinister new practice is to delegate to a Minister arbitrary powers to prohibit or to curtail women's employment. Under a Belgian Order of December 8, 1934 the Minister of Social Welfare is empowered to fix a quota of women, married or unmarried, who may be employed in any private industry, trade, or occupation for the whole country or by districts. The Order no doubt is camouflaged in legal dress, but in fact it puts women outside the law. The Minister, in reply to protests, has had the affrontery to seek to justify the order by saying it will be applied with caution, and that women are not to be dismissed where economic working normally depends upon them. A Government Bill now before the Irish Free State Parliament proposes to give a similar power to the Minister of Labour and Commerce to prohibit the employment of women in any form of industrial work, or to fix the proportion of women to be employed by any employer in such work—another example of giving to a Minister arbitrary power over the woman worker.

These arbitrary powers given in Belgium and proposed in Ireland are intended to be exercised for the benefit of men at women's expense by the direct prohibition or curtailment of women's employment. But another type of arbitrary power over women workers now being widely conferred is dangerous in a more insidious way, since it is to be exercised in the making of regulations purporting to be for women's benefit. These usually take the form of a power conferred on a Minister or official to regulate or prohibit women's employment in kinds of work which are not specified, but vaguely described as work which is heavy or dangerous to a women's health or morals. In some cases this power is to be exercised, subject to the submission of each particular order to the Legislature. But in practice, especially where an order directly affects a limited group and no general publicity is given to it, this is a negligible safeguard. Technically women living under such power may be within the rule of law, but in fact they are at the mercy of an arbitrary power with undefined limits. In this sense they are outside the law. Among the countries which have given



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authority for the exercise of certain of these powers by a Minister or official are Bolivia, Cuba, Estonia, France, Guiana, Poland, Rumania, and Yugoslavia.

The fixing of minimum wage rates and the payment of unemployment, sickness, and other insurance benefits have become integral parts of the wage systems of many countries. Official schemes under which lower rates of pay are fixed for, and lower benefits paid to, women, become powerful machinery for depressing the status of the woman worker. Great Britain is a crying example of both these forms of injustice. In regard to wages there are no blacker spots than the five Australian States (New South Wales, Victoria, Western Australia, South Australia and Tasmania) where by a decision of the full Court of Arbitration of the Commonwealth (June 30, 1933) the basic wage for women was fixed at 52% of that of men.

In some Canadian provinces and in some of the States of the United States of America minimum rates are fixed for women only, with the result that men are replacing women. The International Labour Office (see Year Book 1934-35, page 198), having failed to grasp that this is the natural consequence of special so-called "protective" regulations for women, describes this as "peculiar". And its mental confusion is such that it writes of the women who are losing their jobs as having their wages "protected" and of the men who get the women's jobs as "unprotected" (Year Book 1933 p. 158). Canada by degrees reaches a right solution. First, one Province makes it necessary that a man who replaces a woman should receive the woman's minimum wages. Later, in 1934, five Provinces (Columbia, Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec and Saskatchewan) forbid any male worker to work for a lower wage in work for which a minimum wage is fixed for women, a rule, be it noted, which applies to the nature of the work and not to the sex of the worker. Alas, some provinces now fix minimum rates for men only.

There is little of progress to record. I mention some examples. Lithuania by an Act of November 11, 1933, has released married women from that form of slavery, still, alas, in force in so many ostensibly civilised States, by authorising a married woman to enter industrial employment without her husband's consent. We rejoice with the National Union of Women Teachers, that the London County Council, which deals with a population of some five and a half millions, has just (July 1935) removed the marriage bar, in so far as non-residential work is concerned, from woman teachers and doctors. Unfortunately, however, these women are forbidden to work and put on half-pay for 17 weeks at the time of childbirth. We also congratulate Belgian primary school teachers that their new salary scale is based on equality between the sexes (Royal Order of June 8, 1935); and the women of Queensland on Miss Laracy's successful appeal against the promotion of a male official over her head.

Among recent events which show some advance and some retrogression are the adoption of the new constitution in Brazil (July 16, 1934) and the agreement between Colombia and Peru (Protocol of May 23, 1934). Each of these provides for equal pay for equal work without distinction of sex. The former also provides for the admission to the public service without distinction of sex or marriage. Unfortunately the Brazil constitution prohibits unhealthy work to women only and the Colombia-Peru agreement proposes that health and safety regulations should vary with sex. The Brazil Constitution, too, contains another dangerous proposal that there shall be prescribed for the woman before and after childbirth a "period of rest" this being the usual euphemism for

depriving a woman of her right to work for pay in her usual occupation.

News from Russia which is sometimes long in reaching the outside world is both good and bad. For some years the Government there has given special attention to equipping women by education, technical training and opportunities to work for skilled and managerial posts. But, alas, the common belief that work there is open to women on the same terms as men is not the law. An Order of May 17, 1930, one of the most recent quoted in the International Labour Office Legislative Series, prohibits the employment of women in 79 occupations and, so far as I know, has not been repealed. The prohibited occupations include work underground which is evidently not enforced for I have recent firsthand information of strong healthy women miners working in the Donetz basin. Other prohibited occupations are certain work in metals and in dangerous chemicals and many jobs on railways and in ships. It is tragic that the present Russian regime which in so many ways leads the world in regard to women's work, should sink back to the level of countries following an unjust tradition.

CHRISTAL MACMILLAN.

LORD BIRKENHEAD AND VITHALBHAI PATEL.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In the current issue of the *Reformer* you express surprise at Lord Birkenhead's offer of liquor to Mr. Patel.

Not long ago you published, without criticism, an article from an Indian in England deploring the quiet life which Indian lady students led in London. He suggested that our lady students should follow the examples of a certain class of English women (working class women, as I could judge from the tone of the article) who get in and jump out of tram cars in motion, and indulge in wine drinking.

The Indian members of the first Round Table Conference gave the European members a dinner at which liquor of every description flowed freely. The London correspondent of the *Calcutta Statesman*, describing that dinner, stated "better wine was never drunk before."

Lord Birkenhead knew little and cared less about India, and his offer of wine to any Indian deserves no censure. Compare Lord Birkenhead's experience with that of another Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu who knew, loved and respected India. Mr. Montagu must have been greatly surprised when a Maharajah entertained him at a dinner in his own palace, "defending his (Maharajah's) drinking liquor because it was not the sort of liquor mentioned in the laws of Manu." (Mr. Montagu's *Indian Diary*, p. 298.)

I think the majority of Indian visitors to England and at public entertainments in India itself do not generally object to accepting drinks, if only "for a change." Had it been otherwise, liquor traffic would not have flourished so long in India, in spite of European support.

To the Europeans, with some exceptions, drink is an article of food, while it is strictly forbidden to all Indians. Your comments may convey the impression that you watch the European conduct in respect of drinking, with the eyes of an Argus, keeping your eyes closed like Kumbhakarna's when



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the offender is an Indian who is bound by this law: "Madya vikraya sanchana dana pana nir achare!", i. e. "Abstain from selling, making, giving or drinking liquor."

Sylvan, Coonoor }
28th August 1935. }

Yours, etc.,
M. G. JOSEPH.

[Mr. Joseph has not understood our point. It was that the Secretary of State for India whose business was to keep in touch with important currents of Indian thought and life, knew less of it in this case than the German professor who expected a restaurant waiter to know that the religions of India prohibited alcoholic drinks. In publishing the article on Indian lady students abroad to which he refers, we expressed our dissent from it in an editorial note (May 27, 1933.) As regards the Round Table Conference and Prohibition, our correspondent will find it he turns the index references to the subject in several places. *The Reformer* stands for Prohibition and we do not understand Mr. Joseph's criticism that we do not seem to concern ourselves with drink among Indians.—Ed., I.S.R.]

THE RELIGION OF MR. H. G. WELLS.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Dear Sir,

In "*Indian Social Reformer*" of the 10th inst., there appears an article under heading "Is Modern Intelligence Outgrowing God? Answers by eminent scientists and other thinkers," written by Mr. J. T. Sunderland. Quotations from the writings of eminent scientists and thinkers are given in it. One of these is attributed to Mr. H. G. Wells, from which one is led to conclude that this eminent writer of international fame is a firm and convinced believer in the existence of God. Being in a small way a student of H. G. Wells, I find myself in the position of one attempting to fit square pegs in round holes.

In one of his earlier works, "First and Last Things," Wells dismisses the idea that life is chaotic and believes in a scheme, which, as a whole, he says, he does not clearly know. He writes, "I use the word scheme because it is the best word available, but I strain it in using it. I do not wish to imply a schemer but only order and co-ordination as distinguished from haphazard." He then tries to associate the name of God with this scheme and adds, "The run of people nowadays mean something more and something different when they say God. They intend a personality exterior to them and limited, and they will instantly conclude I mean the same thing." About Christ he says in the same work, "I hope I shall offend no susceptibilities when I assert that this great and very definite personality in the hearts and imagination of mankind does not and never has attracted me. It is a fact I record about myself without aggression or regret." In his "Experiments in Autobiography," recently published, he explains more clearly his attitude towards religion. His scepticism appears to be manifest from early boyhood, though his mother, for whom he had deep affection, was very religious. To her repeated entreaties to him to be conformed, he would demonstrate that he was an atheist. In the Chapter, "Early Adolescence," he describes with pathetic fervour the ordeal he had to undergo, when at the age of seventeen he was required to be confirmed a member of the Church of England as a condition precedent to his being appointed a teacher in the Midhurst Grammar School. "I did something that wounded my private honour very deeply..... If, I refused, the whole burden of the situation would fall on my mother." Later on in the same work he openly admits that, like Bernard Shaw, he too is an atheist and a socialist. Lastly in that monumental work, "The Science of Life," written jointly with Julian Huxley and G. P. Wells, there is a break, if not a reversal, from his earlier views on life. The conception of "scheme" behind evolution is abandoned. He rejects summarily the "Life Force" of Shaw and the "elan

vital" of Bergson. "Bergson and Shaw in common with many others have been so much impressed with the apparent purpose revealed in the slow stupendous drama of life, that they have not hesitated to make purpose the key of evolution." The process of evolution, according to the authors, is "the result of purposeless and random variation sifted by purposeless and automatic selection.....When we reach man, evolution does in part become purposeful.....Human purpose is one of the achievements of evolution."

Does Mr. Wells betray a glaring inconsistency in his thinking or does the author of the article, in his exuberance of enthusiasm, wrongly attribute the quotation to Mr. Wells? Perhaps Mr. Sunderland himself will answer the question.

Santa Cruz,
30th August, 1935. }

Yours etc.,
SORAB E. KUMANA.

A DIRECTORY OF WOMEN'S ORGANISATION.

It is proposed to prepare a directory furnishing reliable facts about all the organisations working for the cause of women in Bombay, Gujarat and Kathiawar.

We are passing through an age of transition. The whole world is being rapidly transformed. New nations are coming to the fore, and India too is awakening from its slumber. With the awakening of women in India, the heart of the nation has begun to pulsate with new life and the Indian woman has determined to give new life and vigour to the body politic. The determination is being achieved by means of organisations which are fast multiplying and the preparation of the Directory is undertaken in order that these institutions may be able to co-operate amongst themselves and thereby utilise their energies to the best possible advantage.

There are countless funds for charitable purposes lying idle, and at the same time the good work the women's organisations have been doing is not adequately known among the public chiefly due to the lack of a complete Directory. It is, therefore, intended to supply the long-felt want; so that persons connected with the management of these institutions may be able to get information about the objects and the activities, etc., of the sister institutions working in different parts of the province. In order that the compilation may be useful to all—whether a student of social problems, or a worker in the field, or a person interested in getting benefit of these institutions—it is proposed to make the work as comprehensive as possible.

I have, therefore, to seek the co-operation of each and every worker of women organisations. I also trust that they will furnish all the necessary data, and favour me with their views. I am sending out a questionnaire which I hope will be duly returned with full answers. I shall also be obliged if the organisations favour me with copies of their annual reports.

Any information concerning any organisation, its activities and the names of persons connected with them will be greatly appreciated.

Servants of India Society, } K. J. CHITALIA.
Bombay.

Bursary for Indian Christian Student:
Applications are invited before December 1st from Indian Christian women graduates for a bursary providing board, lodging and tuition for one year at Kingsmead, Birmingham. The object of the scholarship is to help women interested in Christian Education to equip themselves more fully for educational work in India. For further particulars apply to Mrs. Dewick, St. Andrews College, Gorakhpur, enclosing a stamped addressed envelope.



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THE GERMAN BILL TO PROMOTE MARRIAGE.

(CONTRIBUTED)

With the Bill to promote marriage introduced on July 1st 1933 the Reich made an attempt to inhibit the unfavourable politico-racial development and prepare the way for an upward movement of national energy. Now, two years later, its effects can already be felt, offering interesting evidence to the difficult problem so frequently viewed sceptically by leading social workers as to whether and how far politico-racial developments can be determined or influenced by Government motions.

The Bill originally contained three distinct Sections:-

(1) A bachelor tax levied in the form of 2 to 5% increase in income tax on those unmarried and without issue.

(2) A marriage subsidy of from 600 to 1,000 marks given as a non-interest bearing, long-term loan to healthy and deserving couples.

And, finally, a maternity bonus in the form of a 25% remission as well as suspension or amortisation of payments of the marriage loan for 12 months for each healthy child born. Incidentally, these loans were intended to help the furniture and textile industries which at that time were experiencing difficulties and, furthermore, as an alleviation of the female labour market, and are secured in every direction by special regulations. Since that time there has been an amendment, 50 million marks were taken from the special fund available for marriage subsidies and earmarked for last mortgages on separate small houses to be built on the outskirts of the urban centres.

The individual ideas and clauses of the Bill as such were not new. In the course of history they have been attempted in various forms in most countries but usually with small success. What was new was the organic interrelation between all measures, the work promotion schemes and the "back to the land" movement, thereby becoming practicable for the State. The economic assistance rendered by the Bill has been instrumental in more marriages being contracted and healthy children being born so that the objective has been substantially attained as the following statistics indicate:

	1932.	1933.	1934.	1935.†
Marriages contracted.	510,000	631,000	740,000	...
Live issue.	...	957,000	1,170,000	...
Subsidies granted.	...	*142,000	226,000	35,000
25% Remissions due to births.	...	...	130,000	39,000

* 3rd and 4th quarter.

† 1st quarter.

The number of marriages contracted has actually increased, likewise the number of living births, and quite obviously as a result of the Government measures. But since the middle of 1934 and most conspicuously at the beginning of 1935 the influence of the legal measures diminished in respect to growth in population. At the end of a period of unemployment and during an economic trough great results were possible, these measures alone enabling large numbers to marry and have children. In the long run, however, even greater than the economic aspect is the general economic resurrection of 1934/35 in conjunction with the influence on thought and the life attitude diffused by the National Socialist Government Party supporting the belief in family and children. This is in practical evidence in all social efforts.

The Bill should also prove of permanent value in regard to migration from the more congested areas to rural surroundings which appears to have resulted with such momentum from the same philosophy, the mental attitude toward life having created a greater love of the home and a greater longing for life on one's own plot of land. Probably Government measures in support of marriage will be more definitely directed toward establishing small holdings in future and in other ways assisting the re-peopling of country districts.

ALCOHOL AND ROAD ACCIDENTS.*

Mr. Hore-Belisha, Minister of Transport, asked the British Medical Association at the beginning of the year to give him its observations on the place of alcohol in the causes of road accidents. The Association appointed a special committee under Dr. W. G. Willoughby, and its report has just appeared. The committee concentrated on small or "sub-intoxicant" doses of alcohol, less than would be likely to bring a motorist into the dock and far less than would cause social drunkenness. It has perforce relied on indirect evidence; statistics of accidents in which the question has been raised of whether the driver was under the influence of drink, and experiments on the effect of alcohol upon the faculties—judgment, memory, reaction, and muscular co-ordination—which are the foundation of safe driving. It quotes the Alcohol Committee of the Medical Research Council for the statement that alcohol is a narcotic and impairs judgment, concentration, self-criticism, and the power of estimating risk. It therefore leads persons to take risks and make rapid decisions less judiciously than they otherwise would. Impairment of concentration and reasoning power has, the Committee point out, been established by physiological experiment. The driving of a motor car involves a succession of highly skilled muscular movements which depend on rapid and accurate co-ordination between the hands, eyes and feet. According to the M. R. C., the speed with which the gaze is directed to fresh objects is diminished by alcohol. Speed and accuracy of hand movement have been shown by typewriting tests to suffer, and the co-ordination required in rifle-shooting and mountaineering is impaired. Alcohol disappears slowly from the blood, and substantial amounts remain in the blood even several hours after a moderate quantity of drink has been taken. The committee conclude that three ounces of whisky will affect the driving capacity of many persons some hours afterwards, and will make them think they are driving better than usual while really they are less efficient. These findings are no surprise to persons with any training in physiology, but may be news to laymen and lawyers. Besides indicating a possibly fertile cause of accidents, they suggest that the present law is not being administered as the facts demand. Under the Road Traffic Act a motorist is culpable who is incapable through drink or drugs of having proper control of his vehicle. This provision will cover the motorist who is not nearly drunk in the social or police-court sense, but its application is a matter of opinion. The subject was threshed out fairly fully at the Medico-Legal Society last month when discussion indicated that before a motorist is likely to be convicted he must show some fairly obvious symptoms. Many physiological authorities regard him as a dangerous motorist even when he is apparently sober, simply because a minimal quantity of alcohol will impair his judgment of speed and distance, his visual acumen and his reaction-time, the factors which the

* The Lancet, August 3, 1935.



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National Institute of Industrial Psychology regard as essential in a driver's safety or danger. It is not likely that police surgeons and courts will give the Act the drastic interpretation which the facts suggest, because incapacity must be proved as a fact, and individuals differ so much in their initial skill and their reaction to alcohol. Better results should be obtained by energetic publication to motorists and pedestrians of the danger of little drinks.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Children of Mixed Marriages:—In the delightful "Story of my Life," Queen Marie of Roumania gives a sad picture of the distress caused to religious parents and their children by the disharmony resulting from a mixed marriage. Her father was a son of Queen Victoria and her mother a daughter of the Emperor Alexandra II of Russia. Queen Marie writes:

"My mother clung to her Church with all her soul, and no matter in what house she lived, a little Orthodox chapel was erected in some corner of it, and she always kept in her service a Russian priest and two chanters who followed her wherever she went. We children were brought up in the Anglican Church, and I believe it was a lifelong grief to my mother that we were Protestants.....Scrupulously respecting the faith we were christened in, she rather shunned speaking of religion with us; fearing perhaps to influence us in any way. But there was also, I think, a feeling that we might not understand the beauty of her cult that, we might not approach with sufficient reverence that which was so fundamentally part of her inner being. So a certain shyness always existed between us when discussing or referring to religious matters....Mother adored us, gave up her life to us but for all that she had little faith in us, that was the strange, strange thing. Above all, we were Protestants, and therefore some parts of our souls were shut off from hers." The Catholic *Examiner* makes the following characteristic comment on this passage:

"This frank autobiography makes one realize how little regard is paid to the religious convictions of the parties in many a royal marriage, and that often the Catholic wife in particular is more to be pited than blamed for actions which the Church is bound to condemn."

Boycott of Italian goods:—The Islamic Association, Berlin, has cabled to the Islamic Congress, Jerusalem, calling for a boycott of Italian goods, and has sent a cable of goodwill and wishes for peace to the Emperor of Ethiopia.

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BY

K. NATARAJAN.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Bombing from the Air:—The attempt to abolish bombing from the air by international agreement was frustrated by the British Government insisting on making an exception on the Indian Frontier. We do not wish to make much of this as even if an agreement had been come to, it is highly improbable that it would have been kept. Italy, for instance, would not have foregone her advantage in the possession of this means of mass murder in her effort to absorb Abyssinia. She would have urged the identical reasons which the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India urged in opposing Dr. Khan Sahib's motion for adjournment of the Legislative Assembly last week to call attention to the bombing of women and children in a trans-frontier village by the Royal Air Force. This operation, he said, "offset the advantage of inaccessibility, which the tribesmen always enjoyed. It also saved time and money, caused a smaller number of casualties both amongst our own troops and the enemy. The idea was to cause discomfort and economic pressure, and to induce the tribes to surrender without loss of life. Thus this was a most humane form of warfare." Whatever it may be, it is certainly not war as the word was understood by the author of "the Moral Equivalent of War." This is sheer man hunt in which there is very little of the qualities which invested the military career with a moral significance. It is not an economical method if we take into consideration the cost not only of particular operations but that also of permanently maintaining an Air Force in anticipation of them. It is not even effective on the Government's own showing. Bombing has been practised during the last ten years but raids by tribesmen took place in 1927, 1930, 1932, 1933, 1934 and 1935. When German Zeppelins dropped bombs on London during the

late War, the operation was not applauded as a humane one. Dr. Khan Sahib knows what he is talking about. He is a Frontier man himself. He said that bombing took place near his village. He saw the R. A. F. planes going. The first notice to the villagers of this operation was the bombing itself. In any case, dropping notices was useless as the tribesmen were illiterate. The debate was raised to a broader plane by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Opposition. He condemned the use of bombs from the air as a barbarous and inhuman practice. He declared that whenever Indians came into power, they would not use such an instrument. "We stand here to show," he concluded, "that we shall always stand for a civilised method of warfare and that even though we are less scientific and less mechanical, we at any rate, are more civilized." Mr. Tottenham interrupted. Bombs, he said, were not thrown on the civil population. Mr. Desai is an expert cross-examiner. "Then why did you give notice," he asked: "Whom did you give notice to?" There was no answer. The Leader of the Opposition went on to say that he did not wish to discuss whether one method was more economical than another, and hoped that the House would by its vote show that they condemned the bombing of civil population and women and children. The House carried the motion by 67 to 41 votes. Of the latter, 26 were the votes of officials.

Railway but no Engines:—The mere statement that the Government of India has all these years been constructing thousands of miles of railways but are still importing locomotives, is sufficient to arouse surprise in people who are not well posted in Indian fiscal methods. Mr. Sam Venkatachallam Chetty, the representative of South Indian Commerce in the Legislative Assembly, moved a resolution on Wednesday urging immediate steps to equip State Railway Workshops with machinery to manufacture all the engines needed in the country. One Indian member, Sir A. H. Ghaznavi, opposed the resolution on the ground that it was cheaper to buy the engines from outside than to make them here. Britain can buy engines more cheaply from Germany or Belgium but she prefers to make her own. Presumably Englishmen do so for good reasons. The fallacy of the Calcutta Muslim member's reasoning is that the cheapness of the



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imported article is heavily offset by the cost of maintaining Indian unemployed which, though it does not fall in this country on the State because the State does not recognise that it has a duty to relieve unemployment, has nevertheless to be borne by the community. It is surprising to see this fallacy persisting in the mind of so distinguished a political leader as Sir A. H. Ghaznavi. The Finance Member, Sir James Grigg, seems to be guided by a single idea in his Indian policies. Whatever the Indian advocates, he must oppose. Sir James has a blunt way of speaking and bluntness is often associated with sincerity. He is, we are sure, quite sincere in his belief that the best interests of India are served by antagonising Indian opinion and that the highest aim of fiscal policy is to raise loans at 3 per cent in the London Market. To attain this end no sacrifice can be too great, no suffering inflicted on the people too hard. His Free Trade fallacies would be laughed out in his own country. A Civil Servant trained to take orders from his parliamentary superiors in England, he finds himself in a position to dictate policies here and makes the most of the opportunity. We only wish that he will not be so dogmatic about his being the only person who knows what is to India's interests and what is not. The new Commerce Member, Sir Zaffarullah Khan, said that Government were waiting to see a final type of engine evolved before establishing a factory to make engines. Deisel engines are claimed to be more economical than steam engines but at some future date it may be found that there is a still more economical type. The Government want to spare India the cost of experiments. Let others do it for us and when the last discovery is made, we shall adopt it! Till then let us go on importing engines from abroad.

Communism Against Fascism:—The seventh Congress of the Comintern met in Moscow in the last week of July. Stalin attended the Congress and met with an enthusiastic reception as the Leader of the World Proletariat. This session of the Congress formulated as a policy certain tendencies which have been in operation for some time past towards compromise with Capitalism. Communists have discovered that Fascism is a greater enemy than Capitalism and that in order to fight Fascism they should avail themselves of such assistance as bourgeois democracy can give. "Where there is a Fascist dictatorship," argued the leader of the now almost extinct German Communists, "the proletariat is deprived even of the most insignificant rights and opportunity legally to defend its class interests. Therefore, we, Communists, will fight wholeheartedly to retain every ounce of democratic Freedom. We are ready to defend the remnants of parliamentarism and Democracy together with the real adherents of bourgeois Democracy against Fascism in order to fight for proletarian Democracy." Practical effect was given to this changed attitude by six German Communists in

New York harbour. They smuggled themselves into the German ship, Bremen, as it was about to sail, tore down the Nazi flag and flung it into the Hudson river. They were at once arrested by the American Police. The remarks of the Magistrate who tried them were cabled last week by Reuter. In acquitting them he said that the flying of the swastika flag in New York harbour might have been regarded by the defendants and other citizens as "gratuitously brazen flaunting of an emblem symbolising antagonism to American ideals and representing an atavistic throwback to pre-medieval, if not barbaric, conditions." He described the Bremen as "a pirate ship with the black flag of piracy proudly flying aloft." The Magistrate evidently did not regard the Communism of the defendants as antagonistic to American ideals. But the United States Government have recently warned the Soviet against indulging in Communist propaganda in America. In receiving the Italian Ambassador this week at Berlin, "Führer" Hitler significantly referred to the common ideals of Social Democracy and Fascism.

Is Japan Changing:—One of the countries mentioned in the Comintern meeting "as Fascist, against which the Party should co-operate with bourgeois Democracies in future wars," was Japan. Japan, however, has receded into the background since Signor Mussolini appeared on the scene as the redeemer of Ethiopia from the tyranny of the Negus. It would seem, now that Manchukuo is an accomplished fact and China has been converted to the policy of friendly relations with her powerful neighbour, Japan is turning aside from militarism. An American paper states that Japan's premier merchant princes, the House of Mitsui, received an order from the Italian Government for 100,000 pairs of soldiers' boots some time back. They refused to supply them. "The House of Mitsui," the Italian Government was informed, "refuses to help the strong to bully the weak." There is at present a religious revival in Japan which is also a factor in shaping her world outlook. Bombay, by the way, is likely to have a Japanese Buddhist monastery at Worli soon.

Is Sterilisation Birth Control?—We publish this week an interesting letter from Dr. Pillay, Editor-in-Chief, in explanation—and amplification—of his editorial comment in *Marriage Hygiene* on the proposed voluntary sterilisation of lepers at Jalgaon. Dr. Pillay insists that sterilisation is a method of birth control. Birth-controllists as a rule are careful to distinguish between the two because of the irrevocability of sterilisation. Dr. Pillay suggests that it is quite common nowadays for doctors to advise a father of four children or more to be sterilised if his earning capacity does not permit further additions to his family. This is frankly news to us. If it is true, doctors ought to be more careful in their own interests. Four children are not of the nature of permanent investments.



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nor is the earning capacity of men fixed throughout their lives. Sterilisation affects neither the desire for children nor does it prevent a man who resorts to it, from earning more. We can picture a sterilised father who has lost the children he had at the time of the operation or is later able and anxious to support a larger family, entreating the enthusiastic but indiscreet doctor to de-sterilise him. It is one thing to recommend birth control to heads of large families and quite another to suggest sterilisation. Dr. Pillay discloses a startling medical practice when he remarks that "it is usual now to advise sterilisation for all fathers... if their wives' health does not permit the luxury of a larger family." The learned Doctor does not reveal how the wife will be saved from the danger of further child-bearing by sterilising the husband. Much as we might desire it, nature has not enforced monogamy on human beings and Dr. Pillay has published sufficient articles on the breakdown of monogamous marriage to realise that, even among women who have been warned of the danger to their lives of bearing another child, there are likely to be transgressors against the conventional ideas of marriage. There is, from another point of view, the possibility of the sterilised husband surviving his wife and desiring to marry again. Dr. Pillay has probably sought to inflict this enforced widowhood on Indian husbands as compensation for the hardships suffered by widows in Hindu society. Dr. Pillay's original paragraph sounded sinister. His letter explaining it, is foolish.

The League of Nations and the Italo-Abyssinian Dispute:—The League of Nations Council Meeting on the 4th provided exciting scenes. The Italian delegate read out a long indictment of Abyssinian misrule. The Council adjourned. When it met again, the French delegate of Abyssinia, Dr. Jeze made a fiery speech, which is said to have gone beyond diplomatic conventions, against Italy. Unable to bear the reproaches, Baron Aloisi, the Italian representative, left the meeting and was followed by his colleague, Signor Rocca. They let it be known that they did not regard Abyssinia as an equal and would not sit in the Council whenever the Abyssinian delegate was on his legs. The peppery Frenchman was thereupon replaced by a sedate Ethiopian. The Council appointed a Committee of five to adjudicate between the disputants. Italy at first refused to have English and Frenchmen on the Committee as they were interested parties. Later the objection was withdrawn. It is forecast that the Committee would recommend that Abyssinia should accept Italy in the same role as that of Britain in Iraq. The Emperor Haile Sallassie has anticipated this by declaring that he would not accept a Protectorate or surrender the control of his police and army to foreign hands. Indeed, a suggestion of this kind would bring the League into greater

disrepute than if it frankly avowed that it could not settle the differences between the two countries. War preparations are meanwhile progressing. Italy has despatched 70 submarines on secret manoeuvres towards the African coast. Twenty-four British warships are lying in the harbour at Alexandria. The reception of the Italian Ambassador at Berlin three weeks earlier than the day fixed, is regarded in diplomatic circles as a serious portent. This may be due to Mr. Litvinov's plain speaking at the League Council. While the Italian statement showed there was misrule in Abyssinia, he said, that did not justify Italy's interference in violation of Abyssinian sovereignty. A request by America to have an observer with the Italian Army in the event of war, has remained without answer.

Sir Samuel Hoare's Speech:—Sir Samuel Hoare's speech at the League of Nations on Wednesday judging from the cabled summary is one of great interest. It enunciated a political principle of far-reaching importance. Sir Samuel's speech laid down a new principle in the relation of Western nations to other nations which are backward in their capacity for development of their material resources. That principle, in brief, is that these nations should be helped by the more advanced without infringing on their independence and national integrity. That Great Britain herself had not followed this principle in the past, should not come in the way of our appreciation of its immense importance for the future. Speaking before the nations of the world, on behalf of his Government, Sir Samuel Hoare has pledged his country to be henceforth guided by this principle. He has called the world to judge of Britain's future policy by this principle. Apart from its effect on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute the speech is, therefore, of world importance. Incidentally, it has brought the British and Indian mind in sympathetic contact which must lead to a better understanding of each other.

Ireland and the British Commonwealth:—Lord Birkenhead prints in his Life of his father, a remarkable memorandum on the future relations between Ireland and Great Britain by Michael Collins on the eve of the establishing of the Free State. He remarks that it foreshadowed the Statute of Westminster. We reprint it in this issue. There are some passages which show the close analogy between the Irish and the Indian problems. The passage in which Collins emphasises the difference between the other Dominions and Ireland, is especially interesting. It is claimed for the new Government of India Act that, if properly worked, it will lead to the position envisaged in the Westminster Statute for Dominions. But the recognition of India as a separate and constitutionally independent nation need not wait until that time. Such recognition will at once change the attitude of Indians to the Act and pre-dispose them to work it in a spirit of co-operation. realpatidar.com



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INDIAN CHRISTIANS AND THEIR OPPORTUNITY.

The Rev. J. F. Edwards of the American Marathi Mission, English Editor of the *Dnyanodaya*, made an important speech at a public meeting of the Bombay Representative Christian Council last week on "The Present Christian Opportunity in India." Mr. Edwards makes it clear, however, that the opportunity calls in the first place for self-examination. "Turn your eyes inward" is the key-note of this powerful address. During the last twenty-five years the Indian Christian population has increased from three and a half to six and a quarter millions. This increase has brought with it increased liabilities. While illiteracy in the total population has decreased by one per cent in the last quarter of a century it has increased by six per cent among the Christian section. This is the direct result of mass movements. "If as we pray," says the C. L. S. Indian Bookman, "the mass movements still increase, illiteracy will mount shockingly, unless we can do something more effective than we are now doing." The burden of coping with this increasing liability has been transferred to Indians during these twenty-five years. Mr. Edwards evidently regards this "Indianising of our entire Christian organization, of giving primacy of place and honour to India's own sons and daughters and of shifting the responsibility more and more to the Indian Church" as the most notable achievement of the period. He even thinks that the British Government has been encouraged by the example of Indianisation set by the Missions to pass the new Government of India Act. While responsibility has increased and with it opportunity, capacity to meet them has not increased. Mr. Edwards reminds the Indian Christian community that it has not been able as yet to get rid of the caste complex. "You and I know only too well," he says, "that caste spirit is by no means limited to the State of Travancore and that some of our gravest Christian problems in Western India arise from the spirit of caste in the Christian community, a spirit which is the very negation of Christian brotherhood. I suggest to you that this unchristian-like attitude will only be corrected as we receive more and more of the infilling of the Holy Spirit and as we faithfully place under rigorous Christian discipline all those Church members who in this or other ways bring the name of Jesus into disrepute." What he says of the spirit of caste equally applies to the spirit of race and nationality. Europe today presents the spectacle of a Christianity-disciplined population which has not been swayed by the spirit of caste, torn by bitter animosities under the sway of economic nationalism. Christian Missions in India have the ground cut from

under their feet by the complete abandonment of Christian principles by Christian nations in their international conduct.

Mr. Edwards does not ignore this aspect of his subject. He says: "When those Indian editors, whom we call non-Christian, point out the inconsistencies of us Christian people, they are not only perfectly justified in doing so, because our standards are professedly higher than anyone else's, but they also perform for us a real service in reminding us of the one and only ideal of Jesus by which we must measure ourselves." This is one way of looking at the subject. The other and simpler way is that non-Christians do not believe in the efficacy of proselytising as a means of raising the moral and spiritual tone of men and nations. What Mr. Edwards takes to be the amazing confidence of the Indian people in the Christian community, Missionaries and Indian Christians alike, is from this point of view merely a recognition of the utter futility of mass conversions to improve the moral or even the material condition of the converts. The progressive Christian journal, the *Guardian*, touches lightly on this feature of the Missions problem in last week's issue. "It can no longer be said," it says, "that conversion to Christianity is a sure way of getting jobs. The position has been completely reversed so far as the prospects of influencing the Government through this means is concerned. The rule of employment on population ratio has begun to affect Indian Christians adversely. The reverse tendency among depressed classes is even more marked for special facilities and privileges are reserved only for 'Hindus' among them. The matter is so serious to the poor that Depressed Classes Christians have even reverted to their original faith rather than lose the advantages they badly need." The implied admission that conversions from among the depressed classes in the past have been related to the facility thereby enjoyed for material gains is worth noting. The exposure of the method recently followed in a South Indian village, has opened many eyes hitherto closed to obvious facts. We reprint today a letter in the *Hindu* by a Hindu landholder, Mr. Ramanuja Charya, showing how extraneous reasons induce the depressed classes to change their religion. Among the higher castes, conversion is now a recognised means of evading the Hindu marriage law which interdicts divorce.

We can wish for nothing better from the national, as well as the religious, point of view than the existence amongst us of Christian men and women who illustrate in themselves the noble teachings of Jesus whom they worship as God and whom the whole world reveres as an inspired Teacher. Mr. Edwards' exhortation to the Christian community to live the Christ life, will find a hearty response from all religious-minded people. "Let us," he pleads, "aim at true Christian quality in all our work, rather than at numbers, for the surest and most effective



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tive way of leading India to Jesus Christ will be to present to India the living spectacle of a Christlike Church, a Christlike Society." India does not need any interpreter to her of Jesus. "One of the most amazing things in the present Indian religious situation," as Mr. Edwards himself says, "is the astonishing way in which Jesus Christ is triumphing in so many parts of India over the influence of our imperfect lives and over the defects of our presentation of his message." There is no question of triumphing here. There have been among Missionaries men who, by their devotion to high ideals, by their self-sacrifice and by their love of humanity, have endeared themselves to thousands who came under their influence. These men were not out to make converts. Some of them, indeed, refused to convert persons who sought conversion attracted by their personality. Mr. Edwards' address marks him out as one whose sympathies are with this type of the great Missionaries whom India has known and honours. Proselytism stands in the way of Christians sharing fully in the service of their country. Drop it, and they will find their opportunity to influence Indian life and thought increase a thousandfold. It stunts their own spiritual growth. Those who are pre-occupied with the thought of saving other men's souls, are apt to forget that they have souls of their own to be saved.

THE GOUR ACT AND HINDU FAMILY RIGHTS.

Dr. Gour has spoken of his Act as intended to "enlarge the rights of persons" by the double process of "giving them the advantage of the English law of succession" embodied in the Indian Succession Act, and "removing the incubus of joint-family obligations." Who are the persons benefited by this dual process? No doubt, the one who marries under the Act and his new wife and their daughters. But at whose expense are they so benefited? Not certainly at the expense and to the detriment of the kinsmen from whom the man becomes legally separated by reasons of his Gourian marriage, but entirely at the expense of the male issue of such marriage!

The Indian Succession Act is made applicable only to the property left by a Gourian Hindu at his death (*vide* Section 24). It determines who should inherit the property after him and in what shares they should each take it. So far as his own rights are concerned in relation to his ancestral family he gets nothing more from its joint assets than the share of which he would be entitled under the ordinary Hindu law if partition were made at the date of registering his marriage. And that share would be subject to the usual obligation of providing for the maintenance of certain female dependents and discharging his fair share of family debts, if any, outstanding at that date. The Gour Act does not set him free from this obligation. And there are no other obligations which even a non-Gourian Hindu is legally bound to bear when he secedes from his joint family, whatever services he may willingly render to them and whatever sacrifices he may gladly make for them till his death, out of affection and the goodness of his heart.

But the Gourian Hindu, like the orthodox Dayabhaga Hindu of Bengal, takes his share of ancestral property with absolute rights of disposal over it till his death, unlike the Mitakshara Hindu of Bombay, Madras, Benares, Mithila, etc., whose rights are absolute only till he begets a son. The rights of a Mitakshara Hindu may be said to be thus enlarged by marrying under the Act. His sons by the Gour marriage cannot claim to form a joint family with him or with one another, cannot claim as of right any fraction from the share of property which he got from his father and brothers, and cannot prevent him from selling or giving it away to strangers, if he so pleases, either by gift during life or by a will which takes effect after his death. They can only inherit to him after he is gone, if he has left them anything to inherit. But even then they cannot take the whole of what is left and divide it among themselves, like the Hindu sons of a Mitakshara or Dayabhaga family. Their mother, who is a mere maintenance-holder under the ordinary Hindu law, takes a one-third share absolutely under the Indian Succession Act, as the widow of the deceased owner; and each of their sisters, if any, who ordinarily have no rights at all when their deceased father has left sons, and a widow take under the same Act an equal share with each of the brothers in the remaining two-thirds with absolute rights of disposal. Thus the rights of the widow and the daughters, too, are enlarged at the cost of the sons. But no grievance, surely, can be made of this dispensation on the sons' behalf, since it is part of the Act which is the foundation of their being. If the owner himself disliked this statutory legal arrangement, it is always open to him to execute a will prescribing how and by whom his property is to be enjoyed after him, and his wishes will prevail over the statute.

Intercaste and intercommunal marriages are in the nature of things bound to be rare. It is for ordinary caste marriages that Dr. Gour's Act should become a favourite with marriageable girls and their parents on the one hand, and with chivalrous young men on the other who honour the principle of monogamy and are willing to openly give a higher married status to their wives than is inherent in the unregistered Hindu marriage and who are also in favour of securing to the wife and daughter larger inheritance rights than they can have under the Hindu law of intestate succession. They should find it easy to get over the prejudice created in their minds by the scare-crow provision which seems to debar the persons coming under the Act from the right of religious offices and the management of charitable trusts. It is not every young man that has such offices and trusts coming in his way. And if nothing in Section 23 shall confer such a right, neither shall it take away nor debar any such right acquired otherwise.

As for the sections which affect to deprive a Gourian Hindu of the right of adoption and to give to his orthodox father the right to ignore his existence and adopt a stranger as his son, they are mere pompous futilities, gratuitous annoyances, uncalled-for superfluities and ridiculous anomalies, but nothing worse. A Hindu adoption serves a religious purpose coveted by the adopting parents and a secular purpose beneficial to the adopted son. No human law can obstruct the spiritual benefits which according to Hindu belief flow from the religious rite of adoption. Section 25 of the Gour Act does not prevent any man from going through that ritual. It only prevents the son so adopted from claiming the property rights which an adopted son acquires automatically under the Hindu law. The adopting father himself can easily rectify this defect by making a settlement or gift or a bequest.



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to the boy he adopts without allowing the words of the section to frighten him from performing the sacred ceremony which his heir craves for.

The next provision, which gives the right of adoption to the Hindu father whose only son marries under the Act, may at least be pardoned for its generous feeling though it cannot be commended for its consistency. The same father would have no right to make an adoption if his only son defied him and outraged his feelings by doing everything that Hindu religion, orthodox sentiment, filial duty and human decency prohibit by refusing to do everything that they enjoin or by becoming a proselyte to an alien religion. On the other hand, even though the son be a good Hindu and an honourable man and the bride he chooses is eligible by every canon of orthodoxy and is approved by the father himself, and the customary sacred ritual is not dispensed with in the smallest particulars, but the marriage is registered under the Gaur Act one moment before the orthodox marriage rites are gone through, the father becomes free to ignore his existence and adopt another as his son. But why should this anomalous legal incident frighten any young man from marrying under the Act? It is nothing worse than the birth of a younger brother, which he has no right to prevent in the natural course. A divided father is under the Hindu law free in any case to beget sons or give away his entire property to a stranger if he likes by will without leaving anything for his divided son to inherit. Even without this section in the Gaur Act he could have made such a gift or bequest stipulating that the boy so benefitted shall assume his surname and *gotra* and perform his obsequies. If there is a spiritual law which prohibits an adoption as improper and inefficacious when made while a natural born son is living, the permission granted by the Gaur Act cannot possibly render such adoption spiritually right and beneficial by any means. No one need grudge the angry or disappointed father his poor satisfaction that the Gaur Act has granted him a boon.

K. R.

THE WOMAN WORKER AND GENEVA.

The International Labour Organisation is still exercising its great power to restrict the rights of the woman worker. The number of ratifications, for example, of the 1919 Night Work Convention have increased from 19 to 30; of the Childbirth Convention 1919 from 11 to 16; and of the White Lead (Painting) Convention 1921 from 17 to 23. The Night Work Convention is being applied to primitive communities where industry hardly exists and in tropical countries where work during the heat of the day is more arduous than work at night. Two new prohibitory Conventions have been adopted—in 1934 the revised night work convention which applies to all women except the small category of responsible managers not doing manual work, and in 1935 the Convention which prohibits the work of all women underground in mines with possible exceptions in the case of certain non-manual workers. The adoption of this revised convention does not release one single woman from the prohibition as some suppose. That is a matter entirely within the power of each separate State. It is good to know that in the Commission of the Conference which dealt with the Mines Convention, one voice, that of Miss Gloerfelt Tarp of Denmark, speaking for herself and not for her Government, was raised in protest against its adoption.

A custom dangerous for all but specially dangerous where proposals for the differential treatment of

women are under discussion is growing up in the conduct of the business of the International Labour Conference. Insufficient publicity is given to the text of revised and new Conventions coming up for consideration. In 1933 the printed Agenda item on the revised Night Work Convention, and in 1934 the printed Agenda item on the women in mines Convention, in each case gave the text of the other articles in the Convention but omitted the text of the formal articles dealing with denunciation. This means that members of the public like ourselves who buy those printed agenda items for our information, are in the dark as to the full effect of the proposals to come before the International Labour Conference which so seriously affect women. Moreover, the various rules and standing orders which require the clear definition and adequate notice of proposals for the revision of the Night Work Convention were not adhered to. There was no text to show beforehand that ten years was to be the length of the successive periods during which there could be no denunciation.

It will be of interest to see the information the International Labour Office announces it is shortly to publish with the help of members of the Correspondence Committee on Women's Work on the substitution of female for male labour and *vice versa* and its effect on wages. But it tends to undermine public confidence that the names of the particular members of that Committee selected to be asked to supply the information should not have been made public and that they were not given to a member of the Committee who asked for them. On such a subject surely all the members of the Committee should have been asked for information.

But it is not all gloom where the International Labour Organisation is concerned. We welcome the frank admission in the Director's last Report that "the whole subject of women's work merits closer and more unprejudiced analysis than it has yet received." We welcome the decision of the governing body to reconstitute its Industrial Hygiene Committee, and its public acknowledgment that the Committee lays too much stress on the medical aspect of the worker. That Committee proposed to draw up a list of occupations to be prohibited to women of childbearing age. Under its auspices the International Labour Office brought out the egregious brochure on women's work, in which the woman worker was treated as a pathological specimen. Our protests at Stockholm and Prague have not been in vain. In the International Labour Review two further articles deal seriously and objectively with the woman worker as a person with interests of her own and an end in herself: one by Mr. Henri Fuss, a chief of section of the International Labour Office, and the other by Dr. Grunfeld. We agree with much in the article of Mr. Fuss. But he has not yet disabused his mind of the false doctrine that "women's constitution has certain peculiarities as compared with men's" which justify the special restriction of their rights as workers. He accepts without criticism this traditional dogma inherited by the International Labour Organisation from its parent the International Association for Labour Legislation—a tradition dating from a time when women were assumed to be essentially and permanently a subordinate class. He even asserts—quite wrongly—that this doctrine is part of the programme assigned to the International Labour Organisation. His opinion appears to rest on confusion of thought due to the question-begging use of the word "protection" to describe the special restriction of women's work in their supposed interest. The unprejudiced analysis foreshadowed in the Director's Report involves the scrapping of this question-begging use of the word "protection" and



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the idea which underlies it, and the examination of the question whether special restriction on the work of women can in fact protect them.

Our task is not growing more easy. We have to go on pointing out to governments, trade unions, women's organisations and the general public the need to examine without prejudice the International Labour Organisation's dangerous policy in regard to women. We have to go on seeking to change the attitude of mind which makes governments apply that policy without criticism as emanating from an infallible source.

And our task is becoming more complicated. At the time of our formation in 1929 we were concerned to keep off the statute book laws which placed clearly defined restrictions on the woman worker supposed by many supporters of those restrictions to be in her interest. That work has to go on. We have now to be on the watch for new attacks on the woman worker. We have to be on the watch for proposals to benefit male workers at the expense of women workers by prohibiting or curtailing women's work; for proposals to give arbitrary power to a minister to say what work a woman may or may not do, or what quotas of women workers are to be allowed, or to say what work is dangerous to a woman's health or morals and to be prohibited to her. We have to be on the watch lest powers be delegated to employers and workers to make agreements to limit the work of women; or to Trade Boards to fix rates of wages lower for women than for men; or to committees to limit the insurance rights of the women worker. We have to be on the watch lest the expenditure of public fund provide technical training and employment for men only. We have to be on the watch lest discriminations against the women worker are written into new constitutions or included in agreements between sovereign states or other groups of states. We have to be on the watch lest international conventions restricting women's work tie up their victims so tightly that escape becomes next to impossible.

CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN.

STERILISATION AND BIRTH CONTROL

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer

Sir,

The remarks in your esteemed Journal of 7th September under the heading "Why Sterilise?" are based on a misconception of the meaning and implications of the following words that appeared in the Editorial of *Marriage Hygiene*, August 1935: "Why not try sterilisation as a birth control measure, the safest and the best method for the poor?" This is merely a statement of *facts*. Sterilisation is the safest contraceptive measure now known, whether for the poor or for the rich. The other known contraceptives, to be effective, need intelligent application and this the poor are not likely to do. Then again if doctors like the Jalgaon Civil Surgeon are prepared to do the operation free, it entails no recurring charges for the purchase of contraceptives. Therefore it is the best birth control measure for the poor.

It was not suggested that the poor should be sterilised because they are poor or even before they have children. It is the usual practice now to advise sterilisation for all fathers who have four children or more if their earning capacity and their wives' health do not allow them the luxury of a larger family. The fact that the poor will not voluntarily resort to sterilisation or that the operation is irrevocable does in no way affect the contention

that it is the safest and the best method of birth control, under the conditions mentioned above.

Yours etc.,
Kodak House, }
Bombay. } A. P. PILLAY,
September 7, 1935. } (*Editor-in-Chief,*
"Marriage Hygiene").

AN ANTI-CHILD MARRIAGE COMMITTEE.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The All India Women's Conference has constituted an Anti-Child Marriage Committee with the following objects in view:—

1. To carry on an intensive nation-wide propaganda against child marriage,
2. To institute prosecutions under the Child Marriage Restraint Act, and
3. To agitate for improvements in the above Act.

On behalf of the Conference and the Committee, I invite such of your readers as are interested in the above-mentioned purposes to correspond with me giving us any suggestions they may have to offer in the matter.

We shall also be glad to receive (1) information regarding existing Anti-Child Marriage Committees and (2) names of persons who are prepared in their areas to organise new Committees for the same purpose.

I need hardly add that, considering the shameful magnitude of this preventable evil, only an organised and nation-wide attack on it will be adequate.

Lucknow, } Yours etc.,
August 27, 1935. } LAKSHMI N. MENON.

MR. SASTRI AND THE SARDA ACT.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

With reference to your note on my letter on "Mr. Sastri and the Sarda Act," published in the *Reformer* of 31st August, let me state that, so far as my knowledge goes, the views expressed by him at Annamalainagar in July 1935 were given expression to by him in his speech at Trichinopoly in April 1934, the full text of which appeared in *The Indian Express* of 8th April 1934, and in that at Bangalore, the text of which appeared in the *Hindu* of 27th August, 1934. In his Bangalore speech, he said, "The Bill in its original form was a totally different piece of legislation. In two or three steps, it underwent drastic modifications. Somehow or other, the country was either apathetic or looked on while the apparently wise men were doing what they thought was for the good of the country. Again, the reformer's voice was not unanimous. I was one of those who felt that the measure in its final form was too drastic, exceeded the limits of proper law-making. I advised those that I had the fortune to talk to about the matter that the age might be reduced by two years or at least by one year." The views expressed in the three speeches are more or less the same, though couched in different language suited to each occasion. Mr. Sastri's criticism of the Sarda Act or venture in the field of social reform is not, therefore, recent.

Peelamedu (Coimbatore), } Yours etc.,
September 4, 1935. } R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

Discussion on Zanzibar Legislation:—
It is learnt that the Government have agreed to give two hours for discussion on the Zanzibar issue any day after the Criminal Law Amendment Bill is disposed of. Accordingly Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant's adjournment motion on the subject will not be moved.



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THE GERMAN CHURCH CONFLICT.

(CONTRIBUTED.)

In his May speech to the Reichstag the German Leader and Chancellor declared once again most emphatically for the benefit of his own people and world opinion that National Socialism, as opposed to Bolshevism, never desired to abolish religion and turn its churches into clubs and theatres. This was an unmistakable reference to the German Church conflict which Hitler said was a matter of technical administration within the Protestant Church. Whereas the Bolsheviks preach and practice Atheism, Christian ethics are in no way endangered in the German Church dispute, the New State being neither hostile to the Church nor wishing to ignore it.

The causes of the dispute are in fact either divergencies of opinion among the various branches within the Church itself, or, as far as the relationship between the Church and State is concerned, it is a question of purely technical administrative matters. The Reich Minister of Education Rust expressed the same attitude in a recent political speech at Brunswick when he repeated that it was one of the first duties of the National Socialist State to protect the Christian confessions. The task which National Socialism had undertaken was of a political and not a religious nature and the settlement of the Church dispute must, therefore, be left in the hands of good Christians, for the matter could never be solved by an act of parliament. We are informed that this attitude was approved in Church circles although no way out of the deadlock is at present obvious. On the contrary the situation is more confused and obscure than ever before. The number of groups at war with one another has increased, so that if there is any menace to the Protestant Church life in Germany it lies within the Church itself which cannot come to peace. Although the Protestant conflict has done nothing to endanger the Church up to now but has even given it a new religious impulse, a positive settlement must be found before long. If it is allowed to continue indefinitely there is risk of a collapse from within, for the principles of Protestantism are not being made clearer and continual theological wrangling does not please ordinary Church-goers.

Reichsbishop Mueller is still unable to cope with the situation. At present he is trying to make himself known personally to congregations by preaching in churches all over the country. Once again at the beginning of the month a serious attempt at a settlement came to grief over the Reichsbishop himself to whom one side adheres with tenacity while the other refuses to accept him. Reichsbishop Mueller himself, to judge by an interview he gave to a Danish journalist, now also considers that a settlement will only be forthcoming from the ranks of the Church itself. The prospects at present seem most unpromising. The conflicting groups show signs of dissension among themselves. A few weeks ago differences of opinion arose among the German Christians. Their Reich Leader Dr. Kinder excluded his predecessor, the former Bishop Hossenfelder, from the movement on account of his sympathy with the tendencies of the national Church body.

The Opposition Church also has its own troubles. The national Synod was to meet at Augsburg but the meeting did not take place because the Lutheran Confessional Churches of Bavaria, Wurttemberg and Hanover suddenly decided they had no confidence in the presiding Reich Brotherhood Council. The three bishops Meiser, Wurm and Marahrens complained particularly that the Council in its present form shows too little understanding for the special attitude of the Lutheran Church. This criticism is apparently chiefly directed against the President of the Council

Koch of Oeynhausen. It is thought, however, that it is not so much theological differences but conflicting opinions as to the method of conducting the Church campaign which are responsible for the tension. Whether this will lead to an open breach remains to be seen. In any case this group no longer presents an impression of outward and inward unity.

This is a most undesirable state of affairs for German Protestantism as a whole and there seems little likelihood of a change. The only consolation is that all these groups with their private quarrels are unanimous in one thing—their readiness to defend Christianity itself at all costs against the attacks of the new Neo-Paganism. Church people are also satisfied that actual parish life is hardly and in no way directly affected by these theological disputes. It is possible that one day perhaps a new united Protestant Church may be built up from the parishes themselves where little patience is shown for theological quarrels between, and of late even among, the various Church sects.

During his stay in Germany the Canadian author and ex-serviceman, Mr. Erland Echlin who fought for Canada against Germany in the War, was received by the Reich Minister for the Interior Dr. Frick and had a long conversation with him on matters concerning German domestic policy.

Mr. Echlin was given detailed information on the attitude of the State towards the Church. Dr. Frick seemed optimistic on this point and said there was a great deal of misunderstanding abroad as to the real reasons for the Church conflict. The Reich Government, he said, did not want to place the Protestant Church in a worse position than the Catholic Church after the Concordat. It was, however, essential that the petty divisions into 28 Province Churches should be abolished in order that a United Protestant Church could be built. The Protestant Churchmen had accepted the proposals of the Government and had created a united Protestant Church without coercion or pressure. Differences of opinion then arose mostly from personal reasons and these were consequently misused for political reasons and given undue significance especially abroad. The Reich Government desires most sincerely a friendly settlement of the Church dispute, but it was inevitable that certain differences of opinion should exist through the very freedom of thought which this Church exercised.

Dr. Frick expressed pleasure that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Chichester had shown so much understanding of Germany in their last letters. The Reich Government would do all in its power to justify this understanding.

Speaking of relations with the Catholic Church Dr. Frick said emphatically that no one in Germany has been persecuted or molested on account of his Catholic belief. It was, however, unfortunately a fact that the Catholic Centrum Party had tried to gain political influence over Catholic associations and other organizations even after all parties had been prohibited in the National Socialist State. We have done with the political party system for ever, he said, and cannot allow it to begin its activities again in secret.

This accounts for the Government's attitude towards the Catholic Youth organizations. As long as they are confined to a purely religious training the State has no objection to them. It cannot, however, permit the younger generation to be utilized for political purposes directed against the National Socialist ideas of State and Law under the disguise of a religious movement.

Mr. Echlin said that it was often thought abroad that Alfred Rosenberg and other leading members



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of the Party-State were supporting a movement which was directed against the Christian Church.

"You mean the German Christian Movement?" asked Dr. Frick. "Quite recently at a National Socialist Gau meeting in Thuringia I declared publicly that we uphold Frederick the Great's principle according to which in our State everyone can pursue their own ideas of bliss. The German Christian Movement cannot be compared with Atheism. It is merely an endeavour to transmute the German belief in God in a manner corresponding to the nature of our people."

These official statements bear close resemblance to Adolf Hitler's words in his May speech when he said: "We are happy to belong to a European cultural community which has left the mark of its spirit to such a great degree on the world of today. The Bolsheviks denounce this cultural achievement of humanity saying that all real culture and the history of mankind was born of Marxism. We National Socialists may differ in opinions with our Protestant Church on this or that question of organization. We do not, however, want to abolish religion and belief, nor do we want to turn our Churches into clubs and cinemas."

A DAY WITH C. F. ANDREWS

Mr. E. Sambayya writes in *The Guardian*, Madras:—

It was on a sultry afternoon that I was taken to the beautiful airy room in the "Uttarayan" at Santiniketan and introduced to Mr. C. F. Andrews by his Secretary. He was finishing his letters to catch the afternoon's post. Though he was really racing with time he never gave the impression that he was busy. "You may be interested to look into some of these letters," he said to me after a brief conversation, and passed on to me several most interesting letters that had come the previous day. Now a short and yet very affectionate note from Mahatmaji, now a fiery letter from Agatha Harrison, a long and involved letter from a key man at Whitehall in connection with the communal award and so on, it was a pageant of interesting persons and events.

"Do you manage to answer all your letters, Mr. Andrews?"

"That's the difficulty. I try to answer every important letter. It is a world friendship, you know! In one way I am thankful."

The post having gone off we settled down to a long chat. C. F. A. regretted that he could not attend our Bengal S. C. M. Camp as he was expecting to sail for England just about that time. He said that his presence in England for the next few months was absolutely necessary in order to follow the publication of his new book: *India and Britain: a Moral Challenge*, with conferences and lectures. I gathered that he would be staying this time at his old college, Pembroke College, in Cambridge, and be planning for another book on *Christ and Prayer*.

During our conversation on evangelism, C.F.A. was quite amused when he learnt that, according to some Christians, he was aiming at world popularity by compromising and watering down the Christian message. Then in a most casual way he entered into a great discourse on tolerance and intolerance in religion and referred frequently to the cross in his life. He said that as his master, had Jesus, found great faith among certain non-Israelites such as the Syro-Phoenician woman and the Centurion, he had felt the presence of God in the company of some of his non-Christian friends, and in some homes which have had no Christian influence at all. Then he went on to say that his name was "mud" among his own countrymen

for his continued protest against the imperialism of the White race. I was reminded of the incident of the rejection of Jesus by the Jews as C. F. A. told me of the indignities he suffered and the humiliations he was put to by his own countrymen because he could not tolerate the wrongs done to the Indians. "To have tolerance is perfectly easy, but the Christ in me would not let me tolerate; and hence the Cross." He said that his critics do not read the Gospels aright.

At my request C. F. A. dictated to me an article for *Student Outlook* on "East and West in Evangelism." He draws a fine distinction between the Johannine and the Pauline method in evangelism and shows that it would be most natural for the Indian Church to follow the Johannine method.

Mr. Andrews asked me a number of questions with regard to the Church in India. He wished to know if the modern missionary has any hearing of the Indian students at all. He showed keen interest in understanding the student problems in India and said that he would plan to spend a whole winter going round in colleges in India. Mr. C. F. A. was greatly distressed about the communal award. He thought that it was a fatal blow to the Church in India and to its future mission. Then he referred to the passages in his new book bearing on this subject and that of the safeguards in the India Bill. This idea of the futility of governing India with distrust at the back of the mind is very well worked out in one of the chapters of his new book.

It was dark by then, and he took me out for a short walk on the famous Red Road leading to the Surul farm.

C. F. A. was reading his letters when I went to him the following morning. Every now and then telegrams kept coming; and he would exclaim "that's excellent" after reading each one of them.

The manuscript of the new book was ready to be sent to England. He very kindly asked me to read a few chapters from that book. Parts of the book are in the form of Platonic dialogues. He asked me which of his books was widely read and appreciated in India. In that connection he said that he attached great significance to his book *Christ in the Silence* which, he said, he wrote by the side of a dying saint. "It ought to be a bedside book, and should be read frequently." C. F. A. keeps his pen very busy. In addition to the many letters he writes, he is engaged in some sort of literary work. He told me that he was revising the latest Hibbert lecture of Dr. Albert Schweitzer. He is expecting to bring out in the form of a booklet his experience of Christ.

After our return from the Sriniketan we started to talk about the Christian work in India. While speaking of one or two Christian friends who happen to be living in places where there was no opportunity for any kind of Christian fellowship, he said that it was a great spiritual strain to miss Christian fellowship, and that he himself had felt so whenever he was away from his Christian friends for long periods.

C. F. A. could not bear the thought of foreign leadership in the Indian church and in the Indian institutions. "It is no use missionaries being at the head of the Ashrams and institutions; and you people do not help us much. It is much better that you do a thing fifty times badly than our doing it well. It was for this reason that I could not accept the Principalship of the Delhi College."

After lunch he introduced me to the poet, who with his flowing robes and silvery hair looked like a dignified monarch. The poet has abandoned the "Uttarayan" and is now living in a wonderful mud-house designed by the Santiniketan architect. C. F. A. has uncommon veneration for the Poet, and as a token of love and gratitude, I expect, has dedicated his new book to the "Gurudev."



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In the afternoon I took leave of C. F. A., and we bade goodbye to each other in true oriental fashion. The short period spent with him lifted me out of myself and made me realize the futility of a self-centred life. The words of Jesus who said "He who loses his life shall find it" acquired a new significance for me after meeting Mr. Andrews. Having no home and no property he looked very rich. Any one who watches him from close quarters cannot fail to get the impression that he is a saint and a scholar.

SIDELIGHTS ON MASS CONVERSIONS.

Mr. C. Ramanujachari writes in *The Hindu* of Madras:—

Admittedly mass conversions are frequently taking place in this presidency; and in respect of several of them people will probably be able to trace at the bottom material inducement of some sort or other. A case of an infructuous attempt at such conversion happened to my personal knowledge a few years ago in my village—(Kolattur (No. 28)—Tirupporur Revenue firkā—Chingleput taluk). During one of my rare visits to the place, I noticed a stir in the cheri attached to the village—a pandal erected and a gathering collected. My enquiry of the village people only elicited the indifferent reply that some Christian who had been busying himself with the cheri people had probably come that day also. The next day the chief people of the cheri went in a body to Tirukkalikunram, where the Sub-Collector had been holding his jamabundy. Not being able to get any correct information locally, I also went to Tirukkalikunram, where I met the Adi-Dravidas and learnt from them that they had gone there to present a petition to the Sub-Collector in respect of the assignment to them of Government land for cultivation purposes. A perusal of the petition they had prepared showed that it was ill-drafted and badly jumbled up in regard to the subject matter also. They told me that the drafting was done by a Christian gentleman—apparently a catechist. Questioned about the nature of the interest which the gentleman had in the matter, they told me, though with some hesitation, that they of the whole cheri had agreed to become converts to Christianity in consideration of this service. They confessed to me that they knew nothing of that religion. When I asked them whether it was right for them to change their faith solely for this small help of drafting their petition, they quoted to me the instance of the neighbouring village of Ammanambakkam where the whole cheri became converts to Christianity for the help which a missionary gentleman gave them in respect of a dispute which they had with the then proprietor of the village—a Mahomedan. I assured the cheri people of my village that they could always look up to me for help of that kind and advised them that they need not on that account change their religion. They readily accepted the advice and gave up the idea of conversion. I on my part in consultation with the revenue officials drafted two fresh petitions, led their deputation to the Sub-Collector, thereafter moved the Labour Commissioner through further petitions and interviewed the officials on their behalf. Eventually they got what they wanted and the cheri people remain Hindus now. I cannot, however, vouch that they will continue in their Hindu faith as I notice that endeavours to bring them into the fold by such means have not dropped altogether. A development of this incident is also worth mentioning. A few weeks ago, my local agent in assigning my lands in the village for cultivation happened to allot to an inhabitant of

the cheri a plot different from that he had cultivated in the previous year and there were good reasons for doing so. The Adi-Dravida was personally dissatisfied with this arrangement (though the new tenant in respect of the latter plot was also an Adi-Dravida) and sent word to me that if the last year's arrangement was not restored, he would become a convert to Christianity. My answer to him naturally was that he might do as he pleased. I might say that I had mentioned the fact of the averted conversion of the cheri to my friend, Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, immediately after the incident.

A DISTINGUISHED INTERNATIONALIST.

The International Co-operative Women's Guild has sustained a great and irreparable loss in the recent death (August 14, 1935) in Paris, after many months illness, of Miss A. Honora Enfield, one of the founders of this organisation and for many years its Secretary. Miss Enfield was for many years active in the trade union and women's movements and on many other bodies engaged in social work, but during the latter years of her life she was above all an enthusiastic worker in the Co-operative Movement. Her work with Miss Llewelyn Davies, Secretary of the English Women's Co-operative Guild, gave her an insight into the high ideals and practical value of the Co-operative Movement and from the time she herself took up the General Secretaryship of the English Guild she became first and foremost a Co-operator.

Miss Enfield possessed wide knowledge and extensive culture and spoke and wrote English, French and German. She most concerned herself with endeavouring to spread co-operative ideals and working for peace and disarmament, for she was a pacifist from deep inner conviction and nothing could shake her belief that eventually world-peace must become a fact. She was tireless in her efforts to find new means of preparing the way for this great ideal and even during the last few years when she was often in ill-health she worked unceasingly to achieve her aims.

Miss Enfield was born in 1882 at Nottingham. She was educated at St. Leonard's School, St. Andrews, Scotland; Somerville College Oxford; took examination for Pass Degree before degrees were actually awarded to women, taught for several years in secondary schools and did some historical research work.

She was actively interested in international questions since 1903, and was a member of the National Peace Council for several years. From 1913-1917 she was on the staff of the National Federation of Women Workers, and did important work in connection with the administration of the National Health Insurance Acts. From 1917-1922 she was Private Secretary to Miss Llewelyn Davies and from 1922-1926 she was General Secretary of the Women's Co-operative Guild. She was also Secretary of the International Co-operative Women's Guild from its foundation in 1921 until her death in 1935.

She was a member of the International Institute for the Study of Co-operation and also of the International Industrial Relations Institute. Miss Enfield was on the Committee of the Electrical Association for Women, London.

A convinced pacifist and during the war years strongly anti-war, she was first attracted to the Co-operative Movement because of its great value, as a force for Peace. She joined its ranks in the latter years of the war and was firmly convinced that only a wider application of co-operative principles and the co-operative economic system could bring harmony into world relations.



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Miss Enfield was resident in Geneva from February to July 1932 as representative of the International Co-operative Women's Guild on the Disarmament Committee of the International Women's Organisations.

IRELAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

Michael Collins, the distinguished Irish leader and one of the participants in the Anglo-Irish discussions which preceded the Irish treaty, submitted the following memorandum which we reprint below from the "Life of Lord Birkenhead" by his son:—

For centuries England strove to reduce Ireland to the position of an English province. Irish civilisation was to be blotted out. The Gael was to go. Irish lands were to be given to aliens. Irish industries were to be destroyed. Irish development was to be prevented. Ireland was to be utilised according to the Colonial policy to feed and enrich England.

A paper in the Record Office dated 1726 says: "All advantageous projects for commercial gain in any Colony which are truly prejudicial to and inconsistent with the interests of the mother country must be understood to be illegal and the practice of them unwarrantable because they contradict the end for which the colonies had a being."

This policy was first applied to all the Colonies including the American Colonies. But it broke down over the American Colonies. Though they were founded by English Colonists and peopled largely by their descendants, the Colonists were not willing to exist solely for the purpose of feeding and enriching a mother country, and they fought for and won their independence.

Ireland has never been a British Colony. She has been a separate nation kept subject by a more powerful neighbour for that neighbour's own advantage but she has never ceased to fight for her freedom and now, after centuries of political struggle and armed conflict, she has won independence. The British people hardly realise the change which has come, and the nature of the new era which is dawning not only for the two islands but for the whole world.

All former phases of the Anglo-Irish struggle—the independence of Grattan's Parliament extorted under pressure of the Irish Volunteers during England's period of danger from Europe and America; the Act of Union revoking England's pledged promises; Home Rule Bills representing merely the exigencies of British party politics—all these are now seen to have been but incidents in the English claim to control Ireland's destinies in England's interests. Forced by circumstances England has now in substance renounced that claim; and the business of the Irish Conference is to shape the form of the partnership or alliance in which two peoples of equal nationhood may be associated for the benefit of both.

While Anglo-Irish relations have taken on this aspect with an apparent suddenness which is almost bewildering to the ordinary British mind, it happens that at the same moment the relations between Great Britain and the Dominions, have, by a different process, reached a stage in which the finding of a solution is almost as urgent in the interests of British security and world peace.

The history of Ireland as an ancient independent nation which is now at last receiving recognition, is utterly different from that of the Colonies who have gradually outgrown the tutelage of their mother country.

The Colonies, as full grown children, are restive under any appearance of parental restraint, though willing to co-operate with the parent on an equal footing in regard to all family affairs.

Ireland, as a separate nation, would be also restive under any control from the neighbouring nation,

but equally willing to co-operate in free association on all matters which would be naturally the common concern of two nations living so closely together. The problem on both sides can only be solved by recognising without limitation the complete independence of the several countries, and only on that basis can they all be associated together by ties of co-operation and friendship. The only association which it will be satisfactory to Ireland to enter will be based, not on the present technical legal status of the Dominions, but on the real position they claim, and have in fact secured. It is essential that the present *de facto* position should be recognised *de jure*, and that all its implications as regards sovereignty, allegiance, constitutional independence of the governments, should be acknowledged.

An association on the foregoing conditions would be a novelty in the world. But the world is looking for such a development, and it is necessary if the old world of internecine conflict is to emerge into the new world of co-operative harmony. For such an association would be the pattern for national co-operation on a wider scale, and might form the nucleus of a real League of Nations of the world....

Into such a League might not America be willing to enter? By doing so America would be on the way to secure the world ideal of free, equal and friendly nations on which her aspirations are so firmly fixed. Ireland's inclusion as a free member of this League would have a powerful influence in consolidating the whole body, for Ireland is herself a mother-country with world-wide influences, and it is scarcely to be doubted that, were she a free partner in the League as sketched, the Irish in America would surely wish America to be associated in such a combination. In that League the Irish in Ireland would be joined with Irish in America and they would both share in a common internationality with the people of America, England, and the other free nations of the League... If America were able to enter such a League, a further move would be made towards world peace, already begun by the agreement to be arrived at in the Washington Conference in regard to the scrapping of warships, and in addition, would lead through the improved relationship to a condition of financial accommodation and stability.

Mr. Lloyd George's invitation to the Irish representatives to consider how association with the nations of the British Commonwealth can best be reconciled with Irish national aspirations, makes it necessary to consider how far the members of the group have attained to independent nationality and what further steps should be taken to declare and secure such a standard of independence.

Indian Students Abroad:—Dr. Thomas Quayle, of the Education department of the office of the High Commissioner for India, in his report on Indian students abroad, made out a strong case for restricting the number of students going abroad for higher studies from India and urged that the universities should make it a point to explore the possibilities of finding employment for the foreign returned students. The consensus of opinion among Vice-Chancellors of Universities in India is of the emphatic view that parents should use a little more discrimination in deciding to send their children abroad for higher studies, only students of above average intelligence and cleverness with financial backing should undertake foreign trip, that before deciding on going abroad for further studies they should consult the foreign bureaus attached to the universities and that students as far as possible should not look to Government employment only but be independent and try to take to business.

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THE INDIAN EDITOR.

The recent Journalists Conference at Calcutta provided a platform for Indian Journalists to discuss their problems. The late Mr. K. Subba Rao in his fascinating book, "Revived Memories," discusses Mr. G. Subramania Iyer's attitude on many of these questions. Mr. K. Subba Rao writes on the duties of an editor:—

"What is the duty of an Editor of a daily paper in India at the present day, that, of an Indian paper, in the true sense of the term without being contaminated or controlled by extraneous funds, or influences or supervision? Is it merely to furnish his readers with the latest news and satisfy their thirst after the every day happenings in all parts of the world? Or is it in addition to trumpet forth the utterances and actions of high-placed officials? Or is it, in addition to the above two functions, also to reflect public opinion? What is the precise annotation of this much-abused term? Or is it also, in addition to the above three terms, to lead public opinion in wholesome channels, to suggest improvements, organise new forces, and to assume the high and distinguished role of a teacher and instructor of mankind, and in that capacity to exercise, without fear and within the limits of the law of the land and subject to its penalty, the power of admonition and reprimand, of expostulation and protest, irrespective of all considerations save what he feels as the inevitable minimum in regard to the subject of everyday controversy? Opinions of even the best educated Indians and Englishmen have often differed widely in the answers to the above weighty questions. No two men agreed. Especially those interested or taking part in public movements argued the points, each in his own favour. If a speaker or writer was of the same view as the editor, he applauded him to the skies. He had no objection to elevate the Editor (or those who write for him) to the status of an uncrowned dictator with almost unlimited discretion. Those, however, who personally and sincerely, as the result of their own reflection, study and experience, differed from the policy of the paper, protested vociferously against what they conceived to be an arbitrary exercise of editorial discretion. In their view the Editor should, like the President of the Legislative Assemblies or the Speaker of the House of Commons, simply guide the discussion, without any visible leanings of his own on either side. That is what they termed the reflection of public opinion. An Editor is a mere mirror which shows to you your own face, without calling it ugly or beautiful. G. Subramania Iyer, however, early in his day revolted against mere dissemination of news or the mere reflection of public opinion. He stoutly maintained, and maintained it against the most powerful odds, that it was one of the most sacred and one of the most solemn duties of an Indian Journalist of the present day to lead public opinion and to mould it on the lines best suited for the immediate needs of the country. Such an assumption was sure to bring in its train heavy responsibilities and to subject the journalist to the severest tests of scrutiny. All the discontented elements were waiting for an opportunity to test his sincerity and self-sacrifice when fitting opportunities offered themselves. When a journalist meekly expresses the views of other people without any sermons of his own and when he effectively ignores all their defects, he is a *persona grata* generally. But when he presumes to be wiser than the wisest of his so-called following, a presumption inevitably present in his attempt to lead others to accept his own view, he naturally exposes himself to the most virulent criticisms of the section whose predilections and interests are opposed to his policy."

Mr. Subba Rao relates an interesting conversation which he had with Mr. G. Subramania Iyer on the proper relation of the Indian Press with the Government. He writes:—

"Our Rulers," said Mr. Subramania Iyer, "are very strong in qualities in which we are very weak. Their intense love of their own country, their passionate pride of their own achievements and greatness, their unsurpassed courage, and their inordinate love of their own race, as against all coloured people, all these would suffice to cause dismay in us; generally the weaker, when he becomes a comrade of the stronger sinks, into insignificance. We are apt to forget or ignore altogether at once all about our country, our culture and our future. Our independent and natural growth will be impeded. We would always require some mightier force on which to hang ourselves; someone to lean on till eternity. We would require benefactors and can never stand on our own legs. What we have to acquire is the power of standing erect on our own unaided legs and ability to manage our own affairs. This is not possible if we always depend on the smiles and frowns of our Rulers. They will be perfectly justified in taking all possible advantage in tightening their hold on us. In fact we will have to surrender our judgment to their sweet pleasure in all matters affecting the vital interests of the country. The so-called independence which we may manifest for stage purposes, will not stand scrutiny. Like a house of cards, it will collapse at mere touch,"—a reasoned political philosophy, based on no hatred or vile sentiment, but solely on the desire to cultivate the supreme virtue of relying on ourselves.

One of the most difficult duties of journalists is to write obituary articles. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer held strong views on this point. Mr. Subba Rao writes:—

"Even highly intellectual Indians, at times, were very hard on Mr. G. Subramania Iyer and bitterly resented his policy of exposing the foibles and follies of his own countrymen. One morning four or five of my acquaintances of Triplicane and Mylapore, very cultured men, called on me as if on a deputation, and opened a mighty crusade against the policy of the *Hindu* in one respect. Their complaint was as follows:—

"The *Hindu* is our national asset. We all feel a genuine pride and pleasure in reading the paper. But at times our patience is sorely tried. When high placed Indians who have achieved success as lawyers, statesmen, merchant princes, officials or members of any other profession, die, the *Hindu* the very evening contains long obituary notices, depicting vividly both their virtues and vices, success and failure. Nothing is more repulsive to Indian sentiment than to utter disapprobation against the dead. We cremate our dear one and return home to find solace and sympathy from all around us, what do we find on that very evening? Comes the *Hindu* with its unrelenting invectives. The praise bestowed on the deceased loses all its charm by the way in which the lapses are portrayed. Can you not realise what intense humiliation and inexpressible grief this causes in the entire family circle, and among all the friends and acquaintances of the deceased? How do you justify such a lamentable policy?"

"I said in reply, "I quite sympathise with you. At times, when I pass the proof, similar objections strike me. But I have never had any discussion with the Editor about this. Can you not see him in person and have a frank talk with him on the subject?" The leader of the deputation said: "That is very fine. You have not yet fully understood your Editor. He is a man of unbending temperament."



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The more we protest, the stronger will be his persistence in his own policy." I asked them: "Why do you not please put your thoughts on paper and send it to the office? The Editor will surely publish your views." My friend said: "That is of no use. Generally in all public controversies, the Editor has the last word. He would write a strong damning editorial note or add a stinging foot-note and we are made to cut a sorry figure in public. We have come to you merely to request you to discuss the subject with the Editor to bring him round gently to our views or let us know on what principles he justifies his present policy." I agreed to undertake this interesting work of friendly reconciliation. A day or two after, I called on Mr. G. Subramania Iyer one morning at his house. He always knew that, unless sent for by him or unless I had some thing very urgent to communicate to him, I would never disturb him in the morning, when he was invariably very busy. I explained the object of my interview. He explained his policy as follows:

"I place the highest value on our national progress. Nothing is dearer to me than the bright future of India. This is our highest and most cherished ideal. All personal considerations are insignificant. I want to impress on my countrymen, high and low that, whenever any man's career or conduct runs counter to national interests, he can expect no mercy from us, however high he may be. When a man dies, we can review his work fully. We cannot take his name subsequently. The dead do not care for what we write. Let the living take a lesson from our policy. Let both young and old, who like to leave a good name behind them, never forget their sacred obligation to their motherland. Let all feel that even when they die, their defects—if they injure the national cause or national self-respect—will not be forgiven. Let those, who desire to stand well in the opinion of their countrymen after their death remember their duty to India. Self-seeking tendencies and belittling public interests have to be fully exposed. It is with great regret that I am writing these obituary notices. But I cannot help it. The feelings of the near and dear ones are as nothing to me when compared with the permanent injury to national interests which some of our eminent men have purposely and consciously done, either for their own advancement or for fear of wounding the delicate and divine susceptibilities of the Members of the Government. If you and your friends still think I am in the wrong, let me have your reasons." It struck me that G. Subramania Iyer was in the right. I told him so and informed my friends. They reluctantly but fully admitted that G. Subramania Iyer could not be ousted from the position he had taken up, if the progress of India were the one supreme consideration in deciding the policy."

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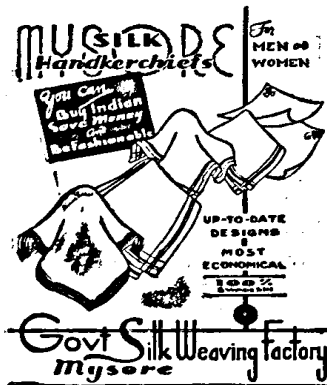
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The League of Nations:—The League of Nations Assembly meeting this time was enlivened by some speeches which revived the almost lost hopes of its proving to be a palladium of peace among the nations of the world which President Wilson intended it to be. As His Highness the Aga Khan, the leader of the Indian Delegation, feelingly remarked, the repeated failures of the League to exert its authority for checking aggression by powerful nations on weaker ones, have led to loss of faith in it by his countrymen who have come to regard it as a costly futility. If the League asserted itself on the present occasion, its waning prestige might be revived. The cabled summary of the Aga Khan's speech does not tell us what the Indian representative thought of Sir Samuel Hoare's principal suggestion that backward nations should be helped to develop their material resources without detriment to their political sovereignty and that that was the policy which Britain had laid down for herself in India and elsewhere. As we observed last week, even though it has not been followed in the past, the enunciation of this policy is valuable as a pledge of Britain's relations with her colonies in the future. The Russian delegate, Litvinoff, made the most remarkable speech of the Session so far. He declared that the Soviets did not approve of colonial imperialism, of which there is too much already, and would do all in their power to prevent aggravation of it by Italy's contemplated raid on Abyssinia. Not less explicit, though marred by allusion to Ireland's grievances, was Mr. De Valera's strong condemnation of the impending aggression on Abyssinia. A considerable volume of opinion expressed at the Assembly was decidedly condemnatory of Italian aggres-

sion. But such glimpses of the plan of meeting it as are afforded to the outside public, seem to indicate that Britain and France, at present the dominant factors in the League, are engaged in securing for Italy without a war the main objectives which Italy hopes to gain by a war. That is to say, they agree that Abyssinia should be exploited by European nations without involving the latter in quarrels among themselves. To avert a war in Europe rather than to protect the interests of Abyssinia seems to be the object of the discussions in the Committee of five appointed by the Assembly to make proposals, for a peaceful termination of the Italo-Abyssinian crisis. Only nominal sovereignty will be left to Abyssinia when her administration and resources are to be developed by foreigners. The Emperor is anxious to develop his country on Western lines and is willing to accept western guidance. The British position in Iraq seems to be the model prominently in view before the League Committee.

India and Abyssinia:—The organisation known as "Italian Community in India" has issued a tract headed "Much Ado about Nothing" in which the right of India to voice its opinion on the projected invasion of Abyssinia by Italy, is challenged. India, we are told, is neither judge nor defendant in the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. She has no political, or moral or economic interest in Africa. She has no foreign policy of her own, not even the thin link of direct diplomatic contacts with Abyssinia. The writer magnanimously dismisses the thought that India's protest has no higher motive than to advertise herself. The true reason, he says, is that the political mind of India is still sticking to 1789, and is obsessed by the French Revolutionary watchwords, which have no meaning nowadays. "They do not think that, after 150 years of history, these words (democracy, universal suffrage, government of the people, parliamentarism and so on) have become tools for rendering nations to slavery than to redeem them and make them feel really happy." These words open up a large field of argument. We will only say here that India, though she occupies only a subordinate position politically, has as large a moral interest as any other country, in the maintenance of just relations between nation and nation. The very fact that her interests are not directly involved in the present conflict, invests her judgment of it with the



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impartiality of history—a word which is frequently used but not quite clearly understood by the writer of this interesting tract. At the same time, there is considerable truth in his observation that the old watchwords about democracy, have resulted not in freedom and happiness but oppression of the weak by the strong in many parts of the world. But Fascism has yet to prove that it is better able than parliamentary democracy to ensure freedom and happiness to mankind. On the principle that each country has the right to determine the form of government best suited to its aptitudes and requirements, the *Reformer* has consistently refrained from adverse criticism of Fascism, Nazism and Sovietism. It has, on the contrary, recorded from time to time the beneficent achievements of these experiments in their respective countries. It is only when Italian Fascism seeks to overstep its territorial limits and to absorb a distant country, inhabited by a race with which it has no affinities, that we felt constrained to criticise its armies in Abyssinia. Soviet Russia has condemned colonial imperialism outright. German desire to be united to Austria is intelligible both because of the racial identity of the two peoples and because Austria, as defined by the Versailles Treaty, cannot exist economically except in union with her great neighbour. None of these considerations is present in the case of Italian intentions on Abyssinia. If Italians want to help Abyssinia they should do so by becoming subjects of the Emperor and not by overthrowing his authority.

“Historical Justice”:—The writer of the Italian tract says that justice is a relative notion and that the only real justice is the “Justice of history which transcends centuries and rules over the world, thanks to which people assert their right of life and civilisation through wars and revolutions.” If that be the case, the justice of history had many centuries ago decided that the Roman Empire over the world should end and that Italy should become a province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Mazzini, Garibaldi and Cavour did not accept this “justice of history” and wrote and fought and wrought for its reversal. How are we to know whether Signor Mussolini’s mind reflects historical justice more truly than those of these great Italians. Would Mazzini—the great apostle of freedom—have approved of this aggression on Abyssinia? The writer of the “Much Ado About Nothing” tract puts some questions to Indian publicists. Why did they not protest against the Aryan invasion of India, he asks. Obviously because it is rather too late to protest against it. The so-called Aryan invasion, by the way, is a purely western hypothesis for which there is not an atom of proof in ancient Indian literature. What of the Muslim invasion, he asks. This, again, is ancient history now. But does Signor Mussolini intend to remove his capital to Addis Ababa as the Muslims did to Agra and settle down there as an African ruler as they did? As for the British conquest the answer

can best be given in the words of the English historian, Seeley; “We are really not conquerors of India, and we cannot rule her as conquerors; if we undertook to do so, it is not necessary to enquire whether we could succeed, for we should assuredly be ruined financially by the mere attempt.” Queries the indignant Italian communalist: “Did India ever stir when Japan occupied Manchuria and went out of the League of Nations to have a free hand in China?” There is an answer to that, too. Chinese, Japanese and Manchurians have racial and cultural affinities. Japan is, therefore, naturally more fitted to help them in their development than the Western nations which would have otherwise exploited these countries. This, and the fact that Japanese are debarred from settling in America and Australia, had the effect of moderating Indian disapproval of Japanese expansion in Manchuria. Italy has tried to arouse hostility to Japan among European nations, but she has failed because thoughtful men in Europe and America recognise that the ban on Japan leaves her without an outlet anywhere else. Italians can go anywhere they like. Millions of them have made their homes in America. There is no bar against their emigrating to Australia or South Africa or Canada. Why do they covet the land of the Negus, the solitary remnant of ancient African sovereignty? India has a strong feeling for ancient institutions, which is outraged by the contemplated attack on Abyssinia.

The Tariff Board :—When Discriminate Protection was adopted as the policy of the Government of India, it became necessary to create an agency to find out which Industry fulfilled the conditions laid down as entitling industries to protection. The Tariff Board came into existence. The first Boards were expert bodies of high standing with the public. The members were appointed for a fixed term and had a certain fixity of tenure. Of late, however the tendency is to make casual appointments for each inquiry. It is impossible for any body of principles to grow up under this plan. There is no permanence in appointments to the Board. Two recent nominations to the Board have called forth criticism. A retired British owner of Jute Mills in Calcutta has been selected to be chairman of the Board, to enquire into the claim of the Textile Industry for protection. This, in the first place, is an injustice to Mr. Fazl Rahimtulla who has remained a member of the Board through its several transformations. In the next place, the ex-jute merchant, having retired from India some years ago, has probably lost touch with recent developments in Indian industries. There is much force in the contention of the President of the Indian Merchants’ Chamber that, if it was absolutely necessary to have a British Chairman, one could and should have been selected from among those who are actively engaged in business in India. The second appointment that invites criticism is that of Dewan Bahadur



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A. Ramswami Mudaliar. The Dewan Bahadur is a very able man. He was a candidate for election to the Legislative Assembly last year and appreciative comments on some of his election speeches were published in *the Reformer*. He was defeated at the election by a very large majority. He has since become the chief organiser and propagandist of the Justice Party. Government frequently express their fear of political influence intruding in fiscal and industrial administration. They seem to have overlooked their own precept in the present case.

The Poona Seva Sadan :—The Silver Jubilee Album of the Poona Seva Sadan Society is a sumptuous volume of over 200 pages. A valuable introduction containing a short account of the aims and the gradual progress of the Society's activities from small beginnings, is followed by numerous photographs of persons connected in one way or another with the movement. The provision of general and vocational education for adult women, which is the main object of the Society, was a novel idea twenty-five years ago, and the attempt to give it body and form was beset with many difficulties. But the patience and perseverance of Mr. Gopal Krishna Devadhar have triumphed through all obstacles and today the Society with fourteen centres, three of them outside Maharashtra, has provided thousands of women with the training which enables them to serve their sisters in educational, medical and other spheres. Mr. Devadhar has been greatly helped in his arduous labours by Mrs. Janakibai Bhatt and other women workers. As President of the Servants of India Society, as organizing Secretary of the Poona Seva Sadan, and as one of the few leading authorities on the Co-operative Movement, Mr. Devadhar is one of the heaviest worked men in India at the present day. Congratulations from all well-wishers of the Seva Sadan have been poured on him on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee. He makes an appeal for funds to meet the demands on the Society for further expansion and we trust that it will meet with generous response. The Album is priced Rs. 10 (postage Rs. 1-4).

Sarda Act Amendment Bill :—Mr. B. Das has obtained the sanction of the Governor-General for introducing in the Legislative Assembly a Bill for amending the Sarda Act. We publish it elsewhere with the explanatory statement attached to it. The main provisions of it relate to the granting of injunction prohibiting a contemplated marriage in contravention of the law, the giving of power to the Court to take proceedings under the Act of its own motion, and the discretion vested in the Court to require the postponement of the consummation of a child marriage until after the age prescribed by the Act or until a later date. The Bill omits to provide against having a child marriage performed in foreign territory. This is a common form of evasion. The Bombay High Court recently overruled the decision of a District

Court making such evasions punishable. Presumably, injunctions under the amending Act will be issuable against marriages arranged to be performed outside as well as within the India. The last provision is very necessary and was recommended by the Age of Consent Committee.

Spurious Conversions to other Faiths :—The *Indian Messenger* writes: "Spurious conversions to other faiths for the sake of some ulterior motives were not very rare in this country. People have come to realise the baneful effects of such conversions. Our contemporary *The Guardian* has pointed it out in an editorial note. This is sound advice. Brahmo Samaj has in the past, had some bitter experience of, such hasty conversions with selfish motives, and the warning of our contemporary has not come too soon. Those, who are truly alive to the best interests of the Samaj, have to look askance upon all efforts of conversion of this kind and prevent it with a strong hand, if necessary, so that the reputation of the community as a religious body may not be sullied by these nefarious activities of self-seeking men and women."

Untouchables in the Making :—There is much speculation as to how the practice of untouchability originated in this country. In his study of ancient institutions, Sir Henry Maine laid great stress on what is known as the historical method. The origin of ancient institutions are often traceable in institutions actually existing in some part of the world. The past was thus the present. A good illustration of this with reference to the institution of untouchability is to be found in what is taking place before our eyes in Nazi Germany. We print elsewhere the marriage and citizenship laws promulgated within the last few days at Nuremberg where Herr Hitler proclaimed the policy of the Nazi state. Citizenship of Germany is now denied and is confined to Germans or people of 'kindred blood' whatever that might mean. Jews are forbidden to marry Germans and marriages solemnised outside in contravention of this law are invalid. Illicit sexual intercourse between Jews and Germans or 'kindred' people is punished with penal servitude. Jews cannot employ German girls in their homes and they are forbidden to hoist the German flag or hoist the national colours. This and other laws and regulations practically reduces, as was stated in a manifesto issued by the Jews, the community to a position worse than that of the untouchables in India. The German are a highly cultured and in the forefront of Western civilisation, not priest-ridden, superstitious idolators like the unfortunate caste-Hindus. Why then do they treat the Jews worse than pariahs used to be treated in India? The answer to this question will probably give us a clue to the origin of untouchability in India. It must be remembered that although anti-Semitism is acute in Germany, it is more or less chronic in Europe.



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WHO SHOULD WORK THE REFORMS?

Indian public men who feel called upon to advise the country as to what its response should be to the Samuel Hoare Scheme, should have regard not only to the immediate future but also to what may come after it. If ever a satisfactory relationship is to be established between Britain and India, between the West and the East, the first and most urgent need is that each should take the other to mean what it says. At the present time this is unhappily not the case. The British, and Europeans generally, expect the East to take them to mean precisely what they say. But they do not reciprocate the compliment. With reference to the Hoare reforms, it has been persistently asserted by British statesmen, with brutal frankness by some and in more or less courteous language by others, that Indian leaders were not sincere in their opposition to the scheme, that there was no need to pay attention to them, and that they would accept whatever was decided upon and presented to them as an accomplished fact. Indian leaders have not all condemned the scheme. Muslims have on the whole accepted it. The Justice party in Madras has not only accepted it but has constituted itself its champion against all comers. Dr. Ambedkar's is the one non-official name cited by Sir Samuel Hoare as a supporter of his scheme and "the scheduled castes", whom he represented at the Round Table Conference, should be assumed to favour it. The Europeans, of course, support the reforms. Outside these elements, disapproval of the scheme has been the rule. There are notable exceptions particularly among those who took part in one or more Round Table Conferences, as delegates or associates. Liberals have been as vehement in protest as Congressmen. It is of them specifically that British protagonists of the reforms, have declared that they would come round when the Bill was put upon the statute book. If these leaders now accept the reforms and undertake to execute them, the opinion of British statesmen that Indian protesters should not be taken seriously will be confirmed. The next time any proposal is made, whether within or outside the Act, it will be open to them to point to their experience and carry it over the heads of protesters. Not only will future expressions of public opinion be discounted, but Indians will acquire a character for "bluffing," the effect of which will go far beyond political controversy. If Indian leaders can back out of their strong words of condemnation, when a proposal is pushed through in spite of their disapproval, a premium is placed on irresponsibility. The public cannot rely on their spokesmen to stand by their convictions or what were proclaimed as their convictions. Consistency is not everything. It is, some one has said, the bugbear of small minds. The leader of men will not hesitate to

change his course when new circumstances, not originally contemplated, demand a change. But that is quite a different thing from changing his course when what has happened is what he knew all along would happen. To be inconsistent on principle, is poor title to leadership.

Compromise, it is true, is the soul of politics. It is also the soul of life. We have to make adjustments constantly to our surroundings in order merely to live. In fact, life is nothing more than this capacity to adjust itself to variations in environment. But the adjustments of life have for their purpose the strengthening, the enrichment of vitality, of personality. An adjustment, a compromise, which resulted in the weakening or impoverishment of an organism, is maladjustment, suicide. Compromise is possible and legitimate when the parties to it are agreed upon a common end. No compromise is possible when there is no such common purpose. Can we say this of the Hoare Scheme? What is the central purpose of constitutional as distinct from absolute government? It is that the governed have the determining voice in the making of the laws which they have to obey, in the raising of the taxes which they have to pay and in the spending of them. All else is subsidiary. Does the Hoare Act concede this? Lord Lothian, who is not a mere party politician but a man of intellectual and moral calibre, avows in an article in the *Twentieth Century*, as a conclusive answer to all criticisms of the Hoare Act, that it places the "initiative" in Indian hands. But what is the good of giving the Indians the wheel after taking good care to remove the engine and to puncture the tyres of the car of State? With the Governor on the top of him and the steel frame at the seat of him, the Indian Minister will have about as much initiative as the corn between the upper and nether millstones. We have in mind chiefly the reforms at the centre, though the observations apply also to the provincial part of the scheme. The scheme should be judged by its proposals for the centre. Provincial autonomy without responsibility at the centre, is dangerous if it be real, and if not dangerous it is unreal. Autonomy by itself would be beneficial if it were by devolution from a unitary central government. But in the Hoare Scheme separation is more real than autonomy for the provinces. The provinces have been separated in order to put them on the same level with the States with which they are to federate. But does the Act put them on the same level as States? It is obvious to the most casual observation that the new scheme opens wide the door of diplomacy, extra-constitutional propaganda, backstairs approaches. The provincial governments in all these respects will be under a tremendous handicap as compared with many States.

The right thing in the circumstances is to leave those who believe in the scheme, the Muslims, the "scheduled castes," the Justice party, to "work" it, and for the others to render



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them such help as they can in carrying forward measures which are for the good of the country, like prohibition, national education and the economic regeneration of the people. If they succeed, well and good. If they fail, it can not be said that the reforms have not had a fair trial as it will certainly be said if those who have condemned them all long, undertake to "work" them whether with the avowed object of wrecking them or with a strong conviction that they are bound to fail.

THE VICEROY'S ADDRESS TO THE LEGISLATURE.

The address which Lord Willingdon delivered at a joint meeting of the Indian Legislative Assembly and the Council of State on Monday, was a long tale of frustrated purpose. His Excellency, since he assumed office, has repeatedly declared his intention to see India firmly planted on the road to self-government with himself as the first constitutional Governor-General during his term of five years. It is chiefly on this hope that he has justified his many Ordinances. The Ordinances have been incorporated into the permanent criminal law. Lord Willingdon has this week certified the renewal of this law on its being rejected by the Legislative Assembly. But the constitutional Governor-General is still remote. Even the introduction of the Hoare scheme has been taken out of His Excellency's hands and entrusted to his successor whose nomination has been made with unprecedented, not to say indecent, haste. Lord Willingdon reserved reference to the appointment of his successor, while he has yet several months of office to run, almost to the end of his address after enlarging on such questions as the "quinization" of the population by a free gift of unsaleable surplus stores of that now obsolete drug, development of broadcasting, the collection of a crore of rupees for the King's Jubilee Fund, and other odds and ends. His tribute to Lord Linlithgow was noticeably cold. He referred to him as one having technical knowledge of the Reforms which is excellent in an adviser but rather dangerous in a statesman. The Viceroy of India can avail himself of the services of experts. But he must be their master and not a technician himself. "Beware of your experts," wrote the great Lord Salisbury from India Office in London to Lord Lytton at the Viceregal Lodge at Simla. There is a note of sadness in Lord Willingdon's reference to the appointment of his successor. "It will not be my task to introduce the new constitution nor to join with you in its constitutional and, I trust, harmonious development." Is there also a note of relief? His Excellency's loyal endeavour to magnify the new constitution, notwithstanding his reference to Asoka, is too obviously forced.

Lord Willingdon told his hearers that their thoughts were engaged as his were by forecasts

of the steps by which and at which the new constitution will be brought into operation. This must have been news to many of them. His Excellency is a bad thought reader. Very few people in India are thinking of the scheme and when and how it comes into operation. Many people are hoping that it will never come into operation and that the princes will find some patriotic way of blocking it. If we may presume on a word of advice, it is that Lord Willingdon too should not weary his mind by speculating on events which he will not be here to shape. "It is impossible for me," said His Excellency, "to give any indication of precise dates." So much the better. As the late Lord Birkenhead wisely remarked, let us not be slave to dates. One date is as good as another—we do not consult astrologers to find an auspicious day and hour—and so far as India is concerned it is all the same whether the scheme is applied tomorrow or after many years. Lord Willingdon found two special merits in the scheme which should commend it to India. With his well-known genius to derive satisfaction in all situations, His Excellency declared that it was a matter of great satisfaction to him that during his Viceroyalty there had been made possible a consummation which many of the great rulers of India through the ages desired to see but did not see and which was hardly in sight when "I myself took office over five years ago." The emergence of Federation which to Lord Willingdon seems to be little short of a miracle, has been explained by others who were behind the scenes as having had a more prosaic origin. Repeated and solemn pledges had been given promising responsible government to British India. The attempt to explain them away had failed. It could no longer be withheld except by a flagrant breach of these promises. Federation suggested itself as the way by which responsible government can be associated with irresponsibility so as completely to neutralise it. The second great feature of the scheme is, said His Excellency, that the Government of India under the new constitution will draw their authority by direct devolution from the Crown just as the Dominion Governments do. The Irish Constitution is the one which we have at hand and it is the latest in the roll of Dominions. The second article of the Irish Free State Act says that "all powers of government and all authority, legislative, executive and judicial in Ireland, are derived from the people of Ireland." The case of India is more analogous to that of Ireland than to that of any other Dominion. Michael Collins in the memorandum which we reproduced from Lord Birkenhead's Life in the last issue, spoke of his country being an ancient, independent nation which is now at last receiving recognition. This is the view we have all along taken of the future of India in the British Commonwealth.

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AN EVANGELIST LOOKS BACK.

The atheist has derived so much amusement at the expense of the devout that something had to be done to restore the self-confidence of the believer. Mr. Allan A. Hunter, a missionary with wide experience, remarked in "Social Perplexities" that a friend of his traced the atheism of an eminent philanthropist to a vicious kink in his home life. Dr. Sherwood Eddy caps this comforting reassurance with a personal anecdote, in his autobiography, "A Pilgrimage of Ideas" (Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, London; Price, 10s. 6d.). Unable to argue a student into theistic belief, Dr. Eddy turned him over to Dr. Frank Buchman of Oxford Group fame. Dr. Eddy continues, "In the next room he began again jauntily, 'I am an atheist,' etc. Buchman said quietly, 'My friend, you are an adulterer. Let's get down first to your basic moral need where you are living, and then later we'll talk about your "atheism" which is probably only a symptom of your immoral life.' 'How do you know I'm an adulterer?' asked the man. 'Because it's written all over your face,' replied Buchman. The man admitted the fact, got down to reality in dealing with his moral need, and then found his "atheism" as a superficial doubt or unconscious pose had somehow evaporated." Not all adventures at spiritual diagnosis are likely to have the same happy, from Dr. Buchman's point of view, ending. Dr. Eddy whose reminiscences are a fascinating blend of caution and enthusiasm, hints to his reader in narrating the incident the needed warning that all men are not as Frank Buchman. He might have also added that all atheists are not like the student, that even among adulterers there are types.

Dr. Eddy's caution is the result of experience. His enthusiasm is inherent. His account of an encounter with Swami Vivekananda on board ship from Madras to Calcutta on the Swami's return from his triumphal visit to Chicago, would have offended Indian sentiment but for the detachment of the writer. He challenged the Swami to a debate before the entire ship's company on deck. "I felt," he remarks with charming candour, "like a young Samson smiting with the jawbone of an ass, contending with this brilliant and subtle Vedantist. But as I see myself now I was the ass, boneheaded beyond belief. I was sure my cause was right but I was no match for this brilliant man... I can see myself alone with the swami after the debate, when with the mein and condescension of a god incarnate he told me that he had left thousands of converts to Hinduism at Harvard and in Boston. But I was fresh from the land of Buffalo Bill. (To the uninitiated, it may be mentioned, that Buffalo Bill is the hero of numerous episodes written for juvenile consumption generally concluding on the note, 'And then another Redskin bit the dust.') Hoping to puncture his inflated composure, I leaned forward, pointed my finger in his face so that he might not mistake to whom I was alluding, and said, 'Swami, you lie.' With unbroken condescension he smiled and said pityingly, 'Young man, you need some cooling drink.' Neither that debate nor the many discussions, arguments and question meetings which followed in India—as a kind of tug of war to prove we had a better religion than they had and to expose the evils of Hinduism—ever got us far or won a single convert. I early abandoned this futile procedure of debate and argument. I am glad to see the whole method of an appreciative and sympathetic approach to the great ethnic religions is so fully recognised in the Laymen's Report and by the majority of modern missionaries." The early failure of Dr. Eddy's argumentative method led to the abandoning of a policy which was open to the strongest criticism. That is why we refuse to believe the press report that missionaries are contemplating the preparation of

films to show to 'home' audiences the "wretchedness" of conditions here with a view to whipping up enthusiasm for the missionary cause. But that is by the way. Dr Eddy still bears the scar of that early encounter with Swami Vivekananda. Otherwise he would not have concluded with the uncharitable remark, "The Swami impressed me as a clever charlatan who had aspirations, nevertheless, towards the saintliness of his great master, Ramakrishna."

Dr Sherwood Eddy is revealed in his autobiography as an exponent of what may be called the modern form of muscular Christianity. He glories in numbers and success to him is counted by the thousands who are converted or who attend his meetings. One almost begins to suspect that his enthusiasm for Gandhi is because of the millions who follow him. In a discussion, as futile as the early meetings on the merits of Christianity and Hinduism, Dr. Eddy states with pathetic insistence that Hinduism could not have produced a leader like Gandhi without Christian influence. If Dr. Eddy has abandoned comparative discussions on religion, he has not given up the method. In a short account of Hindu weaknesses Dr. Eddy admits with "candour"—though why he should feel 'compelled' to confess the defects of the other man's religion, one does not understand—that 'there is a characteristic lack of any adequate power of elimination to recognize, abhor and cast out the evils of the individual and society of this great religion'. His experiences in America also show that "the Christians and idealists of the West" have a marked tendency to be occupied with their own selfish interests, yet what is human weakness he describes as Hindu weakness. Dr. Eddy has had a unique experience of life in the West and in the East but it is unfortunate that he has not given an integrated account of his 'pilgrimage.' We have as a result not the autobiography of one but of two individuals in "A Pilgrimage of Ideas." His description of himself as one whose mind is 'single-tracked' accounts for many of the seeming contradictions of his life. An evangelist of the first rank, he is prepared to leave to "the handiwork of God the simple orthodox soul (of Gandhi)" who incidentally cannot be moved from his religious position; a convinced socialist, he yet rejoices that he inherited enough from his father to live his own life: a non-violent pacifist, he threatens his hearers with an impending violent revolution, in which, of course, he will not take part, if he is not heard. But his autobiography will be read with interest as a commentary on the various movements which have sprung up during the last thirty years.

It is interesting to see Mr. Eddy attempting to help his readers to clear obstacles in the way of reading through his reminiscences. "The word 'missions' is taboo as is the word 'religion,'" he writes and justifies missions to the younger generation in the following passage: "The West had already sent abroad, perforce, its liquor, its lust, its firearms, its conquering imperialism and exploiting industrialism to enslave the sweated labour of the Orient. We felt that the West should give its best as it had already forced its worst upon the Orient... We went to build up a complete new social order in the East as now we are attempting to do in the West." All this, however, is obviously an afterthought. Western missionaries, and only the best of them at that, are only just realising that their message has little hope of acceptance unless cut loose from Western imperialism. The missionary of forty years ago, with the possible exception of Dr. Sherwood Eddy, could not have set their work in the Orient as a compensation for the industrialism and armaments which Western industrialists and militarists had thrust on the East, because the missionaries themselves believed in the civilising value of both arms and



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machines. As for the new social order, it was an attempt more to introduce Western social institutions. This idealised picture of 'missionary' work tells its own story. The most valuable chapters in the 'Pilgrimage', however, are those explaining Dr. Eddy's transition from Liberalism to Socialism. "Since I could not conscientiously support capitalism with its flagrant injustice," writes Dr. Eddy, "nor the desperate dictatorship of fascism, nor communism with its necessary tyranny, I turned to socialism as the nearest political approximation to my ideals." He is a little more emphatic when he says that he is no longer a liberal and that he is still left with his feet on solid ground after the trial balloons of Liberalism have been exploded by the hard facts of life. But anyone reading Dr. Eddy's 'Pilgrimage of Ideas' a hundred years hence, might be excused for mistaking the distinguished Socialist for a sentimental adherent of that creed.

THE TRUTH ABOUT CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose in his statement on "Indian Propaganda abroad" (*Reformer*, August 10), has attempted to make out a case for conducting propaganda in foreign countries for the cause of Indian freedom. He assumes at the outset that the facts of the Indian political situation today are not known outside this country while really the reverse is the case. India has not obtained her freedom, not because there is any lack of knowledge or sympathy in other countries. His reference to China's failure to profit by international sympathy shows definitely that, for all his "careful study of the history of those countries that have won their national freedom in comparatively recent years," Mr. Bose has woefully misread the lesson of foreign politics. "Even those who rely on force of arms," he writes, "for winning their freedom, cannot dispense with propaganda and foreign sympathy which propaganda brings," and, again, "China was unable to utilise this due to her military weakness." We can only conclude that his belief in the magic efficacy of an army has led this distinguished Indian leader into so gross a lapse. Had he said "only those who rely on force of arms etc.," we should be inclined to agree with him. His reference to Czechoslovakia is inapt, for Czechoslovakia bears out our point of view rather than his. It will be interesting to see how Czechoslovakia won her freedom. As an Indian who has lived for some time in Vienna, Mr. Bose surely must know that but for the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy, Czech propaganda would have been of no avail in winning freedom. We should like to emphasise here that there is no intention in the following account to pass judgment on Czech leaders for the methods adopted by them in attaining their ideals. History has allowed herself a wide latitude in her judgment of nations struggling to free themselves from foreign domination.

When Mr. Bose remarks that "for nearly twenty years" Czech leaders conducted steady and careful propaganda in different countries, he is displaying that carelessness and superficiality which he so readily attributes to those who disagree with him. So far from there having been a conscious agitation for Czech independence in foreign countries for twenty years, the leaders themselves were only conscious of this political aim of setting up a separate State in 1914. The territory which was to be Czechoslovakia was decided by the Allies in 1918. Czech politicians, with few exceptions, took for granted the existence of the Habsburg Empire and were even reconciled to this fact, in the hope that the Czechoslovak people would attain a position such as would enable it to have a deciding influence on the future fortunes of the Austro-Hungarian

Monarchy.....In the period 1908-14, the increasing dependance of Austro-Hungary on Germany, its aggressive policy towards the Balkan States and Russia and its incapacity to solve the problem of its subject nationalities, led to a substantial change and to a radicalisation of powerful Czech political groups. The World War brought Czechoslovak politics to the cross-roads of destiny. Before, however, the politicians could agree on a definite line of action, before the masses could make known their decision, the troops who were leaving for the front manifested anti-Austrian feeling. It has been amply proved by now that all the nations entered the World War for their own ends. The Czechs and Slovaks were no more altruistic than the others. From the very beginning of the War, their soldiers who fought against Czarist Russia in the Austro-Hungarian armies, deserted en masse to the enemy. Czech Delegations approached the Czar offering to form a corps and fight for the Allies, side by side with the Russian forces. The Czar was not favourably inclined because the petitioners were republicans and also because he regarded the issue of the War as by no means certain. He had no desire to provoke the special wrath of the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy by supporting one of its troublesome minorities. The Provisional Government that followed his overthrow, accepted the offer and, on the explicit understanding that the new army was to fight in France, a Czech corps was formed. Masaryk came to an agreement with the French Military Mission to send 30,000 prisoners to fight in France and French officers were attached to the corps. The army was intended only to fight against Germany and her allies. Then the Soviet Government established itself and negotiated a peace with the Central European Powers and the Czechs could no longer fight Germany on Russian soil. The Czech force was concentrated in the Ukraine which developed with surprising rapidity into a puppet state controlled by Germany. The Soviet naturally could not continue paying the Czech corps and, after negotiations at Moscow, the army went on the pay-roll of France. Pressure from the Allies to permit the use of Czech forces in Russia was resisted for a time. The corps then started for Vladivostok across Siberia on their way to France—a fantastic plan, Masaryk remarks. On the eve of this enterprise their leaders received £ 80,000 from Britain and roughly £1,164,166 from the French Consul in Moscow. The Bolshevik Government started disarming the Czechs, in accordance with a previous agreement with the leaders. The Czechs resisted although Masaryk regarded that the army needed no weapons as it would be re-equipped in France. They reached Vladivostok and occupied it. In fighting their way across Siberia they seized the railway. They then turned back and joined the White Russian, Kolchak. They arrested the local soviets in every town to which they came in East Russia and Siberia. The Czechs had become a powerful counter-revolutionary force in Russia. The Bolsheviks who feared co-operation between the Czechs and the Japanese who were pushing forward their imperialistic plans in Siberia, offered to the Allies to transport the Czechs to Archangel, a port in the North. England replied she had no free ships. The Allies did not want the Czechs to leave Russia. The leaders wanted to fight in France. Ultimately the Allies prevailed. The Czechs stayed in Russia, at the instance of France, to attack the Bolsheviks from the rear in return for recognition for "Czechoslovakia" and assistance in establishing the State. The Czech leaders had now no difficulty in the matter of funds and we find Savinkov, a White leader in Moscow, subsidised



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by their money in organising for a counter-revolution. The republican Czechs fought the Soviet State on behalf of Czarism. Masaryk and other leaders disapproved of the alliance with monarchist forces but such disapproval in no way changed the situation. Czechoslovakia had to pay a heavy price for Allies' support of her ambitions. Long after British and French troops were withdrawn from Russia, the Czech army was at the disposal of Kolchak, White Supreme Commander in Russia.

A MUCH-DISCUSSED FILM.

"Jawani-ka-Hawa", a production of Bombay Talkies which had attracted attention not only as the first effort of the successors to the producers of "Karma" but also because of some Parsi opposition to the inclusion of two women of that community in its cast, was released to the Bombay public on Monday. Negotiations to buy up the rights of production in Bombay with a view to preventing its release here, were carried on by the orthodox Parsis and failed at the eleventh hour. Fortunately the producers were not prepared to give up the picture for less than Rs. 40,000 and the Parsi protestants would not pay more than half that amount. It would have established a dangerous precedent. I believe, however, that had the Parsis known what part was assigned to the actress—only one of them appeared on the screen—who was the unfortunate centre of controversy, much of the agitation would not have arisen. At any rate many of the leaders of the community would have held back from the protests organised in this city. For 'Chandra Prabha', the screen name adopted by the actress, appears as Mayabai a most unobjectionable part. Whether as the mother of a wilful girl who calms the irate father, or as the mistress rebuking the gardener who presumes too much on his long service, or as the widow mourning over the death of her husband, she is exposed to none of the 'temptations' which the Parsi agitators feared for their women if they took up a screen career. Representing as she does the middle-aged virtues of a merchant's wife, Mayabai must have appealed to many of the agitators as exemplary. Nor would the Bombay Talkies have found it difficult to replace 'Chandra Prabha' had they known of Parsi sentiment beforehand. As a matter of fact the inclusion of most of the members of the cast can only be explained by the assumption that Mr. Himansu Rai the Director desired to include all communities in his portrayal of modern Indian life.

"Jawani-ka-Hawa" starts as a story with a purpose and tails off as light entertainment. The theme is a favourite one with modern Indian films—the conflict between love and an arranged marriage. It is skilfully worked to a climax in the first half of the picture. A marriage has been arranged for his daughter by a wealthy merchant. By the time the rich young bridegroom appears, the young lady has made clear her preference for another young but not so wealthy man by eloping with him. The old gardener is the sole confidant though the mother expresses her misgivings about the arranged marriage. The discovery of the bride's flight does not improve the temper of her father who, after putting off the guests with the unconvincing excuse that she is ill, sets out in pursuit. The plot now works out to its denouement through the death of the father just when he has caught up with the miscreants, the finding of his body and a Coroner's Court where the hero confesses to the murder, the heroine says she did it and a police officer fixes it on to a thief till the surgeon saves

everybody from the gallows, and tracks are laid for the course of true love.

It is a tradition, not only of the Indian stage and screen, but almost of all Oriental acting, that public kissing is indecorous and should not be portrayed. Japan is said to have rejected several Western films for this reason. It is probably the outcome of the practice of having female roles enacted by men. Whatever that may be, the Indian film producer of today gets over the problem by avoiding any scenes which find their natural climax in osculation. This is an act of self-denial to Western critics but Indian audiences, even the most sophisticated, are accustomed to it and probably too close an imitation of Western films would rouse a storm of protest. Bombay Talkies have followed Oriental tradition but Victorian methods. The reticent novelist of old worked up to his climax and drew the veil by a succession of dots. Mr. Himansu Rai has no dots at his command. He simply stops photographing. Where the hero or villain, as the case may be, would kiss his heroine in a Western talkie, Mr. Rai passes on to the next scene. In "Jawani-ka-Hawa" the hero and heroine, when they are together before the cameraman, put their arms round each other, they rub cheeks, the heroine pouts, the hero gobbles till every Adam's apple in the audience moves in sympathy; but they do not kiss. This touching tribute to propriety renders these scenes inane.

The dual purpose behind the story, to amuse and to instruct, has made "Jawani-ka-Hawa" interminably long. The audience is made to accompany the runaway couple in a Tourist train for almost 7,000 of the total 14,000 and odd feet. The corridor compartments delude the cinema-fan into believing it to be a short trip and the sight of the father in hot pursuit in a car encourages the illusion but even the cabaret scenes inside the train grow tedious. The introduction of musical-comedy buffooneries and inanities are almost compensated by the excellent dancing of Auzurie but nearly all the jokes are killed by over-emphasis and repetition. A little less of everything would have gone a longer way. "Jawani-ka-Hawa," and Hindi talkies, are an important witness to the value of Hindi as a *lingua franca* for India. This notable production is a landmark in Indian film history. Three actors require special mention for their splendid performance. Devika Rani as the heroine, Mr. Najam-ul-Hussain as the hero and Mr. Kamta Prasad as the old gardener. And the reunion of Mr. Niranjan Pal and Mr. Himansu Rai who had not collaborated since their successful production of "The Light of Asia," is a happy omen. S.

STATE AND COMMERCE.

(CONTRIBUTED.)

The relationship between State and Commerce has undergone many changes in the course of history. At the beginning of what may be termed the modern commercial epoch the main duty of the State was to plan the course for private enterprise and act as an example. This did not mean that during this period of so-called "mercantilism" the State confined its activities to founding a few Government factories. Through the granting of privileges which sometimes amounted to monopolies, the private individual was encouraged to undertake enterprises of some magnitude and the whole policy had for its purpose the education of industrialists to positions of great responsibility. It was only when private business men were unwilling to take the risk of big schemes and could not be tempted to do so by special privileges, that the Government conducted the business itself. This excursion into the industrial sphere



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was, however, only *faute de mieux* and the undertaking in question was passed into the hands of private individuals. There are exceptions to this rule when enterprises begun by the Government have not subsequently passed into private hands, but such instances are exceptional. As private enterprise grew apace, the State withdrew more and more. With the exception of certain branches such as railways, posts and telegraphs, German industry before the War was largely self-governing. State influence was confined to the rectification of social ills through social legislature and supervision of the safety of buildings, machinery, etc.

After the War matters changed considerably. The Government began to put up its own factories not only where private initiative was lacking but in direct competition with privately-owned business. State undertakings were conducted on the same lines as their private prototypes and did not mark any new course or act in any way as an example. They had to recognize the same market standards as other industries but, if they could not compete naturally, a subsidy would be forthcoming which, of course, had to be paid by the taxpayer and the nation as a whole. The fact that the State factories could hold their own with private factories was not due to any superiority of administration. On the contrary, a State factory which is directed by a Government official cannot operate with the same efficiency as a private one because the director, be he ever such a model official, lacks the incentive of personal driving-power. Even the prospect of a share in profits cannot replace personal interest because the official, secure in the knowledge of his fixed salary, will not take any risks or responsibilities and no new methods are introduced. Even when purely Government enterprises are replaced by semi-private ones the result is the same.

In view of the unfavourable experience which Germany has had with Government enterprises it is easily comprehensible that the present economic policy is opposed to this form of State interference. Under the pressure of the crisis which private industry was powerless to overcome, the Government had to take steps to replace the lack of private initiative for the time being. This does not, however, amount to suppression but rather assistance over a stagnant patch. The public orders which were given were of an additional nature and thus in no way compete with existing industries. An attempt was made to arouse private initiative by means of housing repair allowances, tax rebates for the purchase of new machinery etc., but the task which the Government has undertaken to fulfil—that of leading the country out of the depression and guaranteeing the trade revival against relapses—is so gigantic that it would be impossible without some kind of definite State direction of commerce. Industry and agriculture and home trade and overseas trade have to be carefully balanced and private individuals must be prevented from influencing the home market to meet their own purposes. Today the State must direct private initiative in the interests of national economics. Conditions have changed since before the War when the Government could afford to keep apart from industrial matters. But State direction and supervision of trade in the interests of the community has nothing to do with an extension of its activities as such in the industrial sphere. The State has no wish to dispense with the advantages of private initiative but it must be steered in the course which national interests demand. The State only acts in a business capacity when no private individual can be found to undertake the risk and even then it is to remain a temporary measure

for encouraging the producer and placing private industry in a position to carry on the work begun by the State. The only branches of industry which will continue to be conducted by the Government are public services such as railways, posts and telegraphs and gas and electricity supplies which are noted for their mechanical ways of operation.

THE CHILD MARRIAGE RESTRAINT (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1935.

The following is the text of the Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Bill, 1935, to amend the Child Marriage Restraint Act No. XIX of 1929, leave to introduce which in the Legislative Assembly has been accorded to Mr. B. Das, M. L. A., by the Governor-General in Council:—

Whereas it is expedient to amend the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1929; it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. This Act may be called the Child Marriage Restraint (Amendment) Act, 1935.

2. In Clause (c) of Section 2 of the Child Marriage Restraint Act, 1928, (hereinafter referred to as the said Act) between the words "is" and "thereby" the words "or is about to be" shall be inserted.

3. For Section 9 of the said Act, the following shall be substituted, namely:—9. (1) The Court may, if it is satisfied on information laid before it, through a complaint or otherwise, that an offence under this Act has been or is about to be committed, upon its own motion, issue process against any person suspected of having committed or of being about to commit such offence.

(2) No Court shall take cognizance of any offence under this Act after the expiry of one year from the date on which the offence is alleged to have been committed.

In Section 11 of the said Act—

(i) for sub-section (i) the following shall be substituted, namely:—

(i) When the Court takes cognizance of any offence under this Act upon a complaint made to it, it may, at any time after examining the complainant and before issuing process for compelling the attendance of the accused, require the complainant to execute a bond, with or without sureties, for a sum not exceeding one hundred rupees, as security for the payment of any compensation which the complainant may be directed to pay under Section 250 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, and if such security is not furnished within such reasonable time as the Court may fix, the complaint shall be dismissed.

Sub-section (ii) shall be omitted.

The following sections shall be added as Sections 12, 13 and 14 of the said Act, namely:—

12. (1) Notwithstanding anything to the contrary contained in this Act, the Court may, if satisfied from information laid before it through a complaint or otherwise that a child marriage in contravention of this Act has been arranged or is about to be solemnised, issue an injunction against any of the persons mentioned in Sections 3, 4, 5 and 6 of this Act prohibiting such marriage.

(2) Whoever, knowing that an injunction has been issued against him under Sub-section (1) of this section, disobeys such injunction shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to three months or with a fine which may extend to one thousand rupees or with both.

13. Upon conviction under this Act and in addition to the penalties provided therein, the Court may require the husband of a female child (or if he be a



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minor, the person having charge of him in any capacity whatsoever) to furnish a bond, with or without sureties, for the separate living, custody and maintenance of the wife and for preventing the consummation of the marriage until she ceases to be a child, or until such later date as the Court may appoint.

14. A bond taken under Section 11 or Section 13 of his Act shall be deemed to be a bond taken under the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, and the provisions of Chapter XLII of that Code shall apply accordingly.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS AND REASONS.

The object of this Bill is to amend the Act to which it refers (commonly known as the Sarda Act) by three provisions aimed at facilitating the more effective enforcement of the Act:—

First, by putting it beyond question that the Courts empowered to take proceedings under the Act may at their discretion issue an injunction prohibiting a marriage arranged in contravention of the Act.

Already Civil Courts in the Bombay Presidency are known in several cases to have issued injunction orders against marriages known to have been arranged in contravention of the Act. It is not known whether similar action has been taken in any other Province. But since doubts have been thrown upon the legality or practicability of this method, it seems desirable to remove such doubts by providing for it directly through the proposed amendment. The draft Bill proposes to impose a higher maximum penalty for the breach of such an injunction than the penalty provided in the Act in the case of prosecutions after the marriage has already taken place, on the ground that breach of a Court injunction involves contempt of court.

Secondly, by permitting the Court to take proceedings under the Act upon its own motion, without requiring the execution of a bond or taking security.

It is known that one of the principal impediments to enforcement of the Sarda Act at present lies in the obligation placed upon the complainant to incur the publicity of a formal complaint and, if required by the Court to execute a bond, to incur also the risk of losing the sum mentioned in the bond. The proposed amendment would enable the Court to proceed upon information obtained privately after taking such steps as it might think necessary to satisfy itself of the correctness of the information.

Thirdly, by enabling the Court to require the husband of a child-wife (or if he is a minor, his guardian) to make provision for the separate custody and maintenance of the child-wife and to refrain from consummating the marriage until she reaches the legal age for marriage, or until a later date if it thinks necessary.

A provision of this kind was recommended by the Age of Consent Committee (commonly called the Joshi Committee)—page 198, para 23. In default of such a provision, those who have the welfare of an illegally married child-wife at heart are often deterred from prosecuting the offenders by the knowledge that the prosecution, even if successful, will not rescue the child from the dangers of premature marital intercourse and may actually cause her to be maltreated by the husband or his family in revenge for the prosecution.

STERILISATION, THE "SUPREME CONTRACEPTIVE."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I am obliged to you for giving further publicity to my views on sterilisation. I have no desire to enter into a long controversy and so am sending you a cutting from the "Esquire," U. S. A., sent to me

by Dr. Havelock Ellis which contains an article by him on the subject. This answers most of the points raised by you.

I am not an arm-chair critic but one who has long experience of birth control and sterilisation work. Day in and day out, workers like me have to listen to harrowing tales of the misery caused by couples being very prolific. Such persons demand a 100 per cent sure contraceptive and there is only one 100 per cent contraceptive now known and that is sterilisation. Even in India by the time the man has 4 or more *live* children, he has come to the age when he can gauge more or less accurately his future financial prospects.

The question of sterilisation of the woman was not mentioned because this is a rather serious operation while that of the man is very simple, not taking more than 15 or 20 minutes. I shall end this letter by quoting Havelock Ellis from another article: "But any one today who, realising Man's painful struggle to attain a due control of Nature, fails to regard sterilisation as the supreme contraceptive may fairly be regarded as an enemy of society. The only apology possible lies in the excuse brought forward in another connection by Dr. Johnson: 'Sheer ignorance.'"

Bombay, }
September, 14, 1935. }
Yours etc.,
A. P. PILLAY,
(Editor-in-Chief,
"Marriage Hygiene.")

BIHAR GOVERNMENT AND ARYA SAMAJIST MISSIONARIES.

Following are the replies to questions asked by Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha in the Bihar Legislative Council, on the alleged Government circular regarding Arya Samaj and Hindu Sabha activities in Chota Nagpur:—

Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha asked:—

(a) If the attention of the Government had been drawn to an alleged circular purporting to have been issued by Government on the above subject and published in the *Searchlight* of August 21, 1935. He further asked,

(b) Is the alleged circular genuine?

(c) If so, will Government be pleased to state whether it is intended to mark a departure from the observance of strict religious neutrality, as enjoined in the Proclamation of Queen Empress Victoria?

(d) If not, will Government be pleased to state the exact nature of "the activities" of Babu Jagatnarrain Lal and Arya Samajists in an anti-Christian campaign in Palamau and parts of Ranchi?

(e) Why are the Arya Samajist workers considered as "dangerous" by Government as stated in the said circular?

(f) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table extracts from the alleged objectionable and provocative speeches said to have been made by the said persons? If not, why not?

Mr. R. E. Russell replied:—

(a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The circular is genuine.

(c) and (d) Government have no intention of departing from the observance of strict religious neutrality. They are compelled in the interests of the public peace to watch the activities of all religious missions where they are likely to arouse communal or racial feeling or are likely to come into conflict with other religious organizations. For this reason they keep under observation the activities of persons who have in the past shown a tendency to stir up communal or religious trouble.

The precise activities of Babu Jagatnarrain Lal and his associates which attracted the attention of the local Government are as follows:—realpatidar.com



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(i) A missionary campaign was started in Palamau district by the Hindu Mahasabha through the agency of one Chandrika Prasad and others which concentrated principally upon the conversion to Hinduism of aborigines who had already become Christians.

(ii) Babu Jagatnaran Lal commenced propaganda in the press to arouse Hindu opinion against the work of Christian missionaries in Chota Nagpur. In an article published in the *Indian Nation* of the 8th July and in other papers he represented the animist aboriginal tribes in Chota Nagpur as Hindus and the work of the Christian missions as an inroad upon the Hindu religion and exhorted the Hindu public to rouse itself to action to counteract the effect of what he described as a "whirlwind campaign of Christianity."

(iii) He undertook tours in Palamau and Ranchi district accompanied by other workers with the object of rousing Hindu feeling on the subject.

In view of the fact that a number of Hindu Mahasabha and Arya Samaj workers had already entered the area, Government considered it necessary to supply the District Officers concerned with the names of persons who might, if they came into the area, be expected to create trouble. They accordingly sent to these officers the names of eight persons against whom Government had in the past been compelled to take action under the law for their repeated activities in fomenting communal feeling in Bihar. Government have not issued any instructions to their officers to take action against these persons; they have merely warned them that they are persons who have created trouble in the past.

(e) Because of their previous activities in stirring religious feeling by inflammatory speeches and writings.

(f) Government are not prepared to lay extracts from these speeches on the table. They are too numerous to be reproduced and are in many cases so grossly insulting to other religions, particularly Islam, that it is undesirable to give them publicity.

HINDU WIDOWS IN THE DECCAN*

(By G. V. KETKAR, B. A. LL. B., Poona.)

A very interesting judgment has been recently pronounced by the second class Sub-judge of Pandharpur in Sholapur District about the position of untensured Brahman widows in the Deccan. The case was launched in 1981. Judgment was pronounced early this year, i. e., after four years.

The wicked and unseemly custom of tonsuring widows is prevalent only amongst the Deccani Brahmans. As a consequence of that custom, untensured widows came to be regarded as unfit to perform certain religious ceremonies and functions. Food cooked by an untensured widow is not to be used to feed Brahmans on the occasion of religious festivities. Food cooked by her cannot be offered to a Sanyasi.

Fortunately the custom of tonsuring widows is gradually being abandoned in educated families. Pradnyaneshwar Yati—an educated and cultured Mahratta Sanyasi—took up the question of the disabilities of this growing class of the untensured widows. Although a Sanyasi he saw no objection to be served food by these widows. He found that this objection has no foundation in Hindu scriptures. He openly challenged orthodox people to prove from the Shastras that he was wrong.

But orthodoxy securely entrenched in the bulwork of powerful custom generally overlooks such

* The Mahratta.

challenges. The Sanyasi however put them on their defence in another direction. He found that the untensured Brahmin widows are not allowed to touch the feet of the well-known "Vithoba" idol at Pandharpur shrine. In this temple all touchable Hindus men, women and children have been allowed to touch the feet of the idol with their forehead. Only the untensured Brahmin widows were denied that right!

Mrs. Parvatibai Datar, an untensured Brahman widow acting on the advice of the Sanyasi, served a registered notice on the 'Badvas' or managers of the Pandharpur temple declaring her intention to visit the temple and take the *Darshan* in the customary way of placing her head on the feet of the idol. In their answer to this notice the managers of the temple denied her the right of taking *Darshan* in the customary way, as she was an untensured Brahmin widow. Based on this denial as the cause of action, the civil suit was filed, for a declaration of this right and the consequential relief of an injunction to restrain the managers from preventing her in the exercise of that right. Although the matter in issue was comparatively of minor importance, the case was strenuously fought out and all the scriptural texts about tonsure of widows were minutely scrutinized and discussed both by the advocates on each side and by the judge in his extensive and exhaustive judgment. The right of an untensured Brahman widow to place her head on the feet of the Pandharpur idol was established and an injunction has been granted against the managers of the temple not to obstruct the exercise of that right.

The discussion of Dharmashastra texts in this judgment is useful to all students of Hindu Law and particularly the progressive school of thought amongst the Hindus. For it has been clearly demonstrated that the most ancient and authoritative texts, the *Vedas* and the principal *smritis*, do not contain any reference to tonsure of Brahman widows. On the other hand, it was found that the ancient writers of *Smritis* were against the tonsure of women in any case. Even where tonsure is prescribed as a *prayaschitta* or penance for a major sin, it was not operative in the case of women. For, it is specifically laid down that in the case of all women in lieu of tonsure only cutting a lock of hair two inches in length at the end has been prescribed as *prayaschitta*. This shows that to the older *Smritis* writers the idea of tonsure of women in any case was repugnant. It was in the later commentaries on the *Smritis* and some recent interpolations in *Puranas* that we find the first traces of this hideous custom of tonsure.

After the custom of tonsuring became prevalent the older texts which were expressly against tonsure of women in any case, came to be explained by restricting them to married women only.

This case demonstrates how some undesirable practices in Hinduism were introduced by *Puranas* and commentators and how in some cases older authoritative texts expressly contradictory to these undesirable practices were twisted to suit the latter. This is one of the many instances in which a reform in Hinduism means going back to the original catholicity and rejecting the later narrowing tendencies.

THE FATHER OF MODERN INDIA. (RAM MOHUN CENTENARY COMMEMORATION VOLUME)

A remarkable and profoundly interesting publication is announced by the Rammohun Roy Centenary Committee, which is shortly going to publish a volume in commemoration of the celebration of the hundredth year of the passing away of the great



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figure who has been universally acknowledged as the 'Father of Modern India.' The various papers read and addresses delivered on the occasion of the Centenary Celebration in 1933 are being gathered into the Volume which will contain, among other things, complete reports of the celebration held all over India and abroad,—indeed, a unique record of a world-wide homage. A comprehensive and exhaustive study from all points of view of the "Inaugurator of the Modern Age in India," this book of about 800 pages of Royal octavo size, neatly printed, profusely illustrated, and strongly bound in full cloth, will contain Studies and Addresses by eminent Indians and others. The book, which will be published about the middle of the next month, will be priced at Rs. 5, but Members of the General Committee of the Centenary Celebrations will get it at the Concession rate of Rs. 4 a copy; while those booking their orders with cash in advance will get copies at the reduced rates of Rs. 4 and Rs. 3-8 respectively. Orders and prices to be sent to the Ram Mohan Centenary Office, 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

LORD PASSFIELD'S IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA.

Lord Passfield, speaking in mail week at the Fabian summer school at Rowledge, near Farnham, Surrey, said that the new system in Russia was much bigger than an industrial success or a social change. We were witnessing the emergence of a new civilisation, as different from western civilisation as that was from Islam and Buddhism. It was certainly the biggest thing that had happened in Europe since the Renaissance.

Referring to the elimination of profit-making he said: "If I were to say to a Russian child, 'If I buy a dozen herrings at a penny each and sell them at three halfpence each, how much should I get?' the answer would be, 'Six months imprisonment.'"

The U. S. S. R. was the most exciting place in the world to go to—not even excluding Abyssinia,—because there were new categories about everything. 'For instance, when I was on my way to the school I saw on Haslemere station,' he said, 'a man publicly kissed his wife when they met. If you did that in the U. S. S. R. and the train conductor saw you he would summarily fine you two roubles.'

The Bolshevik rule was described by Lord Passfield as 'a most extraordinary success.' When he went to Russia in 1932 there were no shops in Leningrad or Moscow except bread shops, and his wife had to take with her odds and ends such as hooks and eyes. On his visit last autumn the Leningrad Co-operative Society had 980,000 members, a large store, and 400 branch stores in which one could buy every conceivable thing. Every class of goods which Russia used to import was now being made there, and if the Far Eastern army were cut off it would be able to live there a whole year on what was made on the spot and supply itself with munitions.

Russian industry was shockingly inefficient, but it was turning out the goods. The country was relatively prosperous, and there had been no unemployment for the last five years. There had been a great change in the attitude of this country to Russia lately. Even bankers had been impressed because Russia had begun to pay her debts in gold which she was producing.

The average Russian workman was getting a livelihood and standard of comfort, education, and treatment in sickness much better than that of the two million English workmen who were on the dole. The Russian working-class families and a large proportion of the collective farm peasant were better

off than the lowest grade of our population. People born since the revolution had grown up with no sense of sin and largely without a sense of the super-natural. The churches are there and are open, but we found some trouble in going because we could not find out which was Sunday.'

THE JEWS IN GERMANY.

Herr Hitler addressed the Reichstag on September 15, at Nuremberg. He concluded with a reference to the Jews. He said the Jewish anti-German boycott had restarted and the German Jews were again active. He gave warning that if such actions were not ended further laws would have to be issued to settle things. "Government will try to create a basis to enable Germans to find a tolerable relationship with the Jews. If this hope is frustrated and the agitation continues the situation must be re-examined."

After Herr Hitler's speech General Goering read the new laws.

The first law says the colours of the Reich are black, white and red. The Reich, the National and the commercial flag is the Swastika flag. The Chancellor shall determine the future war and the Reich services flag for the use of the army, navy etc.

The second law says a citizen of the Reich can only be a state citizen of German or kindred blood who by his behaviour has shown that he is willing and suitable to serve the German people and the Reich loyally. The Reich citizenship shall be acquired by the bestowal of a letter of patent. The Reich citizen is the sole bearer of full political rights.

By the first article of the third law the marriages of Jews with citizens of the nation of German or kindred blood are forbidden. Marriages solemnized despite this decree will be invalid even if solemnized abroad for the purpose of circumventing the law. By article two sexual intercourse outside the marriage covenant between Jews and Germans or people of kindred blood is forbidden. By article three Jews are forbidden to employ female Germans or kindred blood in their homes. By article four Jews are forbidden to hoist the National Flag or display the national colours, but may display Jewish colours. The penalties for violating the law are penal servitude or prison for the first two articles which are enforced immediately and imprisonment for a year under article three which comes into force from January 1.

CASE AGAINST "ASHRAM" IN DELHI.

Kanwar Singh and 4 others connected with a so-called Ashram in Kucha Bulaqi Begum, Dariba, were hauled before Mr. A. Isar, City Magistrate, on Monday, the 9th, on charges of abduction of a woman, but the court due to pressure of work transferred the case to the court of Mr. Benjamin, Magistrate, 1st Class, writes *The Hindustan Times*. The facts of the case as alleged by the prosecution are: A woman from a Rohtak village came to Delhi to see a girl from her village. An agent of the Ashram met her and offered his services to take her to the place of her friend, but instead, he took her to the so-called Ashram in Kucha Bulaqi Begum, where she was kept against her will. She was anxious to get out of the clutches of the accused, but she felt helpless. She daily experienced revolting scenes in this "Den of Infamy" and ultimately managed to escape one day and made a detailed report to the Kotwali police. She has made sensational allegations against the "Ashram Organisers." Sub-Inspector Badri Alam raided the "Ashram" and rescued 36 helpless women, who were



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detained by the accused. They were all examined and sent to their respective homes. The Ashram was disbanded by the police and the 5 accused were arrested. Accused will now stand trial before Mr Benjamin.

SEQUEL TO MR. STOKES' CONVERSION.

A deputation consisting of leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha, Sanatan Dharma and Arya Samaj went recently to Bushire State, Simla Hills, in connection with the differences which had arisen in the State over the conversion of Mr. Satyananda Stokes to Hinduism. The deputation was led by Bhai Parmanand and consisted of Swami Anand Giri, Yogi Jagnananand, Metha Gopal Das, Swami Pranwanand, Mr. Vidyadhar, Babu Manohar Das and Lala Gadu Ram.

The deputation was given a very cordial welcome by the State authorities and the members were treated as guest of the State. Bushire being the premier State in these Hills the deputation felt that a proper lead by the State in the matter would be of very great assistance to the cause they represented.

Bhai Parmanand informs the Press that the Ruler gave them a very sympathetic hearing and assured them that he and his predecessors had always allowed conversions to Hinduism, and while pointing out that he could not force his subjects to take any particular view on the matter, he assured them that he would issue orders so that those who promoted the conversion of Satyanand Stokes may not be boycotted or persecuted.

The Ruler also issued orders that there should be no party spirit in the State on the subject and has communicated the orders to the local officials of the State. Bhai Parmanand says that the deputation having achieved its purpose thanked the Ruler and returned to Simla.

Labour Party Dissensions:—The front rank of the Labour Party has been shaken by disagreement on the Abyssinian issue. Following Mr. Lansbury's statement of disagreement with the official policy, especially regarding sanctions, Lord Ponsonby today resigned the leadership of the party in the House of Lords. Lord Ponsonby declares that serious differences with the party on important points in Britain's foreign policy and its decision in the present international crisis prevent him continuing his leadership.

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BY

K. NATARAJAN.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The Penal Code and the Press Act:—Referring to Mr. Satyamurthi's objection that there was no need to re enact the Emergency Press Law as the ordinary law was sufficient to punish the offences to which it relates, the Home Member spoke of dummy editors and the inability of the ordinary law to catch the real offenders. But the Press law is availed of in preference to the ordinary law even where there is no question about the identity of the writers. The District Judge of Guntur in the Madras Presidency delivered judgment last week in a case against three members of the local Labour Protection League for publishing and distributing pamphlets exhorting labourers to fight for their rights. The Judge admitted that the detailed objects as defined in the pamphlets were perfectly reasonable—at least not at all illegal. He further observed: "There is nothing in the pamphlets inculcating violent action or unconstitutional methods, nor is there any evidence that the pamphlets have tended to lead to a breach of the peace. In fact the Special Branch Sub-Inspector, has definitely stated that on 29th June, 1935, the pamphlets were distributed outside the factory of Mr. Maddi Venkata Subbayya and although there were 60 or 70 coolies present, there was no disturbance whatever." For these and other reasons the Advocate for the defence objected to the invocation of the Press Act. Judge D. N. Strathie suggested that the prosecution was probably deterred from using Section 163 of the Indian Penal Code, which deals with the same offence, namely, creating feelings of hatred and contempt against a class, because Chief Justice Beaumont in Maniben Kara's case had insisted that it was necessary for the attack being on "a definite and ascertainable class of His Majesty's subjects" in order to come within the purview of the Penal

Code Section. Judge Strathie said that this interpretation was not followed by the Madras High Court. In any case, he did not consider that it was his province to enter into this aspect of the question. He held that "the rich" constituted a "class" within the meaning of the Press Act, whether or not in that of the Penal Code and convicted the accused and sentenced them to six months' imprisonment.

A Striking Contrast:—The old practice of judges inflicting prior to passing sentence long lectures on accused on the enormity of their delinquency, has happily become obsolete as a consequence largely of the growth of the social conscience and a deeper understanding of the springs of human conduct. Any sort of harangue to accused from the Bench would grate on educated people. Judge Strathie seems to have felt likewise. But he also felt that he owed a duty to the accused as a man to fellowmen who were not actuated by selfish or sordid motives in bringing themselves within the pale of the Press Act. He presented them with two books, Joad's "Liberty Today" and a volume of Galsworthy's plays which, he thought, dealt with public wrongs in a manner which would not expose writers to prosecution under the Press Act or the Penal Code, and which he commended to the careful perusal of the accused during their enforced leisure in prison. There is no mistaking the sincerity and kindly feeling which inspired Mr. Strathie to make his presentation and the observations which accompanied it, after performing his official duty. Years ago a distinguished Governor who held and acted on the principle that the promotion of the feeling of fellow-citizenship between Englishmen and Indians was of greater importance than administrative punctilios, confided to this writer that he had not the least difficulty with the younger civilians in giving effect to his idea, but that he found the older men extremely difficult to bring round. The contrast between Sir Henry Craik's speech on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which is the subject of our leading article, and Mr. Strathie's exhortation to the three accused in the Guntur case, is striking as an illustration of the observation of the broadminded Governor. We should add that His Excellency rather underrated the importance of constitutional reform as a means of promoting fellow-feeling among Indians and Englishmen which he strove earnestly to bring about.



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The Rich and their Workers :—We publish on another page Judge Strathie's lecture to the three members of the Guntur Labour Protection League. As it was delivered after the sentence was pronounced and the judge had ceased to be a judicial person, comment on it may not amount to Contempt of Court, an offence of almost indefinite extension nowadays in this country. Mr. D. N. Strathie asked the accused, "Do you seriously think that you could run Maddi Venkatasubbayya's tobacco factory if, through a rising of the workers, you did get control over it?" Does Mr. Strathie seriously believe that Maddi Subbayya could run his factory if the labourers left it? Surely, the health and moral and material condition of the workers is at least as great a public interest as the production of bidis or cheroots. "What do you know about tobacco, its buying, grading and marketing?" is another shrewd thrust of Mr. Strathie's at the men whom a few minutes previously he had sentenced to serve six months in jail, poring over two books which he kindly presented to them for the purpose. We doubt if these books convey the lessons which Mr. Strathie so earnestly preached to the three gentlemen of the Guntur Labour Protection League. Galsworthy, certainly, and Joad, probably, would insist that a knowledge of how to work a tobacco factory least deleteriously to workers was at least as important in tobacco factory owners as knowledge of the grading of tobacco. We are not so sure as Mr. Strathie that Galsworthy's plays or Joad's book can not be brought under the Press law just the same as the plays of the Guntur Labourites. Galsworthy's "Escape," for instance, may be indicted as creating sympathy for escaped prisoners and thus bringing law and order into contempt. Mr. Strathie himself seems to have thought that the introduction in one of the Guntur plays of a Magistrate who took bribes, was tantamount to imputation of corruption to Government, bringing it into contempt. We know of nothing so damnably against the rich as a passage which occurs in an old book as spoken by a man who lived some nineteen centuries ago. It is a widely read book, too. In this book it is written: "Then said Jesus unto his disciples, 'Verily I say unto you, That a rich man shall hardly enter into the kingdom of heaven. And again I say unto you, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.'" The Guntur authorities do not seem to have come across this rather famous book.

Electoral Differences :—The recommendations of the Delimitation Committee of Madras for the seats allotted to Indian Christians and the "scheduled castes" hitherto known as the depressed classes, have given rise to acute controversy. Differing from the Bombay Delimitation Committee, which has allotted the three communal seats reserved for Indian

Christians to selected districts where the Christian population is largest, leaving them in other districts to form part of the general constituencies; the Madras Committee has, it would seem, divided the whole Presidency into nine electorates, that being the number of seats reserved for Indian Christians in the schedule to the Government of India Bill. Mr. Appadurai who was a member of the Madras Delimitation Committee, writing in the *Guardian*, maintains that the assignment of the allotted seats to selected districts is contrary to the plain wording of the Bill which lays down that "a Province, exclusive of any portion thereof which His Majesty in Council may deem unsuitable for inclusion in any constituency of any particular class, shall be divided into territorial constituencies." The Bombay Delimitation Committee does not seem to have considered this point. It has proceeded on the assumption that the Bill assigned a certain number of seats to Indian Christians and the Committee was free to distribute them in the manner it deemed best...In respect of election to the seats assigned to the scheduled castes also, there is a sharp difference between the Madras and Bombay recommendations. The single non-transferrable vote in plural constituencies has been recommended for election to these seats in Madras. The Bombay Committee, on the other hand, has recommended cumulative voting, which has been in vogue in Municipal elections and is well understood by the public. The Committee in support of this method observes: "Where there are several minorities such as Jains, Indian Christians, Jews, Parsis who are unprotected *i. e.* for whom no seats are reserved, the only way in which they can get a chance of securing the election of a candidate of their choice is to provided plural constituencies with the right of cumulative voting. This system is necessary even for the Marathas and scheduled castes in constituencies in which no seats are reserved for them." Even where seats are reserved, cumulative voting will enable the voters to return the member they want from among candidates of the scheduled castes. The leaders of these castes in Madras feel that the plan of the single transferrable vote is against the principle of the Poona Pact which is incorporated in the Communal Award and in the scheme of the Government of India Bill, and disadvantageous to the scheduled castes.

Excessive European Representation :—In reviewing the Bombay Delimitation Committee's Report, (August 17), we called attention to the excessive representation in the Bombay Legislative Council recommended for Europeans, first, as members of a community, secondly, as the Chamber of Commerce and, again, as the Trades Association, besides having the right to compete in all special constituencies. Mr. L. R. Tairsee who represents the Indian Commercial community in the Bombay Legislative Council stated that the Bombay Trades Association consisted of only



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36 members. It consisted of tailors and outfitters, hair-dressers, provision dealers, watch-makers, cigarette sellers, caterers, ice cream sellers and others who have been passed off as European firms but which are predominantly Indian firms. Many firms have one partner, a European, while other partners are Indians. Messrs Cornaglia, added Mr. Tairsee, is now an Indian firm. So, concluded the Indian Commercial representative, though these firms are really not European firms, they are supposed to be European firms for the purpose of membership. Mr. Tairsee did not say how many of the Europeans in the Trades Association were British subjects. Apparently there is some convention that the Trades Association should send only a European to represent it in the Legislature. The Bombay Delimitation Committee has slurred over this important question of the competence of the Trades Association to be constituted a special electorate. Government, too, seem to have been quite unaware of the small and unrepresentative character of the body. Mr. Tairsee's protest that Indian Commerce was given unfairly small representation as compared with European Commerce, is unanswerable. But we doubt if the Local Government can prevail against vested interests and transfer the seat at least of the Trades Association to Indian merchants.

The Rise of the Bakats :—The current *Harijan* describes how the Bakats of Kani near Ankola in North Kanara, who were treated as untouchables forty years ago and were recorded as such in the Kanara Gazetteer of 1883, have come to be treated and recognised as caste Hindus. "Many persons," writes Mr. Dinkar Desai who communicates the information, "are even ignorant of the fact that they (the Bakats) were once untouchables." He says that the strongest reason for this imperceptible change in the social status of the Bakats is to be found in the fact that they, especially their women, were employed as domestic servants by the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins of Ankola, and that by close contact with them Bakats gave up their dirty habits and imitated their employers to such an extent that the Bakat women of today are considered higher than those of other agricultural communities of the Taluka. This process is not new. It has gone on in Hindu society for centuries. It is the natural and accepted process of castes rising in the social scale. Other instances may be cited of the operation of this process. The Gaud Saraswats of Ankola were not social reformers and they did not employ the Bakats with the object of raising them out of the slough of untouchability. The first moral to be drawn from this interesting development, is that the reformer should strive to stimulate the ameliorative forces inherent in every society rather than to plant himself in their place. The second is, the social status of a community or caste is largely determined by the opportunities open to

its women to live a clean, cultured and self-respecting life.

Ban on Arya Samajists :—In the *Reformer* of August 31, we commented on a circular letter sent by the Chief Secretary to the Bihar Government to Commissioners of Divisions warning them against certain Arya Samaj preachers who were carrying on an "anti-Christian campaign" in Palamau and certain parts of Ranchi. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha asked a series of questions about this circular in the Bihar Legislative Council. We reprinted in the last issue the questions and the answer thereto. The Chief Secretary admitted issuing the circular and justified it on the extraordinary ground that the people in the areas mentioned had already been converted to Christianity! It is, according to this view, wrong to seek to convert people who had been already converted to Christianity to another religion, while Christian Missions have been for years and are now free to convert people born and brought up in other religions for generations to one or other of the numerous sects of their faith. Further comment on this episode, however, is happily unnecessary as satisfactory assurances seem to have been given to a deputation which waited on the Bihar Government.

"Settlement of Accounts" :—When Signor Mussolini referred to the right of Italians to demand a "settlement of accounts with Abyssinia," all non-Italians believed this was a reference to the defeat suffered by Italian forces forty years ago at Adowa. "Italian Community in India", however, explains the words in an original manner. The passage is significant coming as it does at a time when most Italians have given up all talk of right in connection with the Abyssinian campaign. "Abyssinian hostility," writes the Italian communalist, "might be said to be historical and to have begun from the days when the Italians as did the other nations of Europe set out to search for new fields of activity in the Black Continent." After narrating at length the refusal of various Ethiopian Emperors to conclude treaties with the "laborious" Italians, the pamphleteer proceeds, "Not a single concession has been granted to Italians in Abyssinia." Again, the sad tale of loans refused by Abyssinia brings us to the rule of Haile Salassie from whom better treatment was expected but not received. And finally, comes the indictment. "Italy cannot permit that she should be refused the right to construct the Assab-Dessie road when the English have been allowed to build the road from Gambela to Gore, and the French that from Dikkil to Dessie; nor can she admit that land concessions should be refused to her and granted to the English on the Bir-Bir, while the tobacco monopoly is given to the French and the alcohol monopoly to the Belgians. There is no reason why just satisfaction of an economic order, which would also benefit the progress of Abyssinia herself should be denied to Italy."



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BOMBAY, September 28, 1935.

THE CRIMINAL LAW AMENDMENT BILL.

In winding up the debate in the Legislative Assembly on the Bill to prolong the existence of certain penal legislation, adopted three years ago as an emergency measure, which is due shortly to lapse, the Home Member, Sir Henry Craik, made the noteworthy admission that the measures had so far failed of their object. "My information definitely is," he said, "that terrorism, although there has been some slight diminution in Bengal, is by no means dead. Within the last five months we have had, I think, 25 terrorist incidents... In the face of that, it is idle to assert that terrorism is a mere bugbear, and that as a movement it is dead." It is, perhaps, characteristic of the bureaucratic mind that the conclusion which it draws from this fact, is quite the reverse of what every person who considers it with an open mind would draw from it. If terrorism, that is, the belief that what are felt as wrongs can be righted by killing or maiming the agents of the system which is regarded as the conscious originator of the wrongs, is regarded as a disease of the body politic, and these punitive laws as the cure for it, the treatment, on the admission of the Home Member, has failed. So long as the measures are in force, there is an apparent lull but this is merely on the surface. The forces of terrorism are seething underground and the moment repression is relaxed, they manifest themselves with unabated ferocity. The Home Member devoted a large part of his speech to the Press laws. This is what he said: "The experience of the three periods within which Press legislation was suspended has shown conclusively that directly that legislation is suspended the deterioration in the tone of certain sections of the Press is serious and immediate." Your treatment does not eliminate the poison in the body politic. Does it even keep it effectively controlled during the period it is applied? Referring to a criticism that the pamphlet of 25 pages containing samples of seditious writings supplied to the members of the Assembly, was insufficient to justify the proposal to give a fresh lease of life to the emergency Press laws, the Home Member exclaimed: "Here is my mass of material, 429 foolscap pages of extracts of seditious or inflammatory or communal writings in the press. Any honourable member who cares to wade through this mass of sedition, incitement to murder, *obscenity and vulgarity* (italics are ours) is welcome to do so." It is not clear whether this mass consisted of writings in the intervals when the laws were in abeyance or includes also those produced while they were in force. In either case our argument holds that the measures at the best are but temporary palliatives, whilst it is possible that by suppressing symptoms they

help the growth and spread of the poison within. The irony of the Home Member's belief that by renewing the Act he is helping the incoming reformed Government of India, which is widely proclaimed to be a large step to self-government is not, of course, obvious to him. He is really making the inauguration of the Reforms, such as they are, as malodorous as possible to the Indian public. We would stress this point as we see that Sir Henry Craik is not the only member of Government who has used this argument as a self-evident one. Sir Zaffrullah Khan used it to oppose the manufacture of locomotives in India. The Viceroy himself urged it as an apology for certifying this Bill on which the Legislative Assembly has refused to place its imprimatur. By the way, do we want an emergency law to deal with obscenity and vulgarity?

The Home Member tried to clinch his point about the existence of terrorism in the country by referring to the speech made by Mr. Krishnakant Malaviya on the Bill. "If anything said in this debate has been a strong argument in favour of this Bill that speech was," he said, "because even now, when this legislation is in force, the Home Member comes forward in open praise of murderers." The legislation referred to is for the control of the Press and not for the control of speaking in the Legislature. If the Home Member were free to do it, he would evidently bring speeches in the Legislature under the same kind of executive control as has been done with the Press. We may yet have a law requiring that the speeches of non-official members should be revised by the Home Department before they are delivered. We have not read Mr. Krishnakant Malaviya's speech and can not say if it was, as the Home Member said it was, "open praise of murderers," or, as the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, seems to have understood it, a condemnation of a system which drove young men and women into crime in the misguided belief that there was no other way of changing it. Sir Henry Craik admitted that Mr. Desai was perfectly entitled to think of these people as brave and misguided youths. Did Mr. Malaviya say anything different? That some concession to motives is not irrelevant in dealing with this sort of crime, is suggested by Mr. Winston Churchill with reference to the Irish rebels with whom the British Government concluded the treaty which became the basis of the Irish Free State constitution. "It was only possible to say of those responsible for these acts," he writes, "that they were not actuated by selfish or sordid motives; that they were ready to lay down their own lives; and that in the main they were supported by the sentiment of their fellow-countrymen." (*The World Crisis*, Vol. V, page 296). Sir Henry Craik told the Assembly that he looked on the Indian terrorists as "mad dogs, as dangerous animals." But whichever view is the right view, whether the terrorists are misguided patriots or mad dogs, the fact remains that the measures of Government, on the Home



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Member's own admission, have failed to eliminate them; and if history proves one thing more than another, it is that, while repression is useful as a temporary expedient, it is futile as a permanent cure for political discontents. Repression can not be more systematically and comprehensively applied than it was in Tsarist Russia or in Abdul Hamid's Turkey.

Sir Henry Craik described himself as more or less the centre of the intelligence system of the Government of India, "which is extraordinarily wide, extremely prompt and is, in my opinion, very shrewdly drawn up." Sir Henry allowed that possibly other honourable members would not agree with his estimate. Possibly, too, the latter are in a better position to judge than the Home Member. The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry, speaking at the unveiling of a bust of Sir William Wedderburn in Madras last week, said that at one time he was shadowed by the Intelligence Department men. Gokhale had the same experience. It is the general opinion that the activities of the Department, on which Sir Henry Craik depends for his knowledge of Indian affairs, are more vexatious to public men who make no secret of their opinions and activities than to terrorists whose methods are necessarily underground. However that may be, Sir Henry Craik's organisation can not claim greater perfection or a wider range than the Tsar's or the Turkish Sultan's. Representative institutions are the channels by which a constitutional government derives information of the course of national affairs. When the Intelligence Department is preferred for this purpose, it is high time that the guardians of the State took measures to arrest the blight at the core of which it is a sure symptom. Sir Henry Craik came to Sinia with a great reputation as a just and impartial administrator in difficult Punjab. The qualities most needed in the Government of India, however, are insight, imagination, capacity to understand other points of view than one's own. These go to make the constructive statesman.

The Time Factor :—"All the things on which life depends must take their time to sprout and grow and ripen. Children and trees and corn and beasts. It is not much use trying to increase their pace there. You can do that with factory products. And they can be dispensed with, nearly all of them. I am not saying anything about folks being unwilling to do without a lot of them, I should not want them to do that either. But if we were forced to do without them. That which takes its time to come to maturity, that is the indispensable. Pace and records and that kind of thing, all I say is that it's amusing. But if all the wheels that hum and buzz and race about the earth came to a standstill, we could still carry on. But if the seasons stopped their usual course, that would be the end." *Ida Elisabeth*, by Sigrid Undset.

THE MEMEL QUESTION.

In his broadcast address to the Reichstag on September 15th., Herr Hitler profited by European excitement on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute to reiterate Nazi opposition to Lithuania. On May 21 this year, the German Chancellor had declared German willingness to negotiate non-aggression pacts with all neighbour states except Lithuania, "not that we want war there but because we cannot enter into political treaties with a state which disregards the most primitive laws of human society." This warning that Germany is still sore on the Memel issue, was followed up in the recent Reichstag address with an appeal to the League to intervene. "Peaceful Memel has been robbed by Lithuania," said the Chancellor amid 'wild cheers'; "the people of Memel have been oppressed for years. Germany must devote her attention to this. Representations from foreign powers have been fruitless. Memel citizens have been treated worse than criminals. Every appeal to Lithuanian Government is vain and the preparations for the coming elections are a mockery." In view of the fact that this aggressive reference to Lithuania stung three European centres to action—Paris repeated with added anxiety her inquiry whether Britain would apply sanctions against Germany; London felt impelled to obtain an assurance from the Lithuanian Government that the Memel elections will be held in accordance with the provisions of the Statute of 1924; and at Geneva the Lithuanian delegates to the League of Nations protested against Herr Hitler's declaration as likely to disturb friendly relations—Memel, one might safely assume, will play a large part in European politics in the near future.

Memel Territory, comprising the city of that name and its environs—an area of 945 square miles, was separated from East Prussia in 1919 by the Allies with a view to providing Lithuania with a port on the Baltic. As there was no intention of handing over its administration to Lithuania, the Memel unit was run by a few French soldiers. The Lithuanian Government, apparently regarding this measure as inspired by financial considerations, entered on a boycott of this port and raised customs barriers between herself and the territory. In 1920 the Poles seized Vilna, the Lithuanian national capital, and dug themselves in so well that they were recognised by all the Great Powers, except Soviet Russia, as the owners. The Lithuanians 'compensated' themselves for the loss of Vilna—her treaties with Russia still insist that Vilna is Lithuanian—by driving out the French soldiers and occupying Memel, in January 1923. Her act of violence was crowned by the recognition of the Conference of Ambassadors in February and after prolonged negotiations the Statute of Memel guaranteeing governmental, economic and cultural autonomy to Memel Territory was signed by the Allies and Lithuania in May 1924. The Government consists of a Governor appointed by Lithuania; a cabinet of five in which the President is chosen by the Governor and then selects his four colleagues; and a legislature of twenty-nine members elected by universal suffrage. Memel-land sent six deputies to the Lithuanian Chamber till 1926 when a Fascist Government took over the administration and dissolved Parliament. A dictatorship has ruled ever since and though Fascist, it has been compelled by German-Polish politics to form a close alliance with Soviet Russia. Lithuania's sovereignty was confirmed over Memel Territory by a decision of the Hague Court in 1932 conceding powers of dismissal to the Governor of Memel over the President and his cabinet. Herr Hitler's rise to power in Germany intensified the conflict between Germans and Lithuanians in Memel, and the constitutional government established by the guarantors of the Statute of 1924



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has weakened its powers of resistance to the two dictatorships which oppress it on either side. The triennial elections which are due on September 29th, have raised a storm of agitation in Germany and Lithuania, and both countries are working to obtain a favourable verdict—unfortunately for the Memel-lander.

German feeling on the Memel question has always been strong. But all objections were overruled by the Allies on the ground that, out of a population of 150,000, only 25,000 were Germans; that Germans preponderate in the city but Lithuanians in the hinterland; that the minority was to be protected in the use of their language and their schools; and that their religion was to be safeguarded. That Germany was not satisfied is evident from Dr. Schacht's protest ("The End of Reparations") "that the overwhelmingly German territory of Memel was allowed, against its will, to fall completely under Lithuanian domination. Consider what it means when parts of the highly civilised and cultivated German people fall under the domination of a little branch of the human race which, however much one may respect it, clearly stands behind in culture and civilisation." The weakness of the League formula is shown up by the fact that the economic guarantee, that all states whose commerce must pass through the Territory should be assured of access to the port of Memel, is ineffective in the case of Poland against whom Lithuania has closed the River Niemen and Memel Port; that culturally Lithuania has discouraged the study of German; and that constitutionally Lithuanian dictatorship has prevailed over the autonomy guaranteed by the League. The German claim, on the other hand, that Memel-landers would prefer to be under the more cultured government of Germany is considerably weakened by the fact that the ordinary citizen is more concerned about freedom to go about his own business than with the reputation his Government enjoys for culture. This freedom he is more likely to enjoy even under Fascist Lithuania than in Nazi Germany for two reasons. Germany is now outside the League and free from the influence of international opinion, however weakly organised it may be. Lithuania is a member and very anxious to remain one. (The extent of the League's ability to enforce its decision in the dispute between Italy and Abyssinia will no doubt influence the Memel elections. Germany is awaiting the result. The breakdown of the League of Nations will necessitate alliances between European nations, and Lithuania would be glad to obtain German support against Poland even at the cost of Memel Territory.) Secondly, as a small state Lithuania can ill afford to antagonise world opinion, particularly with the powerful and unfriendly Poland as her neighbour. The coming elections, therefore, ought to be a clear verdict for Lithuania, even if she does not attempt to manipulate the votes as Germany fears she will. A factor that will probably go far to counteract the overwhelming Lithuanian majority in the Memel Territory, is the indebtedness of the peasants to Germans in the city. But apart from the elections, Herr Hitler's statement following so rapidly on the reception of the Italian ambassador in Berlin, adds to the anxieties of the Memel problem, hinting as it does at a squaring of Italian objections to German ambitions in that direction. Even if the Italians are averse to supporting Herr Hitler actively, it is difficult to see how German aggression on Lithuania can be checked with Mussolini's attention engaged in an Abyssinian campaign. Britain, it is believed, favours German claims to Memel and so does Japan. Soviet Russia has not accepted Memel as Lithuanian territory in any of her treaties with Lithuania. Can France alone stop Germany?

STERILISATION IN INDIA—A SOCIAL PROBLEM.

In a feverish craze for social purity the Hitlerites in Germany have made themselves the object of an almost scandalous sensation. The dust of criticism which they have kicked up in this way has obscured some of the best points in their own policy and programme. The sterilisation decrees which have been recently issued in Germany are one of the blessings of Hitler's dictatorship and deserve a careful study in all other civilised countries. India in her peculiar social and economic conditions has an important lesson to learn from the experiments which Germany and other countries have made with human sterilisation.

The Eugenic Law promulgated in Germany in January 1934 has made elaborate provisions for the formation of local Eugenic Boards with full powers to investigate individual cases of mental deficiency and to issue a compulsory order for sterilisation if necessary. Nineteen States in America have passed sterilisation laws most of which legalise sterilisation of persons suffering from mental disorders. California has become a centre of magnificent researches in mental therapy and has developed an atmosphere in which the defectives think it to be an honourable thing to seek sterilisation. In England Eugenic sterilisation is still an offence against the law; the movement, however, has lately received a great impetus owing to the publication of a report of a Departmental Committee of the Ministry of Health (*i. e.* the Brook Report). The Committee unanimously recommends that voluntary sterilisation of persons who are likely to transmit a grave physical or mental disability should be legalised. The movement has also reached other European countries which have already passed the necessary legislation.

Eugenic sterilisation has so far been limited only to cases of mental deficiency. There is an almost universal consensus of opinion that in one way or another mental defectiveness is inherited. Tredgold in his famous book "Mental Deficiency" has estimated that over 80 per cent of persons suffering from the severe grades of amentia are the descendants of a pronounced neuropathic stock. Scientific researches carried out in Germany, Switzerland and America have greatly corroborated this estimate. At Reuton in the U. S. A. out of 1,000 cases of mental deficiency only 350 had both their parents normal.

There can hardly be a greater humanitarian ideal than to prevent this perpetuation of social misery. The problem is of special importance in a country like India where insanity is often combined with poverty and disease. Unfortunately, we have no accurate statistics as to the incidence of insanity in this country. According to official statistics the proportion of insane to sane is 3 per every 10,000, while in United Kingdom the proportion is roughly 40 per 10,000 and in New Zealand it is as much as 45 per 10,000. But the disparity between these proportions must not be taken at its face value. Our social conditions being what they are, it would be surprising if more than ten per cent of the cases of insanity are actually reported to the authorities. Not only the number of insanes is much larger than is indicated by official statistics, but the hospital accommodation for mental defectives is so inadequate that a large majority of insanes are left free to do what they like with themselves, even to marry and procreate. The number of insanes recorded in India and Burma is about 88,305, but we can provide hospital accommodation only for 6,750. Only one person in ten out of the total insane population recorded obtains accommodation in mental hospitals.



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There is now no mental hospital in Bengal. Besides most of the mental hospitals except the one at Ranchi are over-crowded and under-staffed. So long as we are unable to keep a large majority of our insanes under proper care and treatment, there seems obviously no other way than sterilisation to check the proportion of mental diseases.

The problem has a unique significance in the peculiar context of our social conditions. We have only to refer to the social stigma which attaches to a girl belonging to a respectable family who remains unmarried beyond a certain age. She may be suffering from a most pernicious type of epilepsy or lunacy, but she is bound by the inexorable laws of society which require her without option to reproduce her type soon after marriage. Thus our own social customs and institutions act as powerful fertilisers for all kinds of mental misfits. One can understand the unwillingness of people to inflict upon their children the terrible vow of life-long celibacy, but they can at least prevent the multiplication of defectives by means of sterilisation. The need for sterilisation, therefore, is a more urgent proposition in India for women than for men, because it is easier for male defectives to remain unmarried without being placed in an awkward position.

In the case of the lower classes in India female sterilisation can be justified on medical grounds also. While living in an atmosphere of acute poverty and suffering from the evil effects of over-work and malnutrition, ignorant young girls in rural India are exposed to the frightful risks of recurrent conception. Child marriage, early maternity and repeated pregnancy—their entire span of life is summed up in this miserable chain of events which saps their pretty womanhood, turning them into physical and nervous wrecks as they slowly pass into the shadow of death. Sir John Megaw says, "No less than 100 out of every 1,000 girl-wives are doomed to die in child-birth before they have ceased to have babies and 200,000 mothers die in giving birth to children every year in India." For women, therefore, who have reached the point of exhaustion as a result of repeated pregnancy and who are incapable of exercising continuous self-discipline, either in the way of abstinence or birth control, sterilisation is the only possible protection against pregnancy and death.

It is a debatable point as to whether the use of sterilisation should be encouraged to restrict the growth of population. Under the German Eugenic Law sterilisation is allowed only for eugenic or medical reasons, but it must not be undertaken for limitation of families even when the persons seeking for it are suffering from acute economic distress. Infringement of this rule even with the consent of the patient will subject the physician to penal action on the ground of doing bodily harm. Similar provisions have been made in other countries also. It should be realised that a frivolous acceptance of it may make individuals permanently unhappy if at a later stage in life they desire to have children. In India at least where there is a general lack of education and culture, it seems unwise to legalise sterilisation except for eugenic or medical reasons.

In the beginning at any rate it is necessary that the State should confine itself only to permissive legislation. Any attempt at compulsory sterilisation may be interpreted by people as an invasion of their personal liberties. The principles of this great humanitarian movement have to be instilled into the public mind by a continuous educative propaganda so as to create a scientific outlook towards the spread of mental disease.

B. N. ADARKAR.

ALL THINGS EDIFY NOT.

It is by no means an unusual practice for men to walk with their hands on the shoulders of their companions who may even be grown up men or women. To the less demonstrative type, it is sometimes jarring to witness this. To my knowledge, however, none even of the finicky individuals who become dictators have legislated against such conduct. It was with some surprise, therefore, that I read Gandhiji's article in the current *Harijan* declaring his decision after much introspection to give up a harmless little habit which has grown on him these forty-five years. It appears that an inmate of the Sabarmati Ashram told Gandhiji some years ago that his practice of placing a hand on the shoulder of persons walking with him, "when extended to grown-up girls and women" offended accepted notions of decency. This officious attempt to control Gandhiji's conduct deservedly failed. But a more effective line of approach was taken up by two co-workers who suggested during a recent visit to Wardha, that it was likely to prove a bad example to others. "All things are lawful unto me but all things are not expedient.....If meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend," wrote S. Paul in his "First Epistle to the Corinthians," and very probably Gandhiji's comforters used a similar argument with him. The matter was clinched, so far as Gandhiji was concerned, by the conduct of a "bright university student" who under the threadbare cloak of brotherly love was inflicting his unwelcome attentions on a young girl in his control who was too weak to protest against this insidious attack. Incidentally, this seems to bear out the plea of a Muslim communicant from Hyderabad to a local newspaper that women, if they are to come out of purdah, should be trained in the "gentle art of snubbing" in which, according to him, English girls are so well-equipped, as also in the science of differentiating between "a gentleman and an impostor." This discovery of another useful field of co-operation between English and Indian girls need not detain us longer. Gandhiji, fearing lest the young delinquent should seek justification for his weakness in his own practice, decided to give it up and announced his decision to the Wardha Ashram on the 12th instant. Mahatmaji in writing of it confesses that it was with a pang that he arrived at his decision and virtually remarks that he himself regards it as a useless concession to carping critics. The practice to which Gandhiji has referred, is one that has been noticed not only by inmates of the ashrams but by others also who did not take it to be anything more than a mere habit. If I might reveal a secret, it was believed by a good number of Congressmen and women that Gandhiji's practice of resting a hand on his companion's shoulder arose from a desire to learn the fidelity of his devoted followers to the Khadi clause in the Congress constitution. This had induced a salutary fear in their minds and I should not be surprised if a desire for removing it was the real cause of the pressure applied by co-workers at Sabarmati and Wardha. The truth or otherwise of this will be revealed by statistics for Khadi sales in the next few months.

A problem which has been doubtless agitating many minds, is whether it was necessary for Gandhiji to announce his decision to the public. It has been suggested in certain quarters that as it is a resolution affecting only personal conduct Gandhiji need not have disclosed it to the public. There are, in my opinion, several objections to secrecy in a matter of this kind. In the first place, young imitators who exceed the bounds of decency, can be restrained from an irreverent "You did it too" only



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if they are told of the cessation resolution. In the second place publicity often ensures adherence to difficult decisions, as any smoker who has toyed with the idea of giving up tobacco can tell you. A third reason in favour of publicity, is the fact that Gandhiji's act of renunciation might stir his Congress colleagues to give up some cherished habit of theirs which hurts their neighbours. To begin with, one might request Mr. Rajagopalachariar to discard the dark glasses which have led so many journalists and public men into error, and Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel to refrain from the violent attacks on his Socialist co-workers which have given rise to so much heart-burning. And once one starts on this fascinating game there is no knowing where one will end. Lastly, there are several people who look on the practice with as innocent eyes as the Mahatma used to do, and they would regard as inexplicable the absence of this demonstration of kindly feeling except on grounds of a cooling off of affection. Whilst now they will realise that the only objection to the resumption of the old normal relations is that some busybodies have convinced the Mahatma that even to the pure all things cannot be pure.

Inasmuch as the recent decision will make Gandhiji self-conscious in the company of his old friends, it is most regrettable. The only ground on which, therefore, it can commend itself is that it will prevent some "bright young university students" from sinning. But will it? It seems to me too much to expect the ingenious young man who can justify his evil intentions by a reference to Gandhiji's harmless practice, to give them up after the renunciation of the Mahatma. He is more likely to take refuge in the excuse offered by Gandhiji's dictum later in the article that "My example was never meant for all and sundry." The article is valuable, however, for the important revelation that Gandhiji can no more understand the mentality behind the attitude of the erring young man and, if I might add, of the co-workers who asked him to renounce an age-old habit, than they can appreciate the innocence of his practice. Perhaps I am unfair to the young man. Gandhiji dismisses his point of view with the brief sentence, "he resents the slightest suggestion of impropriety." In fact Mahatmaj is unusually reticent about this young culprit. He even leaves the reader to find out whether his actions or his letters were more to blame. "Could I mention what the youth had been doing," commences the Mahatma in condemning him to the reader, and in the very next sentence a reference to "correspondence" intrudes on the subject. "When I read the correspondence, I came to the conclusion that the young man was a consummate hypocrite or was self-deluded." Gandhiji should have deputed the two complaining co-workers to investigate the matter fully. Any young man would resent the charge of impurity if it came from the Mahatma. A little tact and perseverance would have disclosed the hypocrite. If the young man was proved to the satisfaction of the co-workers to be self-deluded they could have quietly turned him over to Gandhiji for correction. And why drag in the university? Gandhiji's prejudice against university education has led him, I am afraid, to tack on to this incident the irrelevant moral that there is no sheep blacker than the educated one. This is a favourite theme with some of our Northern India journals where enough has been published about the bad manners and worse intentions of the Punjabi under-graduate, especially in relation to the innocent young women who are his fellow-students, to prevent the development of a healthy social life for another three generations. These, however, are minor matters. A larger issue is, How far should a leader of men allow his followers to intimidate him

into following a course of action on the plea that he should set others an example? Much as Gandhiji is revered in India and abroad, far fewer men than he imagines seek to imitate him in everything he does. Moreover most of the "grown-up" girls to whom Gandhiji extends the practice, are, I take it, grown up enough to know the difference between Gandhiji and the next man. Any one who tried to follow in the Mahatma's footsteps in this matter would in six cases out of ten be rewarded by a smack on the jaw. In the remaining four cases the girl would be as much to blame as the man.

VIPRA.

THE COLOURED PEOPLES AND ABYSSINIA.

The independence of the ancient kingdom of Abyssinia which has managed her own affairs for centuries is threatened to-day by a European power—Italy—who judging by the force and nature of her arms and armaments and the number of her soldiers and sailors on land, air and sea is bent more on destroying than conquering or colonising her for reasons both hypocritical and straightforward. Hypocritical, because she would have it that she wishes to colonise Abyssinia for purposes of civilizing it, and straightforward, because she wants Abyssinia by hook or by crook with a view to extend her imperial interests and find an outlet for her overgrowing population, so that in time Italy may extend her sway under the direction of the most powerful and ambitious of dictators the world has ever known—Signor Mussolini—and attain eventually the splendour and glory that was once the privilege and honour of the Empire of Rome. If Abyssinia was a forlorn desert no one would grudge Italy her designs. But she is a nation of some magnitude and has held her own for 8,000 years, developing herself on lines that are most suited to the needs of her people who are both contented and happy. The present Abyssinian Monarch is a descendant of that wise King Solomon of biblical fame and the Queen of Sheba. He is a powerful man of rare intelligence and initiative and is capable of guiding the destinies of Abyssinia without intervention from friend or foe. It was only four decades ago, on the 1st of March 1896 that his father inflicted a crushing defeat on the Italians at Adowa for attempting to encroach on Abyssinian territories, which was as decisive as the recent "knock out" of Carnera by the giant "coloured boxer." Abyssinia has since been recognised as a nation by the European nations and was admitted as a member of the League of Nations in 1923. So then, it will be seen that Abyssinia is a power and needs no civilizing influences from Italy which cannot see eye to eye with Abyssinia whose culture and civilization, not to speak of her customs and manners, are as different from Italy as the Poles are asunder. Abyssinia may as well turn round and say to Italy "You barbarians" and she would be perfectly justified in so doing as the conduct of Italy in trying to uproot a well established Kingdom for downright selfish motives, in the face of her solemn pledges to the League of Nations, by forceful aggression which has rightly called for the bitterest criticism from all over the world, is simply "barbarous." True to the spirit of peace as embodied in the constitution of the League of Nations, Abyssinia has not bothered to improve her fighting force believing firmly in the cause of peace and the integrity of nations, but Italy on the other hand has gone on improving her army, navy and air forces in defiance of peace contrary to the principles of the League of Nations, and is to-day proclaiming from the summits of the Alps that she is the strongest power in



Europe, flouting reason and public opinion, disregarding covenants and agreements, which is indeed yet another reason for Abyssinia to believe that the nation that stands most in need of civilization to lay, is Italy and not herself.

Italy is bent on war and the other members of the League of Nations—Britain and France primarily and a host of others in Europe—are hesitating to apply the Sanctions against the aggressor in spite of their having covenanted to do so simply because they are afraid of the might of Italy which might set Europe ablaze again. The members of the League are in honour bound to apply the "Sanctions" against Italy irrespective of what the consequences will be and if they do not do so, they will be running the risk of losing their prestige and honour and being universally dubbed the "white feathered races" as their conduct would smack of cowardice. In justice however, to Great Britain, it must be said that true to her greatness she has so far stood by the covenant and has shown a willingness to go through with the Sanctions. But she cannot do it alone and the chief defaulter is France who wants Italy on her side in the event of Germany attacking her but she forgets that by her unseemly conduct in the present crisis, she is dealing a death blow to the League of Nations which might ultimately rebound against her one day to her regret. France's fear is the growing strength of Germany and if Germany had been the aggressor instead of Italy, France would have urged the application of the Sanctions with a vengeance. Why, even now, in the present case, if Abyssinia had been the aggressor instead of Italy the members of the League of Nations would have by now clipped her wings and made her unrecognizable in the map of Africa. And yet how dilatory they are with regard to Italy even after knowing Italy is definitely in the wrong. France is still afraid of Germany and all her "funk" is the result of that nightmare which is so possessing her that codes of honour and decency do not cut any ice with her at present. So is Italy so selfish that she has no regard for covenants honourably undertaken. But nevertheless the coloured races of Asia, Africa, and America including Japan and China are watching the conduct of the "civilized nations of Europe" and should unhappily the "civilized nations" fail to impose the sanctions on the aggressor as they had covenanted to do and let Abyssinia be trampled down by Italy, they would view it as the shabbiest deal that has ever been meted out by the white races to the coloured peoples and would look upon it as an insult and injury to themselves which might ultimately lead to trouble all over the world far transcending any puny war between Italy and Abyssinia. So far as Great Britain is concerned she cannot afford to throw her weight with a small section of Europeans against the weight of opinion of her own coloured subjects who form 75 % of the world's population encompassing three-fourths of the globe. Is she going to displease this mighty horde of loyal peoples against her own interests for the sake of a tiny strip of land called Italy in the south of Europe?

London.

J. CHINNA DURAL

A Twenty-Second Child:—Dame Madge Kendal, who died this week, at the age of 86, says the *Examiner*, was the twenty-second child of her parents. According to Birth Control principles she ought never to have been born! Yet she spent 54 years on the stage, was one of the greatest actresses of her time, and what is more, by her example and by her words did a great deal to raise the standard of stage morality.

A NEW SMRITI FOR THE AGE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

Mr. S. D. Nadkarni, founder of the Hindu Sabha at Karwar, was invited by Barrister V. D. Savarkar on behalf of the Hindu Sabha of Ratnagiri to take part in the all-Hindu Ganapati celebrations organised by him on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the latter Sabha. In the course of the celebrations which were conducted in the spacious precincts of the beautiful pan-Hindu temple there, which is dedicated to God Patita-pavan (Lakshmi-Narayan), and where no caste distinctions are observed. Mr. Nadkarni addressed a meeting on the 10th inst. The Marathi script-reformer, Mr. D. K. Devdhar of Bombay, presided. The following is an English summary of Mr. Nadkarni's speech in Marathi on his proposal to issue an all-Hindu manifesto in the form of a Smriti suited to the needs and aspirations of the present age.

Relating how he lighted upon the idea of issuing a new Smriti for this age, Mr. Nadkarni said, "When about 10 to 12 years ago, I was doing anti-Untouchability work at Karwar, I used to conduct propaganda generally on secular grounds and to base my arguments mostly on wordly considerations. But when the anti-reformers objected on scriptural and spiritual grounds, I used to meet their arguments on their own ground with texts in favour of the reform hunted out of the Scriptures. They, however, did not appear to be satisfied with them. They used to wrest and twist the words of the texts out of their plain meanings to suit their own views and would wrestle over innocent particles and wrangle over prepositions and terminations. They would also present me with texts apparently adverse to the reform. This led me to think that I had better put down my own thoughts in the form of precepts and injunctions unequivocally in Sanskrit verses on the subject of Untouchability and all other matters in which Hindu society stood in need of reform. So I drew up a draft. But subsequently a doubt assailed me. What would be its use? But it is written: 'The secret of faith lies in the cave,' (धर्मस्य तस्य निहितं गुहायाम्). And by 'cave' here is meant, of course, the human heart. But supposing one were to take the text literally and were to say that the spirit of old Manu the law-giver, beholding the present sorry plight of his progeny in these days, incarnated itself on the shore of the Western Sea and, leaving a new Smriti composed by him in a cave of the Western Ghats near my town for the well-being of his progeny, vanished;—now supposing one had tried to push forward the claims of one's Smritified composition with such legends, the questions would still have remained,—first, whether and how far the attempt would succeed in this critical wide-awake age, and, second, whether even if the device did succeed, it would be desirable. So I resolved that if at all a new Smriti should see the light of day in these democratic times, it should make its appearance only by ways familiar to democracy. So I decided that copies of the draft Smriti with a comprehensive questionnaire should be circulated to men and woman of light and leading throughout the Hindu world, in order to elicit their suggestions and opinions, and that these should be placed before a Committee to be elected by those leaders for the purpose of settling the final form of the draft."

"As soon as the draft is settled," said Mr. Nadkarni, "it should be put into Sanskrit verses and also rendered into all the vernaculars and into English also and published simultaneously in all these languages with the imprimature of Hindu leaders of different castes and creeds and drawn from all provinces."



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"If necessary," continued Mr. Nadkarni, "a compilation may be made of suitable texts from all the old Hindu scriptural literature, that it may find its place by the side of the new Smriti as a supplementary work to support that, our original document. This subsidiary work should serve the same purpose that the Old Testament does in relation to the New, among the Christians. And like it also, our compilation of texts from the old Sastras and cullings from the lives and words of the Saints and Sages of Hindudom of past ages—this *upabrinhana*—should be treated as the minor or secondary part of the whole work so formed. This scriptural work of all the Hindus so produced will doubtless conduce to the welfare and advancement of all the Hindus in all directions."

Concluding, the lecturer noticed "an objection voiced in some quarters, that all the Smritis we now have are works which only record customs and usages actually prevailing at the time of their production; and that therefore the doctrines that we are going to preach through our new Smriti should first be followed by the people in considerable numbers, or in other words that they should first find acceptance in actual practice among the people and then be recorded in our Smriti. My reply to this is—It is not an altogether correct view of the origin or function of the old Smritis to say that they only recorded customs then in existence. For I could point out several texts in them in which certain customs are mentioned only to be reprobated and abrogated. Therefore it would not be proper to insist that all the precepts in our new Smriti should first be followed by the people and then recorded in it. However, let me say, even that objection loses its force now when we find that during the space of these ten years passed since the foundation of the Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha, most of the things we are going to preach through our Smriti that is to be have actually been practised in the open by the Hindu citizens at large here in this blessed town of Ratnagiri under the holy shadow of the Patita-pavan Temple with the inspiring, forceful, self-sacrificing guidance of Dharma-bhai Savarkar Mahashay."

SIR T. VIJIARAGHAVACHARYA'S EUROPEAN IMPRESSIONS.

Sir T. Vijiaraghavachariar, Vice-Chairman of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research, delivered the inaugural address on the 18th of the Intermediate College Association, writes the Bangalore correspondent of the *Hindu*.

He spoke of his impressions of his visit to the European countries and America in 1924 to 1926 and compared them with those which he formed during his visit to those countries last year.

The face of Europe appeared quite free from trouble in 1924-26. But there had been a tremendous change when he visited those countries last year. The whole phase of the country had completely changed. On the European Continent, including Great Britain, with the exception of France and England, the old notions of freedom had disappeared. Even as early as October 1934, when the speaker was in Europe, he could hear the rumblings of the trouble that was now threatening Europe. In Italy, under Mussolini, things were much improved and there was a wonderful improvement in the spirit which animated every Italian. Public services had been purified. In Germany, the prevailing spirit was not certainly of peace. Practically all the young men in Germany underwent martial exercises. A complete change had come over the spirit of Europe. It would be a mistake for people to assume that either in Italy or in Germany, it

was fear that held the people together. In Germany, the people felt that Hitler was the first man who had put self-respect into the nation. It would be a great mistake for anybody to assume that it was pure despotism either in Germany or Italy. In England, he continued, the atmosphere was quite different. One could feel that it was a free country where he could say anything he liked. In Rome, a different atmosphere prevailed. The atmosphere was such that people never used the name of Mussolini in public. The speaker while he was there last year used to have frequent discussions with the journalists. They never used the name of Mussolini. Code words were used. One time it was 'Smith,' at another it was 'John,' One day it was 'Tomatoes,' (Laughter.) The same atmosphere prevailed in Germany. One had to be much more careful in Germany than in Italy; that did not mean that the stranger was not welcome. The only thing was that the visitor had to keep clear of politics.

"The old notions of freedom, to which we have got accustomed," continued the speaker, "the freedom of speech, liberty to do what you liked, subject to prosecution under the law, was preserved in England and in France also. In other countries, it was quite different. It looked to me that Europe was far from being in a peaceful state. It is a question of some kind of an economic recovery and of the bankers advancing loans and that will be the end of peace. I think it is not too strong a statement to say that peace hangs on a balance in Europe." Obviously, the war to end war had proved a useless experiment. With the great advance they had made in Science, the next war would be fought more efficiently than the last world war.

What was required at the present moment Sir T. V. Achariar said, was a change in the mental attitude of the people. It was there where young men could play a part. Many of them must have noticed the remarkable way in which both the Oxford and Cambridge University men were enthusiastic and had taken pledges that they would not fight. It was this spirit which had to be developed and spread. He knew some people would scout the idea and say that in the face of armed nations, there was no use of preaching ideas. These critics would say that the unarmed prophet who preached peace went only to its destruction. But he would ask whether ideas and ideals had not spread and taken firm root and revolutionised society? He would only refer them to the ideals of Christ and the Lord Budha and the wonders they had worked. Ideals pursued by enthusiastic people in the right spirit would, in course of time, prevail against men in arms.

The only efficient cure that he saw for the present day situation was by the spread of ideas. His hope for the future was in the young men and he would therefore appeal to them to practise and preach ideas. If external wars in Europe and internal wars in India were to be prevented—the speaker was really interested more in the latter than in the former—he thought that it was very necessary that young men should get rid of the idea of superiority and inferiority. If young men in India could learn that the great object in life was not to have music before mosques or a thousand and one things which led to these communal differences, but that they all belonged to India and that India was first in their heart, irrespective of the fact that they were Muslims, Hindus, Sikhs, Christians, Parsis, etc., the politics of the next 50 years in India would be very much cleaner and better than the politics of the present day.

The immediate lesson that the young in India should learn was, he said, that religious differences in India should not count. The only hope of having



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a real nationhood in India was by relegating these religious differences to their proper place and keeping them outside the public life.

In conclusion, Sir T. Vijiaraghvachariar said, "What is required is that all over Europe, the younger men must take this philosophy of life: Differences of religion do not matter—differences of colour do not matter—what matters is really the human mind and the intellect."

JUDGE STRATHIE'S ADVICE TO LABOUR LEADERS.*

After delivering judgment in the case against Messrs. J. Ramalingaiah and two other Socialist Workers of Guntur against whom the Police placed charge-sheets under the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, convicting them each to a simple imprisonment for six months, Mr. D. N. Strathie, I.C.S., District Magistrate, presented the accused with two books one by Joad and entitled 'Liberty To-day' and the other a copy of Galsworthy's plays and said by way of advice to the youths:

I have found you guilty and I am sending you to prison. I want first to say a few words to you in the hope that they will do some good. I realise that I am in the position of a preacher and that you cannot very well answer me at this stage. But I do wish to take advantage of my privileged position. First I trust you will realise that in sending you to prison I am acting in pursuance of what I conscientiously believe to be my duty. I trust you will not bear any ill-will against me or against the Government I represent. In particular, I trust you will not accuse me, as you have accused the Magistrate in your drama, pamphlet No. 7, of being bribed by the local factory owners. For up to a point, I am with you and if I were a Dictator here I would immediately introduce some of the reforms for which you ask in your pamphlet No. 9. I am moreover willing to believe that you have been acting conscientiously.

What I want you to appreciate is that if your object is to improve the conditions of labouring classes you are certainly going the wrong way about it. In the first place—as I have tried to bring out in my judgment—you are relying for the success of your efforts almost wholly on stirring up class hatred. No good can ever come of that. Secondly, you are displaying your youthful ignorance by imagining and leading your ignorant hearers to imagine that the lot of the workers can be immediately benefitted by a radical change in the organisation of industry and the substitution of the present entrepreneurs by (presumably) representatives of the workers, presumably men like yourself.

I would ask you to ponder a few questions. What do you really know about the organisation of Industry? Do you seriously think that you could run Maddi Venkata Subbaya's tobacco factory (the proprietor of a local tobacco factory) if through a rising of the workers you did get control over it? Do you think anybody would lend you any capital? You may answer that under your regime the banks would also be under your control and that State Capital would be disbursed to you. How long do you fancy you would keep it? What do you know about large scale finance? What do you know about tobacco, its buying, grading and marketing? I have no hesitation in assuring you and all your friends that within two months the coolies you have deluded would be in the streets living on doles, that there would soon be a serious shortage of tobacco and that within 12 months the nation would be bankrupt and you and the coolies would be starving.

*Justice.

You have been extolling the merits of the new regime in Russia and telling your listeners how happy the workers are there now-a-days. I wonder where you got the information and whether you have heard the other side of the picture, how the change was effected at the cost of oceans of blood, stupendous misery not only for the rich but for the middle classes and the poor, how the practical effect has been at the best to substitute one tyranny for another, how the workers in Russia (except the successful few who rise to be like yourself labour leaders) now live herded in barracks under the strictest discipline. How 70 per cent of the railway workers for instance, making about two million, have recently been punished under an all embracing Article (iii) of the Soviet Criminal Code, which makes neglect of duty a criminal offence, how family life, which means so much to Indians in particular has been destroyed, how private property has been largely eliminated, how the private property that remains is no longer safe from hands of thieves owing to the inefficiency of the new Executive, how the peasants who produce the essential food-stuffs you mention in pamphlet No. 6, are also herded in barracks away from their families and have during the last 2 years starved as there was a partial failure of crops and the bulk of the crops that remained were sent to the cities to feed the organised labour in the huge new factories.

Do you realise that personal liberty has largely disappeared in Russia, that people like you, for instance, who dared to criticise the existing form of Government would have been put up against a wall and shot months ago. In all sincerity I would urge you to employ the few months' leisure you are going to secure, if my decision is up-held, in studying the complexities of the organisation of the State and of Industry and in acquiring some really reliable information about that country which you are taking as your model. In the way of helping you I propose to present you with two books, one a copy of Joad's 'Liberty To-day' which will I hope convince you of the merits of those institutions which you are trying to destroy and the other a copy of Galsworthy's plays, where you will see how it is possible for a labour advocate to write on the sufferings of the poor and criticise the administration of justice without imputing vile motives to the rich as a whole and bringing himself within the clutches of the Criminal Law.

The Viceroy-Elect.—Though a gentleman burglar strolled out of Lord Lintithgow's London House last year with 5,000 worth of jewelry including a sapphire tiara matching the next Viceroy's eyes, the Marquess is rated "poor" for so costly a post as Viceroy (salary \$ 97,500). Indians will find him the tallest of Britain's long line of moose-tail Viceroys, and in India the fact that Queen Victoria was his godmother will help. An urbane humorist, the new Viceroy when stimulated can be counted on to provoke well-bred hilarity with his "Imitation of a Maiden Aunt at a Children's Party." On the links he is a keen golfer, on the parade ground a tremendous trumpeter, at the piano a smooth tenor. Six foot Lady Lintithgow is an acceptable soprano, better at tennis which she plays on the French Riviera every winter with Sweden's moose-tail King Gustaf. Twins, the eldest children, the Earl of Hopetoun and Lord John Hope, now 23, will stay on in London with the King's swank Scots Guards, while "The Baby" Lady Doreen Hope, 15, remains in boarding school. To New Delhi for the fun and splendor of the Viceregal Court go Lady Anne, 21, and Lady Joan, 19. The whole family was vexed when the Soviet Ambassador moved in next door to their house in Chesham Place and strange-looking people began punching their bell. Promptly Lord Lintithgow installed a shiny brass door plate: "This is NOT the Russian Embassy." (Time).



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DRINK CONTROL.

Those who manufacture and sell intoxicating liquors are continually demanding that the restrictions placed upon the retail sale of liquor shall be relaxed. A vigorous campaign was recently carried on in certain centres in England to change the night closing hour from ten o'clock to ten-thirty. This was not permitted.

The liquor interests insist that the public should be allowed their freedom in the matter of purchasing drinking liquor and they are restive under any sort of restraints or restrictions that are placed upon them.

The question may well be asked as to why any restrictions or limitations have been placed upon the sale of intoxicating drinks. If, as the advertisements tell us, liquor is such a great boon to mankind, one naturally wonders why any restrictions should be placed upon its manufacture and sale. From the first there must have been no such restrictions. When in the early days men manufactured and drank their own crude types of liquor and gave it or sold it to their neighbours there could have been no restrictions. How did it happen that restrictions have been placed upon the sale of intoxicants, while no restrictions are placed upon the sale of flour? Anyone with even the most elementary understanding could answer this question. The reason is that the sale of liquor in unrestricted quantities and at all hours, results in social conditions that are not desirable. Places where drinking men congregate far into the night become a menace, and to have unlimited carousing gives a bad name to any locality. Since this is so, there are very few who raise any objection whatever to certain restrictions being placed upon the sale of intoxicants.

It is recognized that Society is justified in restricting the sale of intoxicants. The only question to be decided is the degree of restriction that is required. Prohibition, they tell us, carries the restriction too far. But in the last analysis is not society to judge regarding the effects of intoxicants upon those who use them? And if it is shown that those who indulge in intoxicants are damaging themselves and also are liable to be a danger to others, will not society be justified in making such restrictions as will save individuals from harm and also society from danger? It seems to us this is a conclusion that cannot be escaped. Society has not only the right but the duty to prevent men and women from drinking intoxicants to the extent that they themselves are harmed or that anyone else is placed in danger. Sooner or later this obligation of society will be recognized. It will mean restrictions such as do not exist in most countries. It will mean the limiting of the sales of intoxicants to a degree not now known. And as this is done, it will be discovered that the easiest and surest way for society to protect itself will be thorough prohibition.

Whatever may have happened in the past, the future lies with prohibition for it is only by prohibiting the manufacture and sale of intoxicant liquors that society can protect itself against the harm which comes from their use. Those who are discouraged with the progress which the Temperance Movement is making, should realize that the doom of the liquor trade is written in the evil effects that come from the use of liquor. What is needed is further education and a better understanding of the evil effects of alcoholic drink and the time for giving this education is now.

Diploma Course in Journalism.—The special Committee appointed by the Syndicate of Madras University to consider the desirability of instituting a course in Journalism, met on September 24th and decided that there should be a diploma course.

The Indian Witness, Lucknow.

WHEAT FROM MOHENJO-DARO.

While eminent Indologists are at a loss to trace the link, still supposed to be missing, which connects the prehistoric Mohenjo-daro civilisation of India with the historic civilisation flourishing in North India on the banks of the vedic river Saraswati, botanists are confident to reap and restore the agricultural harvest of that prehistoric age. This has been possible as the direct result of the industry of Sir Daniel Hamilton in trying to introduce in his estates in the Sunderbans in Bengal and in Mayurbhanj in Bihar, the seeds which he purchased at a shilling an ounce from a mission in England, which succeeded in reproducing an ancient ear of wheat obtained from a tomb in the excavations in Mohenjo-daro. The seeds were sold for the benefit of the mission in England. In accordance with instructions given for implanting the seeds in Sir Daniel's estates, particular care was taken of the soil and the protection of the plants from goats and rats. The Mohenjo-daro wheat plants grew well at both the places. But at Sunderbans more seeds could not be obtained for want of rain. Another fresh attempt is being made to implant the seeds.

The wheat, it is said, is of a peculiar type, each head having small branches up to nine in number springing from it. Judging from the weight of grain produced, it is unusually prolific. It is well-known to historians that the practice of placing wheat in tombs for the nourishment of the deceased in the spirit world was well-known to antiquity. And the ear of wheat from which ears are now being reproduced may have been buried for 4,000 years. It was announced by the mission which sold this wheat to Sir Daniel that there is no older grain like the Mohenjo-daro wheat in the world today. An analysis taken at the Agricultural Research Institute at Pusa led to the report that the "food value of the wheat compares favourably with that of our Pusa wheat."

WHY COUE FAILED.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

We don't see anything in the papers nowadays about the once popular Couéism: "Every day in every way I'm getting better and better." This philosophy passed away because it appealed, not to the soul, but only to the mind.

True philosophy makes a man exclaim: "Every day in every way I'm getting worse and worse." When a man's soul is steadfastly fixed upon God, when his conduct is grounded upon virtue and right principles, when his purposes in life are true, good, and unchangeable, he can afford to regard with indifference and even to despise afflictions and evils that discourage and overwhelm the majority of people.

Such a man can derive pleasure from contemplating the miseries that afflict him, for all his miseries do not touch his soul which has a life apart from the life of his body and cannot be affected by evils that touch his body and affect his worldly estate and prospects. He is, of course, aware of his miseries, but he is able to laugh at them. When he considers his poverty, his obscurity, his loneliness, his bodily infirmities, his old age and failing powers, all gradually increasing from day to day, he says, indeed, with his lips, "Every day in every way I'm getting worse and worse," but in his soul he laughs at all these troubles, for his soul is strong, happy, and eternal because it is united with God who is strong.



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happy, and eternal. He even takes pleasures in contemplating and enumerating his troubles one by one, for thereby he is always reminded of the unalterable and imperishable well-being of his soul.

This is my philosophy. I think that it will outlive Coue's.

Idaho, U. S. A., } Yours etc,
August 19, 1935. } CHARLES HOOPER.

"STERILISATION—THE SUPREME CONTRACEPTIVE."

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Owing to the fact that the use of birth control remedies for purposes of limiting families is expensive and beyond the means of people of very limited means, sterilisation seems to find increasing favour with the public. Its wider use is however retarded by the general belief that the operation is irrevocable, that once it is performed, it is past correction. This does not however appear to be strictly correct. In a book entitled "The Case for Sterilisation" by Leon F. Whitney which is edited by Dr. Norman Haire, Ch. M., M. B. and published by John Lane the Bodley Head, it is stated on p. 18 that many surgeons are confident that the correcting operation can be effectually done; while others are doubtful. It is added: "Such a correcting operation is a far more delicate procedure than the original vasectomy, though it is not dangerous; one side only would have to be reconnected, since the sperm-cells from one testicle would be more than enough to insure fertility." A footnote on the same page says: "Professor Schmerz, of Gratz, in Austria, gave evidence under oath in a court of law that he had successfully restored fertility by a plastic operation on the sperm-ducts, after having sterilised patients at an earlier date by vasectomy; and he brought forward some cases in proof of his statement." I doubt not that this information will strengthen the hands of people who advocate sterilisation as a method of unfailing birth control.

Poona, } Yours etc.
September 21, 1935. } D. V. A.

Hard on the Doctor:—On giving birth to her first child, the plaintiff's wife had an exceedingly difficult and dangerous time and her physician told her she must not have another child as it would endanger her life. Her husband therefore had the operation of vasectomy performed upon himself. The doctor told him that the operation was successful and guaranteed that he was sterile. Nevertheless, his wife became pregnant again and after a difficult delivery gave birth to another child. The plaintiff sued the doctor who operated on him for the anxiety he and his wife underwent during the second pregnancy and childbirth, and for the expenses incurred. The Supreme Court of Minnesota and the Supreme Court decided that vasectomy under the circumstances was not against public policy, was perfectly justified and that the plaintiff was therefore justified in suing the doctor. It held that sterilization of the husband was justifiable, it does not impair but frequently improves the vigour of the patient, and except for his inability to beget children, he is every bit as capable physically and mentally as before. Under the circumstances therefore the contract was not void as against public policy, nor the performance of the operation illegal.—*The Critic and Guide*, June 1935.

Mahatma Gandhi to Visit Japan.—A Reuter's message from Tokio dated August 28 stated that Mahatma Gandhi has written to friends and admirers stating that he is looking forward to his visit to Japan. We, however, are unaware, writes *Indian Opinion* of any intention on the part of Mahatma Gandhi of visiting Japan.

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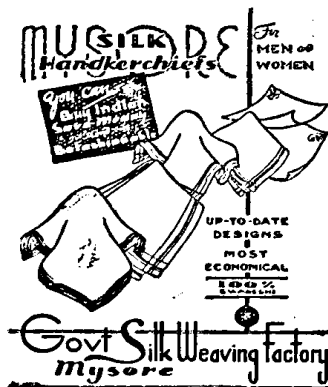
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Mr. Vaikunth Mehta on the Co-operative Movement:—The Madras Provincial Co-operative Conference which met at Coimbatore last Saturday, could not have made a better choice for its president than Mr. Vaikunth Mehta. In his quiet assuming way he has in the course of the last twenty years made himself one of the most competent authorities on the subject of Co-operation both in its theoretical and practical sides. He is besides in close touch with such movements as Gandhiji's village reconstruction and Harijan schemes. He is, therefore, peculiarly qualified to form and express a well-considered opinion as to the achievements and failures of the Co-operative Movement in the past, its present position and the lines on which it can do most good in the future. On all three aspects of the problem, his presidential address casts much-needed light. He does not indeed dwell much on the past because the present depression has created new problems to the solution of which past experience affords but slender guidance. As for the present Mr. Mehta points out that, while complete rehabilitation of the cultivating classes could be ensured only by a recovery of world conditions, some measures of alleviation which would have been helpful have not been adopted by Government in India. The improvement that has taken place in the outlook before the cotton cultivators, he observes, is primarily due to measures inaugurated in the United States in America. But serious doubts are beginning to be entertained in the States about the effects of the measures for raising prices adopted three years ago, on the home industry; and, if America reverts as it may, to its normal policy, the outlook for the cotton cultivator in India would be seriously affected. It is, therefore, much to be regretted that the Government of India have not only

been remiss in not doing anything to help the Indian cultivator, but that Sir James Grigg should be in a position to prevent such measures from being adopted now or in the near future. Mr. Mehta spoke with unaccustomed emphasis on the retrograde policy which the Finance Member is bent upon enforcing in India. Mr. Mehta dealt in some detail with the utilisation of the special grant to Madras Presidency of Rs. 14 lakhs for rural development. He is quite right in saying that the four items on which the Madras Government propose to spend that amount—namely, water supply, roads, sanitation and anti-malarial measures—should be met out of the ordinary revenue and that the grants should be used in ways which are calculated to increase the income of the rural population. Mr. Mehta was astonished that, in spite of the Co-operative Movement, the agricultural indebtedness in Madras has increased, according to the Special Officer's Report, by over Rs. 50 crores during the last five years. This in a province which has had a special run of prosperity under the Meston Settlement, is conclusive proof of the unreality of the success claimed for Dyarchy in Madras.

The Bombay Special Powers Bill:—On the 12th September the Indian Legislative Assembly after seven days debate rejected the Criminal Law Amendment Bill (since enacted into Law by certification process) the objects of which were stated by the Home Member of the Government of India to be to combat civil disobedience, communism and terrorism. The Home Member of the Bombay Government introducing another Bill on Tuesday in the Provincial Legislative Council stated the objects of his bill which were also the same, namely, to deal with civil disobedience, communism and terrorism. This is evidently intended to stop any little gaps that might be left by the Indian Act through which the civil disobedience man, the communist or the terrorist may escape. But there is one difference. While the Home and Law Members of the Government of India bent their endeavours to proving the existence of terrorism, the Bombay Home Member admitted that it did not exist in this Presidency. Nevertheless he wanted the powers renewed permanently as civil disobedience which is now out of operation, terrorism which does not exist, and communism of which he had



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only very vague proofs, might any day become menaces to peace and order. It is obvious that whether the perils exist or not the Executive is determined to have these extra powers. The Executive having tasted the sweets of arbitrary power do not want to let it go. Perhaps, they have lost the ability to govern under the ordinary law. The situation now is this: that while a murderer, a forger, a dacoit, is entitled to the presumption of law that every one should be regarded as innocent until proved guilty, a person suspected of terrorism, communism or civil disobedience will be treated as if the guilt against him needed no proof. This is what Sir Govind Madgaoker, who retired two years ago from the Bench of the Bombay High Court, concludes after a careful analysis of the clauses of the Bombay Bill in his communication which we print today. He further holds that the language of the Bill is general and in no way confined to communists, terrorists or passive resisters but includes and is capable of being directed against law-abiding citizens who might happen to incur the suspicion of the Police.

Englishmen in India:—It is regarded as axiomatic nowadays that the Englishman in this country must remain a stranger and sojourner. This is a consequence of the Imperialistic ideas which found place in British Indian policy during the third quarter of the last century. Prior to that there were many Englishmen who regarded themselves and were regarded by their Indian neighbours as good as people of the soil. Pleasing pictures of the intimate relations which existed between Indians and Englishmen, are found in George Birdwood's "Sva." Be it remembered that Indians were far more conservative then than now; and eating and drinking in company with people of castes other than their own, was strictly prohibited. Indeed, Birdwood says that his most intimate Hindu friend, who confided to him his domestic troubles and sought his advice in all important personal matters, would bathe after shaking hands with him. This was not meant and was not taken as a personal slight. It was an item of Hindu orthodoxy, and respected as such. This type of Englishmen has not altogether become extinct. Mr. Robert Foulkes of Salem in the Madras Presidency, who died recently seems to have been a man of this type. We reprint the tribute to him by *Justice*. Mr. G. I. Griffiths whose death last week at an early age called forth warm tributes from all sides in the Bombay Municipal Corporation on Monday, was a man of the same type. Sir J. B. Boman-Behram mentioned that because of his pro-Indian sentiments, the European Association would not put him up as a candidate at the Municipal elections and that he secured his seat independently of European support. He could do this because there is no communal European constituency in the Municipal electorate. But he would be shut off from the Legislature since he could stand only for a European constituency.

The Press Laws and the Penal Code:—Judge Strathie in his judgment in the case against three members of the Labour Protection League of Guntur to which we referred last week, tried to understand why the prosecution was launched under the Press law and not under the Penal Code. He thought that it was due to an interpretation put by the Bombay High Court upon the word "class," in the section of the Penal Code dealing with the offence of promoting hatred and contempt against any class of His Majesty's subjects. There is a more simple explanation. We reprint in another place the part of the speech, in the Legislative Assembly, of the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, which gives it in the authoritative language of eminent Judges of High Courts. In the first place, the Press law, reversing the ordinary principle of the Penal Code, fixes the burden of proof upon the accused, a great advantage to the prosecution. More important still, from the point of view of the prosecution, it requires the accused to show not only that his writing is not likely, nor has it the tendency, to bring about ill-feeling between classes. He must go further and show that it is impossible for it to have that tendency, directly or indirectly. In the words of former Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, Sir Lawrence Jenkins, there was no article on earth, however innocent, which does not come within the clutches of the law. Even a standard work of literature—the New Testament even—can easily come under this Act.

Nazis and the Justice Party:—The *Catholic Leader* thinks that the anti-Semitic measures of the Nazi regime in Germany are analogous, not, as we suggested (September 21), to the inhibitions imposed by custom on the relations between the general body of Hindus and the antyajias, but to the anti-Brahmin movement in Southern India. "What would be a more correct comparison," it observes, "is the revolt in Southern India against the privileged position occupied by Brahmins in public life till recently. The new measures taken against Jews, though unusual and not in accordance with the traditions of European nations (the *Catholic Leader* does not evidently rely on historical facts for its opinions) are mainly due to the tremendous power and influence wielded by them in the national life and foreign policy of Germany. It is the belief of the German Nazis that until and unless the Jewish predominance in the services of the country and in the control of national finance is broken down, the Jews would prove a source of danger to the welfare of the State. Similar conditions prevailed also in this Presidency until the formation of the Justice Party which by its vigorous campaign against Brahmin ascendancy in the public professions obtained an equitable share for all communities in public life." There is much in the comparison instituted between the German Nazis and the Justice Party which we are not concerned to deny.



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Jews, Catholics and Brahmins—Our observations regarding the similarity between the anti-Semitic marriage laws and other measures having for their avowed object the social isolation of Jews in Germany, were suggested by the statement in one of the recent pan-Jewish conferences that the position of Jews in that country was worse than that of untouchables in India. If it was merely the elimination of the preponderance of Jews in public life which the Nazis have in view, it could have been effected by a quota system covering recruitment to the public services and even to admission to educational institutions such as has been instituted by the British Indian Government. However that may be, the *Catholic Leader* does not extend its benevolence to the Nazi measures against Catholics in Germany, who, and not Jews, are comparable to Brahmins in India. If the Nazis are justified in putting down the predominance of Jews in German public life on the ground that it is opposed to national interests, they may plead the same justification—and indeed they do—for their measures relating to the Catholic Church. But, no. The *Leader* would have none of it. "As the Catholic Church has been the strongest and most powerful opponent of the un-Christian measures of the Nazi Government," it avers, "systematic organised attempts have been made to compel the Church to fall in line with the new German pagan ideals." Herr Hitler is himself a Catholic and his policy towards his own Church has not the taint of race prejudice which obviously inspires his anti-Jewish measures.

Is it War?—As we go to press, unconfirmed news that Italian troops have crossed the Abyssinian Frontier is published. It is now only a question of days, perhaps, hours, before the dogs of war are unleashed. Signor Mussolini in an impassioned address at a test mobilisation on Wednesday of the civilian population throughout Italy, adjured them to stand by him for the glory of their country which, he said, had not received the reward due to her for the great sacrifices which she made for the Allied cause during the last War. Italy did not break the Triple Alliance and go over to the Allied side until she had been assured of her reward. Her contribution to the victory of the Allies was far less than was expected and than Signor Mussolini claims. In any case, the failure of the Allies to reward her adequately for her timely defection from the Triple Alliance, should not be visited on Abyssinia. Mussolini's reasoning is all wrong, although we are sure he quite believes in it. If Abyssinia has given reason for provocation, other than refusing to accept Italy as her overlord, she has offered to submit her case to arbitration which Signor Mussolini does not want. The one thing which is clear is that he wishes Italy to rival the British and French colonial empires. He is piqued that while small countries like Belgium, Holland and Portugal have large coloured territories under their sway, Italy should be denied the same privilege.

His action brings to an issue the whole subject of European exploitation of the coloured races. General Smuts sees that it bodes no good to the White races. Signor Mussolini does not care what becomes of the White races if he is not allowed to share the spoils of Africa equally with the others. But for our faith in the doctrine of Karma, we should find considerable difficulty in continuing to believe that there is a just God guiding the destiny of nations.

The Kavitha Incident—Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's intervention has brought about a peaceful settlement of the conflict between caste Hindus and antyajias in Kavitha village, which had gone from bad to worse and threatened to end in worst. The Sardar left the question of children of caste Hindus and the antyajias attending the same school to be solved by their own good sense; and he persuaded the two factions to give up the boycott and settle down to normal conditions. We are in favour of children of all classes being educated in common schools. But it would be pushing a good principle too far to compel them to do so against a strong current of prejudice without first taking steps to remove the prejudice. Further, communal schools are maintained and supported from the public revenues in the case of Europeans and Muslims, and there is no equity in withdrawing grants from schools attended by caste Hindu children if there is a prejudice against their being educated along with antyaja children. This prejudice can be overcome and, in one conspicuous instance within our knowledge was very effectively overcome by the Bombay Depressed Classes Mission started a quarter of a century ago by the Prarthna Samaj. The school conducted by the Mission in Ghadiali Buildings (new demolished), in Parel with Mr. V. S. Sohoni as Headmaster, was so efficient that caste Hindus of the neighbourhood sent their children to it to sit side by side with antyaja children in preference to the municipal school nearby. The Harijan Seva Sangh at Sabarmati should now try this method in Kavitha and we are sure it will succeed. Where imprecations and invocations of official pressure are of no avail, conciliatory action will win over the orthodox caste Hindus who, after all, are as much victims of prejudice as the antyajias. The use of harsh terms such as 'tyranny' are to be deprecated in this beneficent movement as they carry with them associations which irritate those whose co-operation is vital to its success.

Conversions and Gandhiji—Mahatma Gandhi has indicated from time to time his disapproval of proselytising. In the current *Harijan* he has, in response to an invitation from an Indian Christian friend, put in plain and unmistakable language his considered view on the question particularly of mass conversions. We reprint the passage in another column. We are in agreement with every word of it.



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BOMBAY, October 5, 1935.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND ITALY.

The adjournment of the Council of the League of Nations last Saturday to determine the origin of the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, marks a period in the League negotiations with Signor Mussolino which have been carried on at times under humiliating conditions. It also gives the public a little breathing-space in which to consider the issues involved in the dispute. Signor Mussolini objected strongly to all the proposals of the League because he held Ethiopia's position at Geneva to be conditional on her carrying out certain reforms and, as she had not done so, she could not claim the rights of a member of the League. Therefore he urged that Ethiopia's case was not covered by the Covenant. In short, while Japan and Germany forsook Geneva when they contemplated a breach of the Covenant, Italy seeks to utilise the League for expelling her intended victim. The League has been criticised by Italy for intervening when it had not the capacity to settle the dispute. It has been condemned, on the other hand, by supporters of Abyssinia on the ground that the recommendations of its Committee of Five are calculated to establish a regime worse than an Italian conquest would bring about in Abyssinia. The Committee reported to the League on September 25 and it is noteworthy that the proposals differ radically from those of the Tripartite Treaty of Paris between Britain, France and Italy in 1908. As the Italian delegate at Geneva announced, the proposals do not concede, as that Treaty did, a right to Italy to link up Eritrea and Italian Somaliland by means of a railway running through Ethiopia west of Addis Ababa.

The right of self-determination, a basic principle of the League, does not imply a right to backward countries to remain unprogressive. The League Covenant contemplates international assistance to these states and has adopted two methods of affording such co-operation. First is the system of mandates. According to Article 22 mandates are divided into three classes. Mandate A relates to communities which can be trained to self-government; Mandate B to the administration of colonies taken over by the Allies from the vanquished forces in the last War; and Mandate C to sparsely-populated territories which are to be administered as part of the territory of the mandatory. The Ethiopian Empire, already a self-governing unit, falls under none of these categories. The only method by which the League can assist Abyssinia is by advice and help with the consent and co-operation of the Emperor. Its Committee of Five accordingly recommended a Charter of Assistance. The details of the Committee's plan are: Dealing with public services which require organisation, the suggestion is made

that commissions of foreign specialists should be appointed to organise a corps of police and gendarmerie responsible for ensuring the application throughout the Empire of the existing order, or future laws for the prohibition of all personal slavery, for regulating the carrying of arms by persons not belonging to the regular army or the police, and gendarmerie forces, for policing centres in which Europeans reside, and maintaining order in frontier territories. Reorganisation of mixed courts, education and public health with a principal advisor placed at the head of each group of public services is suggested. The League has shown partiality for European interests and the provision for special police where Europeans reside is another proof of it. This clause would be unobjectionable if it covered not only Europeans but all nationals. The Committee recommend that the working out of these plans should be reviewed at the end of five years by the League Council. All appointments are subject to the approval of the Emperor and presumably the right of removal from office rests also with the Ethiopian Government. Haile Selassie whose extremely conciliatory attitude has commended itself to all impartial people and who is not averse to utilising foreign talent in developing his country, accepted these proposals even though the Committee Report carried a clause recognising "special Italian interest in the economic development of Ethiopia."

The rejection of these terms by Italy reveals the extent of Signor Mussolini's ambitions in Africa. It is the tragedy of the Duce that he should have failed to realise the strength of League opposition till it was too late. His remark that he had not sent two million Italians to Africa as a joke, is a pathetic protest against belated action on the part of Britain. The lead which Sir Samuel Hoare gave at Geneva early last month, would have been more effective nine months earlier. As it is, it has rallied world opinion to Abyssinia's support. Italy's complete rejection of League intervention is announced in a declaration last week-end hinting at an attempt to settle the dispute outside the League. It is confirmed by the indignation with which the Italian delegate opposed the Committee of Five's recommendation to concede territory in French and British Somaliland to both Abyssinia and Italy, on the ground that Abyssinia would gain by the transaction an outlet to the sea. Baron Aloisi's objection that Ethiopia would thus become a "maritime power," can only be described as proceeding from a desire to keep Abyssinia weak and defenceless at the mercy of Italy. Technically it might be necessary for the League Council still to consider who is the aggressor but Italy stands self-condemned. The League cannot be accused of moral flabbiness as its course in this affair has been beset with difficulties not of its creation. But if the recommendations of the Committee of Five are conceived, as we believe they are, in the interests of Ethiopia and if the guarantee of territorial



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integrity and unimpaired sovereignty is to mean anything, the League should carry out the recommendations without the co-operation of Italy. That Signor Mussolini should be allowed to dictate the pace and direction of Abyssinian progress is intolerable. One of the clauses of the Mandate section of the League Covenant expressly provides that the Mandatory should be willing to accept the trust. If it is not willing it can not demand that the mandate should be withheld from others. On the analogy of that formula—and it is difficult to justify the Committee of Five's proposals otherwise—Italy's refusal should not prevent the League from carrying out her obligations to Abyssinia. Every indictment of Haile Selassie in the past was a condemnation of the League also. The incidents of the past month have shifted the burden of Abyssinia's progress entirely on League shoulders.

Wrecking and Working:—The *Mahratta* thinks that it is inconsistent of the *Reformer* to describe the Hoare Scheme as a car with its tyres punctured and engine removed and at the same time to suggest that people of this view should leave those who believe in the Reforms to work them, giving them such assistance as they can in carrying through reforms which build up the nation's strength and vitality. "Why allow those who are anxious to work the reforms to make an experiment of the whole at the nation's cost and make its life even more miserable than it is or is likely to be," asks the *Mahratta*. What is the alternative? If the people who are willing to work the reforms, initiate measures which are those which we want carried out, it would be factious to oppose their efforts because they take a more hopeful view of the reforms. A constitution, after all, is a means to an end which is the well-being of the people. The *Mahratta* says "if we are worthy enough, our working must lead to their (reforms) being wrecked." We do not like the word or the thought of wrecking. Every human action, small or great, has a subjective effect whether it has or not an objective one also. An attempt at wrecking may or may not result in destroying the thing sought to be wrecked but it is sure to give rise in the wrecker's mind to reactions weakening to its capacity for constructive effort.

Women and Moving Pictures:—It was a happy idea of the Bombay Talkies to set apart Wednesday for purdah women to view the film, *Jawani-ka-Hawa*, which led to some misconceived agitation when it was released some days ago. Devika was present and in a short speech solicited the approval of the large audience to women taking part in moving pictures as an honourable occupation. She said: "I am proud of my profession, and it will be a source of great encouragement to me, if I may feel that you too believe that women should contribute their culture and abilities to this growing industry whose power is spreading from home to home."

GANDHIJI AS A WORLD FIGURE.*

During our trip two years ago to Europe and America nothing impressed me and my daughter so much as the great regard in which Gandhiji is held in all countries and by all classes. In Italy, in Vienna, in Geneva we found evidence of this. In the railway journey it was the same. In America there was if anything greater interest and more regard felt for Gandhiji. The newspapers constantly wrote about him. Several books were published about him and, what is more, references to him were to be found in works on History, Politics and Philosophy. Not to mention books by Indian admirers of Gandhiji, there were attempts to understand and interpret him by others, such as Dr. F. D. Fisher's "That Strange Little Brown Man," Mr. Glorney Bolton's "Tragedy of Gandhi," and Mr. C. F. Andrews' books.

More significant still are the references to Gandhiji, in standard works, such as Trotsky's "History of the Russian Revolution," where comparing him with Tolstoy, Trotsky says: "Mahatma Gandhi is now fulfilling the same mission in India, only in a more practical form;" in Stalin's political report for the sixteenth Soviet Party conference, where he says people like Gandhi are supporters of police bayonets and helpers of Tzarism; in Hocking's "Spirit of World Politics" where with Masaryk and Benes, Gandhiji is cited as an example of one man of genius leavening the whole lump of his people and as "the property of every Hindu;" in Upton Close's "Revolt of Asia"; in Louis Fischer's "The Soviets in World Affairs"; in Norman Angell's "The Unseen Assassins" a complementary work to his "Great Illusion" in which several pages are devoted to examining Gandhiji's views; in Barbusse's "Thus and Thus" and in Dr. Schweitzer's latest volume in his "Philosophy of Civilization." These are some of the books that occur to me and they are books written in or translated into the English language, except the last one which is reviewed in the *Hibbert Journal*. The references are complimentary in some and critical in others. It is noteworthy that they are often casual and allusive, implying that the reader has a general idea of his life and work. It would be a good thing if the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee arranges to have all references to Gandhiji, in books published within the last ten or fifteen years in the important languages, collected and compiled.

What is the aspect of Gandhiji's life and work which has attracted the world? It is certainly his principle of Non-violence. The Western world has had bitter experience of the consequence of violence in the last war. All the evils of war feared by Arjuna on the battle-field of Kurukshetra and worse, have been realised. The hope of ending all war which President Wilson cherished, has failed to materialise. The West is eagerly seeking for some means of putting an end to this ever present danger. It might seem that this view is contradicted by what is happening in Europe today but really it is not so. Believers in the sacredness of violence like Signor Mussolini, want to achieve their aggressive aims quickly just because they feel that world opinion is turning against them. It is not too much to say that, intellectually, the Western world is convinced of the futility of violence and has come to believe in non-violence as the only true means of settling national differences. The action of George Lansbury and some other Labour leaders in England, who recently objected to the British Labour Party supporting the use of force even against

*Read at a meeting convened by the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, in connection with Gandhiji's birthday celebrations, in Jinnah Hall on Friday the 27th September.



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Italy, is a sign of the times. There can be no more crucial case where violence would seem to justify itself than against Italy in her designs against Abyssinia. Still these men who are fully convinced that Italy is doing wrong feel that violence is not the best way to meet her contemplated crime. I cannot help thinking that this is the most signal proof of the success which Gandhiji's gospel of non-violence has yet produced.

Before going further I should like to say a few words about the implications of non-violence. I believe that Gandhiji himself has recently corrected a common view. Absence of violence where violence is out of the question is not non-violence. When a man or nation is too weak to resist a violent adversary, it is absurd to claim credit for non-violence. Those only can be non-violent who have the strength to be violent if they wanted, but will not use it. From this point of view I consider Dr. Moonje's efforts to instil physical and moral strength into the people as a necessary step towards real non-violence. We must be strong that we may be non-violent. As for Dr. Moonje's advocacy of animal food, I may mention an incident. The late Swami Vivekananda, was once asked by a friend in my presence, whether vegetarianism was essential to spiritual development. The Swami who had just returned from the Congress of Religions in America *i. e.* forty years ago, burst out: "You grass-eating slaves, eat whatever you like, but be men first." I am myself a vegetarian but I do feel that it is hardly worth while creating a split on the matter of diet in our already much divided country.

The second feature of Gandhiji's method which has attracted world attention is his belief in self-suffering as a means of reforming social evils. We were waiting for our train at Niagara railway station after a long day spent in visiting the Falls, when a small boy who was selling newspapers sidled up to me and asked if I was from India. When I said yes, he asked me if I knew Mahatma Gandhi. When I said yes, again, he asked "Why does he fast? for the freedom of his country?" I replied that he fasted for the freedom of his country as also for the sins of his people. This idea of vicarious sacrifice and suffering is a very ancient one. At first men offered goats, sheep and cows and even human beings as sacrifices to atone for their sins. Then they adopted mortification of themselves as the truer method. The great ascetic orders are founded on this principle. The ascetic is not trying, as the modern critic often thinks, to save only his own dirty soul, but he really believes that his sacrifices and suffering will lead to the salvation of the world. This idea was developed highly and we had Buddha and Jesus as the supreme exemplars of self-sacrifice for the good of humanity. Gandhiji's fasts were unique in that they were directed to the reform of social customs and practices. Several other people since Gandhiji's fasts have tried to apply the same method to other evils. Mr. Sharma at present is fasting unto death at Calcutta in order to put an end to animal sacrifices in the famous Kalighat temple there. Speaking for myself I am inclined to think that self-torture of this kind and for such purposes cannot lead to permanent results though once or twice they may have some apparent and temporary results. However, people who undertake such fasts from such motives are entitled to our respect and gratitude. The gospel of non-violence must be preached with patience and perseverance.

I am not one of those who think that it is an unpractical gospel. Mankind has advanced from the brute stage to its present stage. We have built up the family, the society and the nation on the principle of non-violence. Any one who

resorts to violence within these institutions is punished by the state or society. It is only one step forward, though a great step, before the whole human race attains to the same level, and all the different nations regard themselves as members of one another. The almost universal condemnation of Italian aggression on Abyssinia shows that a world conscience is emerging out of the present seeming chaos, cutting across long standing prejudices of race and colour. President Wilson's idea of the League of Nations is a great one. But it cannot be achieved unless and until the world comes to accept the principle of non-violence, as the basic principle of international relations. Disarmament will not end war. Even if all the arms are scrapped people will fight with fists and teeth if they do not accept the principle of non-violence.

Mr. Richard B. Gregg has elaborated this in a book which was published in America last October and is being published in London this month. I received a letter from him this morning saying that he spent five years over it after he went back from India. "It is," he writes, "an attempt to explain in terms of western psychology, military strategy, and political theory, the validity of Mahatma's method of solving conflicts not only in India but everywhere." I mention this here to show that the practicability of non-violence is passing beyond the realm of fervent hope.

Before concluding I should like to make a few observations as to the future. I heartily wish like Mr. Gangadhararao Deshpande that Gandhiji would return to lead the national movement. It is one year almost today since I wrote to Gandhiji about his then contemplated retirement. The letter is dated 29th September 1931. It ran thus:

"I am writing to you with much hesitation. Those who put their hands to the plough in public life can not turn back. You are entitled to a holiday after your strenuous work. But it need not and should not mean retirement. In all great movements the immediate objective is of little consequence. You have influenced many lives far beyond your circle, large as it is. You have raised the tone of public and private life in our country and made her name honoured in all the continents. While younger people must be made to feel their responsibility for the right conduct of public affairs, elders should not renounce their responsibility, so long as life lasts. I am sure you never will."

Gandhiji as usual sent a very kind reply in which he said that he was not retiring from public service and that if he left the Congress he would leave it to serve it better. A day or two later I met one of the most distinguished leaders of the Liberal Party and, talking matters over with him, I asked him point blank, whether, if invited, he would rejoin the Congress, now that the Civil Disobedience was dropped. To my most agreeable surprise he warmly replied, "Certainly I will. Who will not jump at it?" I communicated this to Mahatma Gandhi and quote this sentence from his reply: "Personally I have so many dear friends among them (the Liberals) that I would love to have them rejoin the Congress." Gandhiji's return to the Congress, in my opinion, is necessary in order to consolidate and unify our public life. More than that, the Congress with Gandhiji at its head is a world movement. I have great respect for those who, in his absence, have undertaken the leadership of the movement, especially for Mr. Rajendra Prasad who, in spite of ill-health and the retirement on one ground or another of other prominent leaders, has bravely and worthily maintained the high tradition of the presidential office.



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language which it is intended to hit, it proves a most powerful and potent instrument of mischief in the hands of the administrator.

Now, I will read a passage from that judgment of Sir Lawrence Jenkins. Sir, this is what the judge says, "The Advocate-General has admitted, and, I think, very properly, that the pamphlet is not seditious and does not offend against any provision of the Criminal Law of India. But he has contended, and rightly in my opinion, that the provisions of the Press Act extend far beyond the Criminal Law; and he has argued that the burden of proof is cast on the applicant so that, however meritorious the pamphlet may be, still, if the applicant cannot establish the negative the Act requires, his application must fail."

That is precisely what happened to us. We have once had a law which was assumed by many of the members opposite including my Hon'ble friend Sir Zafarullah Khan and that law was the Criminal Law Amendment Act and as that law is there, the present Bill is its logical result. I have not dealt with the two sections of forfeiture because I do not wish to exceed my time limit. If there was logic how did it escape them in 1908.

The judge further says in that judgment: "If the applicant cannot establish the negative, the Act requires his application must fail." And what is the negative? Please hear the negative.

"It is not enough for the applicant to show that the words of the pamphlet are not likely to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India or that they have not a tendency in fact to bring about that result. But he must go further and show that it is impossible for them to have that tendency either directly or indirectly and whether by way of inference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor or implication." Nor is that all, for we find that the legislature has added to this the all-embracing phrase "or otherwise."

What I wish to point out is this. The language of the section is such that none of us know in what way a man may be caught. It is all very well to say, do not read the section, leave it. It is all very well to speak about some 'Yugantar' or 'The Sandhya,' there is no ratiocination; that is no logic. It is all very well to have the 'Yugantar' at one end and the terrorist at the other end and squeeze all the rest in between for argument. This is the way this case has been argued and I, therefore, do beg of every member of the House; that he will not stand for a piece of legislation that enables the Government to forfeit the security and ultimately the press, with the aid of that all-embracing section which, in the wisdom or unwisdom of Government, it is possible to make an order against and the negative cannot be proved.

Indian Muslims and Persian Reforms:—The latest social and religious reforms enforced by the Persian Government has caused great unrest in the Shia community in India, and several protest meetings have been held in Lucknow recently. It is said that the Persian Government has made it compulsory on all citizens to wear the European hat and shave their beards. Even the religious leaders are forced to put on hats and wear European dress when not performing a religious duty. Further the women have been forced to come out of *purdah*, and are not allowed to use even the veil. It is also said that certain restrictions have been placed on the observance of religious duties. Hakim Syed Mohammad Ali Shabbir Mohani, who is a respected leader of the Shia community in these provinces, has decided to visit Iran in October next in order to investigate the truth of these rumours. He intends to make a comprehensive tour of the country and to make a thorough investigation so as to inform the Indian Shia community of the true state of affairs.

SOCIAL EVOLUTION.

Social efficiency was always on a par with the soundness of the ethical system on which a particular society is based. Even the worst exploiters could thrive so long and so far as they could exhibit certain qualities which expressed the greatness of their heart. Courage, chivalry, spirit of service, generosity, these are the qualities that were shown by all the conquering races and when they ceased to maintain those qualities and tried to take intellectual advantage of their position, they also ceased to hold their power. Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon and many other conquerors were successful so far as they were morally fit to hold their own as leaders of humanity against all attractions of selfishness and individual monopoly. But great souls, like Christ, Buddha, Confucius, Mahomed and Socrates, survive for ever as the eternal inspirers of virtue and goodness among mankind simply because the works they have done appeal to the heart of man and are of great constructive moral value. Even the prosperity of a particular sect or a family was directly in proportion to the goodness it possessed, the love it showed to its own members, the courageous way in which it undertook new lines of action, the impartiality it had maintained, the truth it spread and so on. And when these qualities were gradually lost, the prosperity also was lost and the very same groups that proved to be extraordinarily efficient have degenerated into cliques of low cunning. This was true with all great civilizations that visited this earth. Such was the fate of Roman and Greek civilisations, the Brahmin civilisation in India, Cæsarism in general; all lived and flourished according to their ability to be good and, when they betrayed any sign of moral weakness, the bulk of humanity refused to give them any shelter.

This sort of religious altruism is not a mere feature of human life but an evolving movement which is the true cause of the progress of mankind. It is this movement that abolished slavery and had written poor laws. It is this movement that compelled the worst tyrant to give concessions and yield to the very people on whom he perpetrated many an inhuman crime. It is this movement that had produced the greatest rebels who fought for the rights of mankind, the prophets and poets. It is this movement that had introduced the democratic element in the world's life and ever demonstrated the equality of man. It is this movement that is inviting day by day greater number of people into the rivalry of life, giving scope to greater number of brains, more discoveries, research on a wider scale and true intellectual and spiritual progress. In the actual struggle for life, intellect no doubt is the deciding factor of success but the true force that gave scope to and enlarged the territory of that struggle is the democratic religious spirit. It is this movement of the human heart that proved always to be an effective check over the diplomatic individualist brain. The use of intellect was allowed so far as it served the society; so far as it unearthed new treasures for its use, discovered new fields of action and new methods of stability and well-being. But so soon as it leaned towards tyranny or exploitation, it was overpowered by the rebellious heart of man. And ultimately it is the marching movement of this human heart that is offering us a promise that one day it would absorb all the activities of the intellect and establish true social equality among mankind.

All the phenomena of religions are in a sense rebellions against exploitation. Referring to one superhuman power they set limits to the limiting-refusing activities of the individual. The fear of



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man ceased to exist in the fear of God and the same fear became an uniting link between people of different ranks and different parts. Divine virtues have become the ideals of life and everyone felt proud in practicing them at any cost. Practical utilities were hated to a large extent and it became a general understanding among all people that mundane powers would not lead them very far. The bitter experiences of life gave room for ample philosophy and a longing for emancipation from this worldly thralldom. From this philosophy grew philanthropy and all humanitarian and social reform movements. Those who hate the progress and happiness of all in their own interest are as rare as villains. All agree theoretically and try their best to put into practice the golden rule that we should not hurt another life in any way and that, on the other hand, we should help it as far as possible. Even the worst enemy feels for his opponent in distress. And we must admit that love is the sheet-anchor of life. Governments maintained order and law, but the force that gave birth to fellow-feeling and good relationship in society is the inherent religious instinct in man.

But so far, that altruistic religious movement was on the defensive and its activities were negative. It was awake when the call came and offered enough soldiers to fight out its cause. In all fields, political, economic as well as religious, it had left enough warnings in the records of history so that the greedy might be on their guard. At the same time, unfortunately, it encouraged some sort of negative asceticism which was always inclined to ignore society and its material as well as intellectual needs. Many sensitive and capable persons who could have done much for society if they had remained in it, who could have, if they so willed, moulded the environment according to their selfless dreams, have in a fit of negative religious enthusiasm, disappeared into the solitude of their own individual freedom. The ultimate result of all this was, while most of the people have restricted their activities to their immediate necessities, the unscrupulous few who had crossed the limits and refused to obey the ethical mandates of the heart have become abnormally affluent and turning back they began to utilise the innocent and ignorant masses for their own selfish ends. They maintained flatterers to make propaganda for them and priests to write religious sanctions. Both in times of peace and war they came to the front and dictated terms which were advantageous to them. They built factories for they brought them more wealth. They bought fame and leadership as they gave them standing, credit and advertisement for their avocations. They could purchase impunity, and all luxuries are a divine right to them. Courtiers and weak-minded women gathered round them and sang slogans which went to attest their rights of exploitation. To them reform is a menace and the talk of freedom to the oppressed youth is a dread, for they instinctively know that canons of freedom are definitely inimical to the regulations of exploitation. And the patronage they command from the politician and the priest is apparently certain—at least so long as the kind of economic system prevalent today continues to exist.

But below the surface, the slow process by which the full life of man is expressing itself is definitely against them. The majority are in favour of the poor and the oppressed, those unfortunate brethren who are consistently excluded from the free competition of life. Day by day, the movement of the heart is gaining ground and permeating into the perverted civilisation of the calculating brain and into the seemingly omnipotent military powers with a force which is of divine origin. The Holy Alliance, the

Hague Conferences, and now the League of Nations are all experiments, though negative, to bring about a settlement of peace between nations whose political as well as economic ideologies are diametrically opposite to each other. In the French Revolution history has for the first time noticed that the people themselves are advancing forward and asserting their rights. And the various socialist movements which, not satisfied with mere political equality, are demanding economic, social and spiritual equality, are rising in every nation with the emotion of the reckless youth in their favour—for while the ability to purchase and possess the comforts of life is limited to a few, the freedom to have them conferred by political democracies is a delusion which is misleading and perilous. Various armies of peace, the Theosophical and Red Cross Societies, and such other humanitarian institutions are trying to bring about a universal spirit of service and understanding between peoples of different traditions and training. The sages of the East and the prophets of the West, the great bards who sang for the freedom of Man, the great artists and philosophers, have all been engaged in releasing the undermined universal spirit in every individual soul and making propaganda for the ideal of complete social emancipation which is the very purpose of the nature in man. It is through this process in the beautiful words of Shelley, that

Conquest is dragged captive through the deep;
Love, from its awful throne of patient power
In the wise heart, from the last giddy hour
Of dead endurance, from the slippery, steep
And narrow verge of drag-like agony springs
And folds over the world its healing wings

But it is in Gandhi that this religious movement which was so long influencing the political and economic life of the various peoples indirectly and pressing for a change of heart in every field, has come into direct conflict with the realities of life, with methods of non-violence which are of universal application. Stimulating the masses for eternal action, this great man is striving to develop a consciousness in them which is invincible. At the same time he wants to bring into the fold of the society even its oppressors who went out of it with selfish interest.

Allahabad.

M. N. RAO.

THE LATE Mr. R. FOULKES.

By the demise of Mr. Robert Foulkes, the District of Madura has been deprived of an illustrious citizen who, for over a decade, controlled the civic destinies of the place. Mr. Foulkes was born and educated in England, but came out at a very early age to India and was employed in superintending the estates on the Shevaroyas, of his uncle, the late Mr. Robert Fischer. The fact that at a very early age he was thrown in Indian society gave him rare opportunities of understanding the people amongst whom he lived, and throughout his life, he commanded a popularity among Indians which is rarely the lot of European residents in this country. He was the President of the District Board of Madura for several terms, being repeatedly elected, sometimes unanimously, by the members who are practically all Indians. In fact, it must be stated that there is hardly a parallel in the whole of India, where a European has been returned to an honourable and important post like the Presidentship of a District Board by his Indian colleagues. He was a nominated member of the local Legislative Council, and took a keen interest in the affairs of the District with which he was connected so long. His death at the comparatively early age of 62 will be deplored by his many friends, Indian and European, in this Province.

—Justice.

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CUSTOM, STATUS AND INFLUENCE.

Mr. P. J. Griffiths, District Magistrate of Midnapore, led a debate in the Delhi Arya Samaj Hall on the proposition that women in the West are happier than their sisters in the East. 'Sisters', I may mention parenthetically, is here used in the widest sense and refers in no way to European women in India. It is worth mentioning that the proposition was lost and that neither Mr. Griffiths nor Mr. Bhulabhai Desai who opposed him, nor Sir Phiroze Sethna who presided, spoke relevant to the subject. The general feeling seems to have been that happiness was a personal matter and that there was much to be said on both sides. Mr. Griffiths was most interesting because he drew most from his personal experience. He expressed surprise that on landing in Bombay he saw so few women in the streets. Having read Otto Rothfeld's lyrical outburst on seeing Indian women in Bombay—"they pass here, brightly-clad, quietly smiling, modestly distant, the women of India at their newest and most modern.....In their cars the wives and children of rich merchants glide through the crowd"—I could not understand at first how Mr. Griffiths had missed seeing them. Then I knew. Mr. Griffiths must have come in by a boat which arrived early in the morning. Early birds though Indian women are, they are too busy to meet the boat at dawn.

Mr. Griffiths seems to have regarded the custom of the wife walking a few paces behind the husband which still prevails among the old-fashioned, as a sign of inferior status. This custom once led some Indian students at a foreign university who felt, no doubt, that such conduct disgraced their country, to manoeuvre an Indian guest into making way for his wife. More awkward for the poor woman than for her husband who must have felt at the most that his hosts were ill-mannered boys! The practice, it is interesting to note, is one of many which brings the extreme wings of the ultra-fashionable and the old-fashioned together. For I have often noticed a tendency in my Indian friends who have married European wives and are presumably devoted to them, behave in public parks and on strolls as if they had nothing to do with them. One particular gentleman, I remember, insisted on strolling a little ahead airily whistling a tune while his wife and I brought up the rear. I was first under the impression that this was the prevalent manners of the smartest society in Europe. It was only later that I found he disliked the public curiosity which attends on any Indian walking out with a foreigner.

But too much might conceivably be made of the order of precedence adopted in an evening stroll and many a modern young man who gets his wife walk alongside of him, treats her with less consideration than older fashioned husbands. Yoshio Markino, a Japanese artist who admired Englishwomen immensely, comments with his usual shrewdness on another Oriental habit which has brought Eastern men into trouble with Europeans, that of allowing the lady carry burdens. "I remember," he writes, "my brother's home life. He used to take his wife and myself to our neighbouring village. Of course his wife had to carry the bundles and follow after him. That was our custom. But when we came to lonely field then my brother always looked round very carefully, and would say to his wife, 'I am so glad nobody is looking at us; give me that bundle immediately.' And he carried the heavy burden himself. But no sooner did any people appear above the horizon than he would shout to her, 'Be quick, take this burden yourself.' When we returned to our house, he always asked his wife if she was tired and he never forgot to express his sympathy toward

her." That was in 1912. The East was anxious to justify its ways to the West. Mr. John Langdon-Davies related in a publication a couple of years ago a defence of the custom which he had from a woman. "A husband," he writes, "was reproached for his failure to assist his wife who carried pots and food on her head and the younger baby on her hip. The woman came to his defence, saying, 'What would I do if we met a lion and my husband were carrying a load?' " I hasten to assure Indian husbands that this danger need not be feared; a precaution necessary in a jungle becomes an intolerable nuisance in a city. But this assurance is hardly needed since women have realised that the modern man might safely be utilised to carry the burden. Even this, however, is not free from reproach. A favourite joke with English humorous journals, I have long observed, is the husband who follows tamely behind staggering under a load of purchases, while his wife marches from shop to shop with portly nonchalance. Nor is it safe to engage a coolie to carry your bundles, apart from the expense, since your friends might censure you for capitalist leanings. The only solution is that husband and wife should avoid going out together.

For one who regarded India as a land without women—apart from his first experience in Bombay, Mr. Griffiths said that the one thing which struck him when he visited Indian friends was the absence of their wives—Mr. Griffiths has found out very much about Indian women. "In respect of breadth of interest, Western women had a great advantage over Eastern women." I should have thought that this drawback was related to a corresponding defect in Indian men and that both arose from lack of opportunity more than from lack of interest. The English woman in India has all the advantages of her sister who remains in England plus experience of this country. Yet they have no noticeable breadth of interest. Rather the reverse. Indian women have criticised them for a narrow outlook on life. Further, the women, and for that matter the men, one meets at tea-parties, either in the East or West, are not, generally speaking, notable for breadth of interest. Even if one is fortunate enough to meet breadth of interest and outlook at social functions, one dare not enter into a lengthy discussion, for example, on the finer points of Proust, the ethics of Marxian Communism, or even the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. There are, moreover, some quite well-known individuals who think that few women have an interest in anything except persons. Mr. Griffiths will be interested to hear from Mr. C. E. M. Joad, in whom the philosopher and the amorist combine to an alarming degree, complaints of a comparative absence in women of external objective interests. And Mr. Joad, if we are to believe what he writes, has met women not only at formal functions.

It was further claimed by Mr. Griffiths that Englishwomen had more independence while it was possible that Indian women had more influence in the family. He was wise in reducing the issue to one between English and Indian. After all East and West are comparative terms. America regards Britain socially as as backward as Britain regards Asia. An American woman, Mrs. F. P. O'Connor, explained the lack of independence in Englishwomen which she had observed in a pithy sentence. "The American man expects to make his wife happy; the Englishman expects his wife to make him happy"—a summing up which admirably expresses Mr. Griffiths' own view of the contrast between England and India. Richard Burton whose readiness to generalise on every possible subject has made him little known today except as the translator of the *Arabian Nights*, enters on the different treatment meted out to



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women in Eastern and Western societies with enthusiasm. The centre of his argument, however, is that the Eastern adopts the instinctive, the Western prefers the rational method—a convenient formula which Professor Nitobe with Japanese acumen has rendered for mass consumption in the words, "American husbands kiss their wives in public and beat them in private; Japanese husbands beat theirs in public and kiss them in private." The attractive phrase notwithstanding, all these arguments fail because they are based on a wrong premise. Women, it is generally thought, are what their men make them. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The question of precedence in walking, freedom from carrying bundles and other similar concessions to the male have helped to maintain an illusion. But where O'Flaherty sits is the head of the table. Woman has always been the dominant factor in society. Man left to himself follows the line of least resistance. After all, it was Eve who sickened of the lotus-eating life of Eden. Man's role in society has been that of a figurehead—something like Sir Henry Craik's "dummy editor" of seditious newspapers.

VIPRA.

PRAYAG ARDH KUMBHA MELA 1936.

The six-yearly Prayag Ardh Kumbha Parva falls in January next. The Mela will last for over a month and the chief bathing days will be January 8 (Lunar Eclipse), January 14 (Sankranti), January 24 (Amavas) and January 28 (Vasant Panchmi). It will come to a close with a bath on Maghi Purnima, the 7th February. Prayag being the Tirtharaj (the king of sacred places) owing to the confluence of the holy rivers, the Ganga, the Jamna and the invisible Saraswati, has, from time immemorial, attracted lakhs of pilgrims from all parts of India.

It will be easily realised that special arrangements will have to be made to cope with the large influx of such pilgrims. The district authorities and the railway administration will no doubt do their part of the duty and take such measures as may be suited to the occasion, but even when they have done their best, non-official agencies will find a large field of work open to them.

In view of this the Seva Samiti which has considerable experience of religious fairs proposes to organise a volunteer corps to help the pilgrims who will visit holy Prayag. The volunteers will help them in bathing at the ghats with the maximum of comfort, purchasing railway tickets, and getting into the proper trains at various stations in Allahabad and near it. They will render first aid to those that get hurt and restore waifs and strays to their relations or send them back to their homes. The Samiti will also make arrangements for the distribution of medicines and the provision of medical assistance for sick pilgrims. Its volunteers will co-operate with the authorities in matters connected with public health and the regulation of traffic. The experience of the services rendered by them on the occasion of the Hardwar Kumbha of 1927, the Prayag Kumbha of 1930, and the Hardwar Ardh Kumbha of 1933 should be fresh in the minds of the public. No service is too difficult or small for them and the volunteers are ever ready to give help.

To perform the duties enumerated above we shall require the active and enthusiastic co-operation of about 1,000 volunteers and we have no doubt that young men and women will eagerly come forward, either individually or in groups, to help the poor and the helpless on the occasion.

The boarding and lodging of the volunteers, the provision of medical assistance, the relief given to

poor pilgrims and waifs and strays, the cost of printing, postage and telegrams and expenditure on the establishment and equipment will amount to about Rs. 15,000/-. Considering the number of volunteers, the duration of the work which may extend to 5 weeks, and the assistance which it is proposed to render to the pilgrims, this sum is by no means large. We hope that our appeal will meet with a large-hearted response from the public. The success of our mission depends entirely on the financial support that we may receive from our generous countrymen. The opportunity for public service at Allahabad will be great and the need for it urgent. It is in the hope that the response to this call of charity and service will be as whole-hearted as it should be immediate, that this appeal is made.

All remittances should be addressed to the Organising Secretary, the Seva Samiti, Central Head Office, 1 Katra Road, Allahabad, U. P.

Madan Mohan Malaviya (President), Bhagirath Mull Conadia, (Birla Brothers Ltd., Calcutta) (Fellow and Vice-President), Durga Narayan Singh (Captain, Raja of Tirwa) (Fellow and Vice-President), C. Y. Chintamani, M. L. C. (Vice President), Mohan Sinha Mehta, PH. D., M. A., LL.B. (Udaipur) (Fellow and Vice-President), Hirday Nath Kunzru (General Secretary), and S. R. Bharatiya, M. A. (Organising Secretary).

SWARAJ AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your editorial of the 17th August you say: "There is no inherent connexion between Swaraj and representative, responsible government.....It is, perhaps, inevitable that Swaraj for British India should take the form familiar to the British people. But there is no reason why Indian States should also be put in the same uniform. Swaraj to our mind only requires that the political centre of gravity of a people should remain within it and not outside. At what point within the people it stands at a given moment, depends on the political and social, including the economic ideas actuating the people."

There is a significant passage in a letter to the "Times" by Professor R. Coupland, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford, and reprinted by him as a "Postscript on the Meaning of Dominion Status" in his recent book, "The Empire in These Days," which provides interesting reading in the light of your remarks.

After quoting the well-known sentence in which the fact of equality of national status was affirmed by the Imperial Conference of 1926, and which defined the Dominions and Great Britain as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations," Professor Coupland says:—

"Lastly, it may be useful to correct a mistake which is commonly made both in this country and in India. Dominion status in principle has nothing to do with the form or type of internal constitution in a Dominion. It is only concerned with the external position. It is a matter, so to speak, of the 'international' relations between the nations of the Commonwealth. It fixes that relationship as one of equality. It may be hard to imagine the Commonwealth as anything but an association of States under parliamentary government; but Dominion Status does not require a Dominion's



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internal constitution to be parliamentary. A Dominion might enjoy Dominion Status under any domestic regime, provided (1) that it maintained allegiance to the Crown; (2) that it contained no element of subordination to any other member of the Commonwealth; and (3) that it accepted free association with the other member."

London, } Yours etc,
September 6, 1935. } H. S. L. POLAK.

[Swara] is not Dominion status and we did not use that meaning Dominion status. Professor Coupland's view that Dominion status refers only to external relations and may exist without responsible, representative Government, is contrary to all authorities. It is inconceivable that Hyderabad or Mysore, for instance, can be a Dominion. Newfoundland when it gave up representative, responsible Government, surrendered its Dominion status.—Ed., I. S. R.]

GANDHIJI ON CONVERSIONS.

My own detached view may be stated in a few words. I believe that there is no such thing as conversion from one faith to another in the accepted sense of term. It is a highly personal matter for the individual and his God. I may not have any design upon my neighbour as to his faith which I must honour even as I honour my own. For I regard all the great religions of the world as true, at any rate, for the people professing them as mine is true for me. Having reverently studied the scriptures of the world, I have no difficulty in perceiving the beauties in all of them. I could no more think of asking a Christian or a Mussalman or a Parsi or a Jew to change his faith than I would think of changing my own. This makes me no more oblivious of the limitations of the professors of those faiths, than it makes me of the grave limitations of the professors of mine. And seeing that it takes all my resources in trying to bring my practice to the level of my faith and in preaching the same to my co-religionists, I do not dream of preaching to the followers of other faiths. 'Judge not lest ye be judged' is a sound maxim for one's conduct. It is a conviction daily growing upon me that the great and rich Christian missions will render true service to India, if they can persuade themselves to confine their activities to humanitarian service without the ulterior motive of converting India or at least her unsophisticated villagers to Christianity, and destroying their social superstructure which, notwithstanding its many defects, has stood now from time immemorial the onslaughts upon it from within and from without. Whether they—the missionaries—and we wish it or not, what is true in the Hindu faith will abide, what is untrue will fall to pieces. Every living faith must have within itself the power of rejuvenation if it is to live.—*Harjan*, September 28.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Animal Sacrifices at Kalighat:—Ramchandra Sarma, who undertook a fast as a protest against animal sacrifices at the Kalighat Temple from which Calcutta derives its name, was persuaded by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to suspend it for one year during which period the Pandit himself undertook to work for the abolition of this cruel, inhuman and un-Hindu practice. The Vedic religion like the Hebrew religion ordained animal sacrifices. At about the same period, the sixth century before Christ, the prophets in Judea and Gautama Buddha in India denounced such sacrifices. Animal sacrifices continued to be offered at the Temple at Jerusalem until its destruction by the Romans in 72 A. D. Jesus Christ surely realised the enormity of offering up innocent animals as a sacrifice to the God of Love in atonement of man's sins but he never attacked institutions holding that the purification of the individual human heart was the most efficacious way of humanising society. It is only thus that we can account for his studied silence in respect of animal sacrifices, slavery and other evils which flourished in his time. The doctrine of *ahimsa*, however, received general acceptance in India where the ground was prepared by centuries of religious culture and the Sakyamuni's teaching against animal sacrifices was incorporated in post-Buddhist Hinduism. Ramchandra Sarma in his endeavour to stop animal sacrifices in the places where they have survived, has behind him the strongest of Hindu traditions, reinforced by humanitarian world opinion. His work, therefore, must succeed. Outside Calcutta, his protest has met with immediate results and even in Calcutta Hindu conscience has been aroused to this enormity. Pandit Malaviya had taken a vow fifty years ago when he first visited Kalighat never to do so again. He broke his

vow to meet Sarma who had been fasting for thirty-two days and to persuade him to suspend the fast offering to take upon himself, old, weak and overwhelmed by public responsibilities, the mission of redeeming Hinduism from the last taint of a cruel custom.

Tagore on Sarma's fast:—Rabindranath Tagore wrote to a friend, who had appealed to him to intercede with Sarma to give up his fast, a moving reply which is published in the *Modern Review*. The Poet said that he had drafted a letter to Sarma but on second thoughts decided that he was not entitled to advise one who had made the great resolve to stake his life to effect so momentous a reform. "The vow which he has taken," wrote the Poet, "is a vow of supreme self-dedication. We with our weak minds have no right to, are not qualified to, judge of its result either way.....Where is the parallel to this dedication itself? In this case it will not do to think according to our own ordinary standards and ideals. We shall undoubtedly feel anguish at this dedication of his life; but the value of that dedication lies in the anguish that we shall feel in consequence of it.....This gift of his life will remain preserved for ever in our historical treasure house of precious gems."

Are Gonds Hindus?—The Rev. Father Elwin who is doing excellent work amongst the Gonds, has raised the question whether Gonds are Hindus. The question itself involves a misconception. Hinduism is not a creed. It has no dogmas which every Hindu should accept or cease to be a Hindu. It is not wedded to any stage of social evolution. To ask if the Gond is a Hindu, is to make Hinduism, what it is not, a credal affair like the great personal religions. The only reliable test of whether a group like the Gonds is or is not Hindu, is whether it regards itself as Hindu or not. On this point there is no room for doubt about the Gonds. J. F. Hewitt, who was Commissioner at Chota Nagpur in the early sixties of the last century, in his 'Ruling Races of Pre-Historic Times' gives a mass of information about Gonds based on their own legends. Most interesting of these is that they were descendants of the tribe to which Kaikeyi, mother of Bharata, half brother of Sri Rama, belonged. Maruti or Hanuman, the faithful and devoted messenger of Rama, is the wind god of the Gonds. Bhima, one of the Pandavas,



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is another reputed ancestor. The five important Gond festivals, Akkhadi, Jivati, Pola, Dibali, and Shimga, have their counterparts among other Hindus and fall at the same time of the year. The priests of the Gonds are a special class of Brahmins. The origin, history and religious ideology of the Gonds is inextricably interwoven with Hindu evolution. J. F. Hewitt was among the first Indologists to emphasize the accuracy of tradition as material for history.

Satyanand Stokes' Daughter's Marriage :— Mr. S. E. Stokes of Philadelphia came to India in 1904 as a Christian Missionary. Seven years later he married a Rajput lady and settled down to live as a farmer in Himalayan village fifty miles from Simla. He later adopted with his family the Hindu religion three years ago (*Reformer* September 17, 1932). In his book "Satyakama" he has explained at length his interpretation of the Hindu religion. There was some difficulty, however, in him and his family being accepted by the caste to which Mrs. Stokes belonged. The difficulties, however, were recently adjusted as reported in the *Reformer* (September 21, 1935), at the intervention of a deputation from the Hindu Mahasabha. An Associated Press message from Kotgarh dated October 4, says that Savitri Devi, daughter of Mr. Satyanand (the Hindu name which Mr. Stokes has taken) was married to Thakur Lakshmi Singh of Delan in the same district, according to orthodox Sanatanist custom in the locality on the 29th September; the ceremony was performed by Pandit Govind Dutt, the family Purohit and Pandit Harishchandra Sastry.

The Justice Party Crisis :—The Conference of the Justice Party at Guntur shows that the movement which it represents has ceased to appeal as an idea to the main body of non-Brahmins in the Madras Presidency. The Conference decided to collect a crore of rupees and to have paid organisers to strengthen the Party against the next elections. The value of money alone to sustain a political party is limited. Mr. Lloyd George is said to have a fund of some millions at his absolute disposal for political work but his section of the Liberal Party consists at present of himself and his son and daughter. If this is the case in England where money-power counts for much it is not less so in this country where the western idea that duty is what is profitable to do, that 'the stern daughter of the voice of god' is she who filleth our mouths with good things, has not as yet permeated to the masses. The Justice Party has so long managed to do very well without a crore fund. It has virtually monopolised power under diarchy and has broken, according to a friendly journal, the selfish monopoly of the Brahmin. Its sweeping defeat at the last general elections for the Legislative Assembly was not due to lack of the sinews of war. It had behind it for the election not only rich Zemindars but also the richer Chettiers. The Chettiers are no longer with the Party. They distrust it more than they

distrust Brahmins. Few Zemindars are rich enough to find the crore without the help of the Chettiers. The employment of paid organisers is another sign of the decadence of Party. One unpaid propagandist carries more weight than ten paid ones. More than that, the introduction of paid organisers will drive unpaid ones out of the field for fear of being regarded as mercenaries. Moreover, people naturally ask why, if one man is to be subsidised for carrying the flag, another would shoulder the burden for nothing. There is a subtler danger still. The paid organiser of the Justice Party may act under the stress of his personal feeling as the unpaid organiser of the opposite party! Taking all things together, we very much doubt if the measures projected at Guntur will save the Justice Party from disaster at the next election whenever it takes place.

The War and the League :—When we wrote last week Italian troops had crossed the Ethiopian frontier and bombarded Adowa from the air but there had been no formal declaration of war. Commencing hostilities without declaring war, seems to be the modern notion of chivalry. The Ethiopian Emperor, who has throughout been very old-fashioned and punctilious in observing the rules of the game, could not make use of the Italian Hospital in Addis Ababa because technically he was not at war with Italy. The League of Nations, after considerable manouvring, declared unanimously early this week that Italy was the aggressor under the articles of the Covenant. But a new difficulty arose as to what was to follow the declaration. It seems that the sanctions prescribed did not follow automatically on the declaration as it was believed all along. A unanimous resolution of the Assembly was required to bring the sanctions into operation. This was prevented by Austria and Hungary voting against them on the ironical ground of the ancient friendship between them and Italy. After the fall of Adowa and one or two other places of minor importance, complete silence has descended on the scene. Signor Mussolini is rumoured to be willing to negotiate with Britain and France on the basis of the 1903 Treaty to which Ethiopia was not a party, but this is no longer possible. Public feeling in India has been growing in strength and volume. The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has convened a meeting of citizens on Saturday to protest against Italian aggression on Ethiopia.

The British National Anthem at Cinemas :—In the *Reformer* of August 3, we called attention to the incongruity of striking up 'God Save the King' at the end of cinema shows which not infrequently depict scenes which, to say the least, are unassailable with a pious intention. The *New Statesman* quotes the following letter from the *London Evening Post* :—"Local cinemas do at times put up some high class shows, almost worthy of being followed by the usual few bars of the National Anthem."



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Sometimes, it's not for me to say how often, some very questionable sex stuff is exhibited that by no manner of means should have the quasi-blessing of the National Anthem played within one hundred miles of it. Is it not time that this incongruous cheapening of an anthem which is still sacred to millions is divorced from money making in any shape or form, before the time and words are bereft of all their ancient meaning? Yours truly, God, King and Mammon." The practice is still more objectionable in this country where an Indian woman who failed to stand up to hear this incongruous performance, was reported in the papers a few months ago to have been slapped in the face by a European in the fervour of drink and loyalty.

Mr. Desai's Adoption Bill:—The Bombay Legislative Council rejected by a large majority on Wednesday the Bill introduced by Mr. Hanumant Rao Desai to overrule the recent decision of the Privy Council extending the power of adoption possessed by Hindu widows. Our learned contributor, Mr. S. S. Patkar, shows in his article which we publish today that the Privy Council's decision is perfectly in accord with injunction of the Hindu shastras. Government came down from their neutral attitude and opposed the Bill on grounds some of which seem to be of doubtful validity. We agree with the Home Member that as far as property is concerned the Privy Council decision would not make much practical difference. But it certainly enhances the status of the widow in a joint family and ensures more considerate treatment to her since she will have the right of adopting a son without the consent of coparceners. Mr. Desai in his letter published in the *Reformer* (July 27) assured us that he had explained his Bill to Mrs. Desai and that she approved of it. But the Legislative Council was not so easily convinced by his reasoning and threw it out by a rather contemptuous majority. The result is wholly due to the determination of Bombay and Poona women not to lose the ground conceded to them by the Privy Council, usually one of the most conservative tribunals in the world.

Wedgwood Benn on the New Constitution:—The important article in the current *Political Quarterly* by Mr. Wedgwood Benn, Secretary of State for India in the second Labour Government, deserves more attention than it has received here. He tells us how the Labour Government tried to redeem the consequences of the mistake of Lord Birkenhead in making the Simon Commission an all-White body. Notwithstanding difficulties, it succeeded; and Lord Irwin was able to persuade the National Congress to send delegates to the second Round Table Conference. While Gandhiji, the sole Congress representative, was yet on the high seas, the Labour Government was succeeded by the National Government in Britain. In view of the criticism that the reactionary features in the new constitution are the consequence of Congress extravagances, it is interesting to note what Mr. Wedgwood Benn says of them. He writes:

"In the negotiations for the new constitution the spirit of co-operation was gradually abandoned. India dropped out of the picture. In the new Bill the emphasis was altered even if the technical terms remained the same. There was no mention of Dominion Status at all. There was no attempt to pretend that the safeguards were 'in the interests of India' as stated in the Delhi Pact. Worst of all, direct election, which hitherto has been the rule in India, was abandoned and it was decided that the Central Legislature should be chosen indirectly by the Provincial Assemblies. This provision combined with the extreme conservative character of the Central Assembly and the creation of Second Chambers in the provinces effectively prevented any hope of a popular and, therefore, strong Central Government." Mr. Wedgwood Benn points out that one condition on which the Simon Commission laid stress, namely, that the new constitution should, as far as possible, contain within itself provision for its own development, is violated by the retention of the pre-amble to the 1919 Act making Parliament the judge of when and what changes should be made.

Working the Reforms:—"Will India work the Constitution," asks Mr. Benn. He answers: "Working the Constitution may mean two things. It may mean merely a willingness to stand for election but its real meaning is a willingness to form or support an Indian Ministry. That Indians will be found to accept portfolios of course goes without saying. Moreover a very large section of the Central Legislature will be nominated by the Princes and will dutifully discharge its function. Moslems will no doubt co-operate in British India. But what of the authentic representatives of the Hindus who form the majority of the population?" Having regard to their enormous stake in the country, Hindus will no doubt try to secure through the Princes and the Moslems what they cannot through their own authentic representatives. They will in doing so lay themselves open to charges similar to those which the writer in the *Round Table* lays against them, of intriguing with the Princes and encouraging the Ahrar-Quadiani quarrels. That cannot be helped. Mr. Benn expects that the demand for a change in the Indian constitution will be immediate. "It is to be assumed," he writes, "that so long as a National or Conservative Government exists it will remain unanswered, at any rate for some years. In any such period of delay the relations between Britain and India can only suffer deterioration. The economic condition of the masses is hardly likely to improve. Above all strong vested interests will have been built up on the strength of British pledges. The task confronting the inevitable remodelling of the new constitution will be a formidable one." The average British politician will, no doubt, say that we shall cross that bridge when we come to it. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.



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THE ROUND TABLE AND INDIA.

The September number of the British quarterly review, the *Round Table*, is its one-hundredth number and opens with an editorial headed "Twenty-five Years." When what took shape as the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms was on the anvil, this writer had a long conversation with Mr. Lionel Curtis, one of the moving spirits of the group whose organ it was, at Bishop Palmer's House on Malabar Hill. The Bishop left us together and did not make his appearance until we had come to the end of our talk. The end was thuswise. Mr. Curtis explained his plan at length and it struck this writer, and he said so to Mr. Curtis, that it was so cut and dried and provided for all possible and impossible future contingencies that, in the Round Tablers' world, there was left no room for the working of Divine Providence. Mr. Curtis was evidently unprepared for the criticism. "If that is how you take it," he said, shrugged his shoulders, and did not finish the sentence. We both rose. The Bishop came on the scene at this point and smilingly invited us to tea. In the "Twenty-five Years," credit is taken for the idea of diarchy which was the central feature of the Montagu scheme. That diarchy has proved a complete failure and has been discarded without a word of regret in the Hoare Scheme, is very slightly acknowledged in the editorial. The *Round Table*, it is said, "was closely associated with the device of diarchy, which seemed for the time being (italics ours) the most practical method of preventing the perpetuation of an irremovable executive confronting an irresponsible legislature." At that time, the *Round Table* advocated diarchy as an infallible device of unlimited validity. Pragmatism of this sort in a swiftly changing world, is apt to recoil on itself. As a fact, diarchy was a failure almost from the first except in one province where the lion and the lamb lay together, but the lamb *inside* the lion! In its plan for India, the Round Table group committed the same mistake as Sir Samuel Hoare and his Round Tablers. They totally forgot the people most concerned, the Indian people. A mild reminder that the destinies of the Indian people may not be wholly left to the direction of the Round Tablers, irritated Mr. Lionel Curtis and brought our conversation to an abrupt but, we trust, not unfriendly end. With the aim of the *Round Table* to discuss without party bias the great issues of the day, we have complete sympathy. That, too, is our own aim. We are glad that the *Round Table* will henceforth extend its scope to international affairs instead of confining it as hitherto mainly to inter-Empire affairs.

In its section on India, the *Round Table* this month includes an interlude on "Congress and the States," which we reprint on another page.

The consultation of the Congress Parliamentary leader, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, by some Princes on the clauses relating to them in the Government of India Bill (now Act), has aroused the suspicion of the writer. "Mr. Desai is an able lawyer," he observes, "but there are many able lawyers in India without pronounced Congress or indeed any political associations. If the States deliberately choose a man of his political commitments as their adviser, it would justify a conclusion that they were at least inclined to preserve a Congress connection." It is the misfortune of the Princes that they are suspected of ulterior motives in whatever they do. When Sir Leslie Scott was engaged by them in the beginning of the present reform discussions, they were suspected to have selected him because of his intimacy with the late Lord Birkenhead, then Secretary of State for India. The *Round Table* writer suspects them of having an ulterior motive in consulting Mr. Bhulabhai Desai because of the latter's close association with the Congress. Mr. Desai, on the other hand, was strongly criticised in the nationalist Indian Press for the opinion which he gave on the clauses relating to the Princes in the Bill. The *Round Table* writer makes out that the Indian Press failed to understand the inner significance of Mr. Desai's advice suggesting insistence on changes in the clauses which detracted from the position of the Princes as absolute rulers of their States. The writer sums up Mr. Desai's "probable thesis" as follows: "There is no foreign domination in the States. Therefore keep them strong. If they are now assimilated, to what will they be assimilated? To British India in which for a long time to come His Majesty's Government in some form or other will retain a powerful say. In this theory, the States may be the location of the most effective resistance to and subversion of British authority in India." This, says the writer, is identical with Gandhiji's view. The statement which he quotes as Gandhiji's, however, does not bear out his identification. Gandhiji thought that interference of the Congress with the States will damage the cause of the people in the States. (Italics ours). The *Round Table* writer understands him to mean that it would damage the cause of the Congress in British India. The writer's warning "Put not your trust in Princes" shows in what estimate he holds the loud professions of the sponsors of the Hoare Reforms, that they automatically lead to Swaraj.

The writer brings out an important consequence of the introduction of provincial autonomy before Federation and limited responsibility at the centre, which has escaped attention in many of the criticisms published in this country. "There is a not uncommon impression," he writes, "that constitutional development in India will resolve itself into (1) a period of provincial autonomy with a centre operating much on the present lines; (2) after the minimum of States' accession, the inception of



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federation. Actually, from the inception of provincial autonomy, the central government will have been fundamentally and irrevocably altered, and the essential changes of the federal stage (with the exception of the States' presence) are bound to operate immediately at the centre." This position, it was acknowledged, was fraught with danger, and Sir Samuel Hoare pledged himself and the British Government "that the whole problem will be considered anew if it was likely to continue beyond a brief transitory stage. There is nothing in the Act, however, to prevent this situation lasting indefinitely. The States have twenty years to make up their minds and a whole generation may pass with autonomy in the provinces and a weakened and irresponsible executive at the centre. The writer in the *Round Table*, referring to the last minute introduction of direct election for the Upper Chamber while the Lower House is to be elected indirectly by provincial legislatures, observes: "Judged by pure political theory the system is topsy-turvy, but there is a good deal in the new political system in India which might incur the same condemnation." Sir Samuel Hoare and his supporters in Britain and in India, however, profess to despise theory. They hold that topsy-turvydom is what is best suited to the conditions of this country and will work best here. Theory to them is of no use in practical affairs. But theory is the light of accumulated experience which helps the reformer to avoid the mistakes of the past and to steer straight to his goal.

FARAGO ON ABYSSINIA.

Mr. Ladislav Farago, a Hungarian journalist, has recently published a flippant book on "Abyssinia on the eve." Mr. Farago thinks very poorly of the Ethiopians. His opinion of the Emperor would sound sinister in a more responsible writer. "He looks tired," writes Mr. Farago, "and is obviously tormented by the recent difficulties of a political situation which he alone understands and the hopelessness of a war. He wants above all rest.....Perhaps he dreams sometimes of a rich carefree ex-Emperor who lives in an atmosphere of respect and peace, being addressed as 'Your Majesty' by distinguished hotel proprietors, and sitting in the seat of honour at international tennis competitions among white people who do not want to get anything out of him." Combined with a supercilious attitude towards non-European races, Mr. Farago has a trait in him which does not exactly enhance his importance as a journalist. The following incident illustrates this. He describes a visit to the court painter, Agegnhou Ingida, and the passage below represents in his own words Mr. Farago's reactions to the hospitality of Ingida who asked his wife to join them. "She was a typical Amharic beauty," writes our Hungarian journalist. "She was the most beautiful woman that I met in Abyssinia. I looked at her for a long time, perhaps too

long, taking in her almond-shaped eyes, her well-formed forehead, and the exquisite curve of her mouth, but although she dropped her head shyly, she snatched her chances to return my stare. The loose shama-like dress that she wore over her blouse and skirt concealed her figure entirely. I wanted to see all the natural beauty of this Abyssinian woman, so I asked Ingida if I might see his wife without clothes. I realised at once that my request might appear tactless but the artist in him understood that it was not only this particular woman that interested me but her type, and without a moment's hesitation he told his wife to undress. She hesitated which is very unusual, for Abyssinian wives obey their husbands blindly, however unreasonable their commands, and they must not stop to reflect for an instant. But for some reason or other this woman did not want to do as her husband wanted....I felt uncomfortable but the artist would not give in and upbraided his wife until she declared herself ready to expose herself down to the waist, but she made one proviso, she did not want to stand naked but to show me how an Abyssinian woman does her washing, etc., etc., etc." and we are given a photograph to bear out the truth of this incident. The poor Abyssinian woman obviously had formed her own opinion of Mr. Ladislav Farago—an opinion justified entirely by his own account of his behaviour but very different from that of her unsophisticated husband. It is possible, but highly improbable, that Mr. Farago shows the same manners in European society. It is this person, we believe, whose services have been secured as war correspondent by *The Times of India* which seems already to regret the acquisition. For while Monday's report from this correspondent is presented prominently as "a message from the actual seat of war in North Abyssinia," a 'Current Topic' in the same issue discounts the report with the sentence, "Our war correspondent is 'somewhere in North Abyssinia' in the region of Gondar. So far as is known conflict, apart from Italian air action, has not yet opened in that particular region."

Caste among Untouchables:—It is the peculiarity of the caste system that the lower we descend in the social scale, the stricter becomes caste discipline. The Mangs are very near the bottom of the caste ladder. A woman of this caste, Ganga of a village in Aurangabad, became a convert to Islam and married a Mohammedan Bhulan, in the Hyderabad State, reports the Secunderabad correspondent of the *Evening News*. She was ex-communicated by her caste. This was not all. Her son, Rama, could not get a girl of his caste to marry him because of his mother's apostasy. The young man asked his mother to leave the village expecting no doubt that the caste would let her if she were not present in that place. She refused and the son murdered her. He was tried and sentenced to imprisonment for life by the Hyderabad High Court.



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A PRE-WAR OUTLOOK ON WORLD EVENTS.

It was recently reported that Rome was perturbed at the solid opposition of Indian public opinion to Italian aggression in Abyssinia in spite of propaganda for the Italian case. The recent Labour demonstration in Bombay against which the Italian Consul felt it necessary to seek police protection, shows that that feeling has permeated every class on India. The Indian press has taken a strong line in the Italo-Abyssinian dispute and the Anglo-Indian press with one exception has been consistent in protesting against Mussolini's colonial ambitions. That exception is the *Times of India*. Very often the Anglo-Indian press assumes a special responsibility for educating Indian opinion on European affairs and many readers who regard its comments on Indian events as prejudiced, are prepared to base their foreign opinions on its editorials. A preliminary article in the *Times* told the public that Italy must have a railway through Abyssinia linking Eritrea and Italian Somaliland since the alternative was a railway running through French and British colonies in Africa; and that Italy's economic and population needs necessitated the provision of an outlet for her. The argument apparently did not convince even the writer because in a few days, early last June, the *Times* wrote once more, in support of Abyssinia. Within a week another editorial appeared apparently sympathetic to Italy, questioning the principle of self-determination and generally discounting the League of Nations as an organisation founded on inadequate realisation of international realities. Three days later yet another article was thought necessary to bridge the gulf between these two views, and that advocated international intervention in Abyssinia. Thus all possible attitudes on the Italo-Abyssinian dispute had found refuge in the hospitable editorial columns of the *Times*. By the end of June the *Times* more or less adopted a policy. It supported Italy so long as only Italy and Abyssinia were involved; when the League came in, it supported the League but also desired that negotiation should achieve the substance of Italian needs without hurt to Italian dignity. Then came Sir Samuel Hoare's speech giving a definite lead to British opinion and the *Times* was not slow to take it. And lastly the realisation that the conflict necessarily involved more than Italy, Abyssinia and the League, increased its enthusiasm for League intervention but not to the point of armed resistance to Italian breach of the Covenant. While the *Times* was laboriously working up to this point of view, its London correspondent held consistently to a pro-Mussolini policy. Priding himself on his realism—really one should rather call it opportunism—he has from the first asked the Great Powers to stand by while Italy works her will on Abyssinia. The anxiety which he shows for neutrality and rearmament that Britain might be strong enough to defend her own interests, almost suggests that he believes with the Fascists that Britain is played out as a colonial empire and that Italy will step into her place.

Under Article Sixteen of the Covenant, even armed assistance to the victim of the aggressor is contemplated. In the recent National Peace Ballot organised by Viscount Cecil in Britain, it was revealed that 94 per cent of those who voted on this issue, favoured economic action against an aggressor nation and 73 per cent favoured military action. In the face of these figures it is a complete misrepresentation of British opinion to say, as the *Times of India* London correspondent does, that the "great body of middle opinion which the Government will have to face" abhor the use of sanctions in any form. The Archbishop of Canterbury's strong condemnation of

Italy cabled to India on Wednesday, will be a hard fact for the middle-opinionist to swallow. This "middle body of opinion" which British supporters of the Government's India policy did to death when they met with determined opposition from every Indian party, is being used now to influence the Government on an international issue. There is no reason to think that it will succeed today, any more than it did on the Indian question, in leading people to think that the writer represents anyone but himself. The "great body of middle opinion," as most people have learnt by now, is utilised to bolster up an unpopular point of view when its advocate has not the courage to stand by it publicly. The *Times* correspondent's support of Italian aggression on the ground that "so long as Abyssinia controls a very large force of warriors, under a single despotic head, there is no security for the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland" lays bare the uncritical attitude of the writer to Italian propaganda. This very argument can be used with greater force to justify an invasion of Italy by her European neighbours. His contention that, in the event of Italy being involved in European troubles Abyssinia would attack Eritrea, is pointless as a justification of Italian aggression when it is recalled that Eritrea is an integral part of Abyssinia and, as we suggested some months back, should be surrendered to that kingdom. The writer's remarks on establishing an Italian mandate over Abyssinia disclose a mind which still thinks in terms of old world imperialism. He does not seem to understand the elements of the League of Nations system of mandates. While it assumes the inferiority of colonial peoples, it imposes the duty on the mandatory of educating them to sovereignty. It is the highest absurdity to suggest that the League should deprive one of its members of independence and then ask another member to educate it to sovereignty. It requires a degree of cynicism in international politics which, we are glad to say, did not exist even in pre-League days. We are told by this London correspondent that international control has failed in Tangiers. As a realist can he seriously maintain that the mandate system has met with greater success?

HINDU WIDOWS' RIGHT OF ADOPTION.

In my article in the 'Hindu Law Quarterly' on "the conflict between Mitakshara and Mayukha," I incidentally referred to the decision of the Privy Council in *Bhimabai vs. Gurunathgowda* (L. R. 60 I. A. 25) which is sought to be overruled by the bill proposed by Mr. Desai. With all respect to their Lordships of the Privy Council, I ventured to offer my criticism on the decision in *Bhimabai's* case principally on two grounds, (1) that the construction put on the Mayukha in the case of *Rakhmabai vs. Radhabai* (5 B. H. C. R. A. C. 181) was not quite correct and (2) on the ground of *stare decisis* as the decision in *Ramji vs. Ghamau* (6 Bom. 498) overruled by the Privy Council held the field for nearly 50 years. During the course of the said article which was long before the initiation of any legislature on the subject, I stated at page 23 that enlightened public opinion in Hindu society may not approve of the attempt made to deprive the widow in a joint family of the power of adoption conferred by the Privy Council by having recourse to legislature in order to override the effect of the decision of the Privy Council, but on the other hand the condition of the widow in a joint family will be considerably ameliorated if legislation is resorted to in order to give the widow in a joint family also the right to partition the share of her husband in the joint family in addition to the right of adoption.



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The criterions for testing the soundness of the decision of a court of law are not necessarily the same as those for considering the desirability of any proposed legislation to set aside the decision of the High Court of appeal. The decision of the Privy Council can be set aside by legislation only if it is opposed to authority and reason.

The decision of the Privy Council in *Bhimabai vs. Gurnathgowda* is based principally on the decision in *Rakhmabai vs. Radhabai*, and on the two treatises of Hindu law, *Vyavahar Mayukha* and *Sanskara Kaustubha*. It may be conceded that the construction put upon the *Mayukha* in *Rakhmabai's* case was not quite correct though there is difference of opinion as to the correct inference to be drawn from the passage in *Vyavahar Mayukha* Ch. IV pl. 17 & 18. There is no distinction made in the *Mayukha* between adoption by a widow in a joint family and by the widow of a separated or sole surviving member of the joint family, and it is undisputed that the latter can adopt without the consent of the kinsmen, but it is urged that the former cannot do so. It would therefore be more in consonance with reason to hold that the opinion of the *Mayukha* on this point is only recommendatory and not mandatory.

As I have stated on another occasion it is very difficult to say whether any particular interpretation of a text of Hindu law can be regarded as infallible.

The law of adoption on this point is based on the text of *Vasistha vis.* "A woman should neither give nor receive a son except with her husband's permission." All the schools accept the above text as authoritative but curiously enough they have put contradictory and inconsistent interpretations on one and the same basic text. The *Mithila* school lays down that the permission of the husband must be given at the time of adoption and therefore the widow cannot adopt at all whether with or without the consent of the kinsmen. The *Bengal* school interprets the text as requiring express permission given by the husband in his lifetime but capable of taking effect after his death, so that the widow can adopt only if the husband has given permission in his lifetime, but she cannot adopt without such permission even if she secures the consent of the kinsmen. The *Madras* school has adopted a very wide construction of the word "husband" or "lord" by treating it as illustrative and signifying guardian of the widow for the time being, so that the consent of the husband's sapindas who are the widow's guardians after her husband's death is sufficient, but she cannot adopt without their consent even if he was separated at the time of his death. With regard to the *Bombay* school, *Mayne* in his 'Hindu Law' para 112 says as follows:—"The *Mayukha*, *Kaustubha* and other treatises which govern the *Maratha* school explain the text away by saying that it applies only to an adoption made in the husband's lifetime and is not to be taken to restrict the widow's power to do that which the general law prescribes as beneficial to her husband's soul. The same interpretation is put on the text by the *Nambudri Brahmins* of the *West Coast*. The result is that in the case of adoption by the widow, in *Mithila* no consent is sufficient, in *Western India* no consent is required, in *Bengal* and *Benares* the husband's consent is required, in *Southern India* the consent either of the husband or of the *Sapindas* is sufficient." The view of *Mr. Mayne* that in *Western India* no consent is required is given effect to in the decision of *Rakhmabai's* case which is followed by the *Privy Council* but is held applicable to the adoption by a widow in a separated family and inapplicable to a widow in a joint family by the *Full Bench* decision in *Ramji vs. Ghamau* (J. L. R. 6 Bom. 498) overruled now by the *Privy Council*. There is no distinction

made in the *Mayukha* or any of the texts between a widow of a separated family and a widow in a joint family as to the power of adoption, and therefore there is no adequate ground to make any differentiation between the two classes of widows in respect of their right to take a boy in adoption without the consent of the kinsmen. The *Mayukha* while commenting on this basic text of *Vasistha* says that the permission of the husband is only for a woman whose husband is alive, but in the case of a widow it (the adoption) takes place even without it (husband's permission) with the assent of the father and failing him with that of the kinsmen. The author of *Mayukha* was considering the question whether the permission of the husband was necessary, and stated that the permission was necessary in the case of a woman whose husband was alive but not necessary in the case of a widow, and he recorded the custom of adoption by the widow with the consent of the kinsmen. He was considering the question of the necessity of the husband's permission and not the question of the necessity of the consent of the kinsmen in the absence of that of the husband. He arrived at the conclusion that a widow could adopt without the permission of the husband. I think that the proper interpretation would be that the securing of the consent of the kinsmen referred to by *Mayukha* is only recommendatory and not mandatory.

The text of *Vasistha* is to the effect that a woman should neither give nor receive a son except with her husband's permission. It is admitted by all schools that a widow can give her son in adoption without the consent of her husband or that of the kinsmen, but there is conflict of opinion in the several schools as to the power of a widow to take a son in adoption. There is no justification in *Vasistha's* text to make any differentiation between giving and taking a son in adoption. If the reasoning of *Mayukha* is adopted, it would be in consonance with reason if the text of *Vasistha* is restricted to a woman whose husband is alive and is not extended to a widow.

If reference is made to the other texts considered as authoritative in the *Bombay Presidency*, it would be found that the text of *Vasistha* is restricted to a woman whose husband is alive and is not made applicable to a widow. *Kamalakar* the author of *Nirnaya Sindhu* which was completed in February 1612 A. D., was the cousin and contemporary of *Nilkant* author of *Vyavahar Mayukha* composed between 1610 and 1644. *Nirnaya Sindhu* is quite definite on this point and lays down that the above text of *Vasistha* is applicable when the husband is living, otherwise there would be a conflict with the saying of *Vatsa* and *Vyas* to the effect that "he is to be known as the son given, whom the father or the mother gives." *Kamalakar* in the *Nirnaya Sindhu* nowhere says that the assent of the kinsmen is necessary in the case of a widow taking a son in adoption. The next authoritative book, *Sanskara Kaustubha* by *Anant Dev* which was compiled in the third quarter of the 17th century, is very emphatic on this point, and lays down that no permission or consent of the kinsmen is necessary in the case of a widow adopting a son without her husband's permission on the ground that in no part of the country is a female's dependence of kinsmen ever allowed by learned men to restrain her in the observance of *Nitya* and *Kamyavratas* and that there is no distinction between the *Vratas* and the adoption of a son. The *Privy Council* relies on *Sanskara Kaustubha* as an authority in support of its decision. The latest authoritative text in *Dharma Sindhu* composed by *Kashinath Upadhyaya* in 1790 A. D. is to the same effect as that in the *Sanskara Kaustubha*.

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It would therefore follow that the decision of the Privy Council in Bhimabai's case is not opposed to authority, but on the other hand is supported by Sanskara Kaustubha, Nirnaya Sindu and Dharma Sindu. Though the interpretation put on Mayukha in Rakhmabai's case relied on by the Privy Council is not quite accurate, the statement of Mayukha that adoption by a widow in the absence of the permission of the husband takes place with the consent of the kinsmen, is indicative of its recommendatory and not mandatory character and is an argument in favour of restricting Vasistha's text to a woman whose husband is alive and in favour of a widow's power of adoption in the absence of her husband's permission.

S. S. PATKAR

GANDHISM AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

Gandhism is a philosophy of life and life as a whole. A reason that insists on the sanction of the heart, a religion and self-sacrifice bereft of negative asceticism and self-immolation, a practicality and pragmatism devoid of selfishness and predominance of the aggressive individual over the affairs of the society, it aspires to bring in all the pariahs of the society, who were suppressed and removed from the open rivalry of existence, at the same time, checking the ambition to possess and be greedy. It aims at a well-organised and perfectly disciplined society with a view to introduce the highest form of spiritual freedom into the actual life of man. In such a society there is absolutely no room for a predisposition to material things nor for the stagnation of the intellectual and spiritual powers of the man. The freedom it would realise, would be purely socialist, a common factor of enjoyment between all the members of the human family.

Is it practicable? Can such a society ever come into existence? It is the nature of things, in the nature of human life, that such a state of human organisation should come into being. The demand of the average man for the guarantee of the necessities of life and leisure for intellectual growth, is ever pressing itself forward and has become the chief problem of the modern day. The utopias of life are self-assertive, they are being translated into actualities every day, even without our knowledge. It is the process of social evolution that we should one day live as one society, as members of the same family, like brothers and sisters. It is the depth of our very nature that we should rebel against any form of individual oppression and press for equality everywhere; that we should cross the realities of the present towards the idealities of the future, which could not be charmed away by the form that was presented by the oppressing vice but ever aspired for the acquisition of the substance of joy of both the class and realisation.

Freedom is not a fetishness. It is not a particular achievement—the defeat of a particular enemy or the removal of a particular pest. It is the positive advance of the society towards a greater and a more comprehensive happiness. This is the ideal we are instinctively cherishing day in and day out; and realising the ideal is idealising the real, a constructive process by which we reshape ourselves into a newer world and a newer environment.

The spirit with which Gandhiji introduced the principles of morality in the field of politics and economics, the methods of non-violence he preached for the realisation of human freedom mark a definite change in the life of man and foretell a complete and organised control of his over all the environmental resources. In this new move of life the various legal systems which are always prone to preserve and

protect customs already prevalent without questioning their intrinsic worth will soon give place to ethical systems which would aim at the perfection of individual as well as social conduct. The statecraft and machiavellian diplomacy would become unnecessary and out of date and an indiscriminating science of social organisation would take their place. New blood would be pumped into the brain-cells of religion so that it may become more active, giving impetus to the moral and spiritual predispositions in every living soul, at the same time moving the energies of man with equal force, towards environmental freedom.

Superiority of race or caste, however prosperous it might have been in the past, Mahatma Gandhi refuses to acknowledge, thus revealing and demonstrating the basic truth lying under the process of social evolution that all the differences amongst races are apparent, incidental, traditional and environmental and not inherent; and that all the different peoples are being gradually brought to one standard of efficiency, the inferiorities are being abolished and deficiencies removed, simultaneously revealing to the superficially superior races the false ground on which they stand and restricting their exploitations and egoisms to a lesser and lesser circle till they are totally exterminated. By extreme suffering and selfless and heroic undertakings he brought home the fact that certain people and certain nations are enjoying the benefits of the toiling masses of the world by diplomacy, application of certain tricks and military feats, and that so soon as truth and frankness are introduced into public life, exploitation automatically ceases to exist. To drive away deficiency from the poor and apathy from the rich is to create a common interest for the society and a common willingness to contribute their mite to its all-round progress. The deceptive conceit nourished by distance has been killed to a great extent in conflict of cultures and in the intermingling of races. Behind the colours the climate has painted on our skins, we all share the same affections, the same feelings, same emotions and the same necessities of existence. Traditions are the product of imitation, the aping by one generation of the habit of the older one. They are only skin-deep. They can be changed and they are being changed. And we have realised that unless we have one common schooling from our very cradle, one common understanding and outlook, there can be no real peace in the world, still less freedom.

The methods of active resistance or the active non-violence which can be utilised by the unarmed masses for positively marching over all the inimical movements of the selfish monopolisers are the richest contribution ever made to humanity in which lies the promise of a future which may reveal one day a kingdom of heaven on earth. This is a weapon which can be wielded by the masses and masses alone, and the oppressors cannot come anywhere near it. While violence is a method adopted mainly for keeping a mass of people eternally under subjection, non-violence is a means for the unarmed masses to break that subjection and become free. At a time when military imperialism has ended in the abdication of the Kaiser; when Fascism as the last phase of imperialism is oscillating between capitalism and socialism, on the one hand, and between the helpless peace suggestions of the League and war suggestions of its secluded nationalism, on the other; and when communism, failing to spread itself into an international movement, has limited itself as a domestic affair of a single country; the gift brought to us by this divine man, the gift of organised, active mass non-violence, is in itself a hope and a promise that we shall, in the near future, be able to build up a world-state purely by constructive methods, without



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waiting for the political and intellectual adjustments between European nations which would ultimately end in adjustments and adjustments only. And the people of all nations should receive this natural and inherent power in all earnestness and organise themselves into an army of constructive peace for the achievement of complete social emancipation of humanity as a whole.

Allahabad.

M. N. RAO

HINDUSTAN ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA.

The Hindustan Association of America has been in existence for nearly two decades in this country and under severe handicaps, doing really useful work among the Indian community. It is a non-political organization, primarily interested in bringing about a cultural understanding between India and America and to open up educational facilities for Indian students here. Due to the very nature of its organization it brings within its fold Indians of all creeds, castes, and provinces. Its associate membership includes people from all parts of the world. No Indian who comes to America and no American or other national who is interested in India, escape its benignant advice, encouragement and guidance.

Every year it has a clear-cut schedule of programmes in cognizance with its organization. Its monthly meetings, where Indian food is exclusively served, are attended by Indians and Americans and always have a guest speaker or speakers of eminence who talk about events of interest to India or about India. In the galaxy of such speakers are included such well-known names very dear to India, like Rabindranath Tagore, Jagadish Chandra Bose, Sarojini Naidu, K. T. Paul, Madeline Slade, John Haynes Holmes, William Kilpatrick, K. Natarajan, S. Radhakrishnan, etc. During the summer of every year, in keeping with the traditions of American institutions of higher learning, it gives a series of courses on Indian culture and this is always well attended. Another annual feature is its "India Night" when an Indian play or dance recital is given. It supplies information about American educational facilities to Indian students. Its various other activities embrace quite a range, the summum bonum of which is to be of usefulness to India and to keep the flag of the mother country flying aloft in distant America.

Appropriately the headquarters of the Association is at International House, New York City, which is the hostel for foreign students studying in the universities and colleges in New York. In this House practically every nationality is represented. The Director of the House, Mr. Harry Edmonds, is an honorary member of the Association and is actively interested in it, as well as the other members of the staff of International House. Their active and sympathetic co-operation and help our Association deeply appreciates.

For some time the Association was publishing a Journal called "The Hindustan Student," which has been temporarily suspended, due to the general exigencies of the time and particularly the depression which cut off our resources to a large extent. We are trying our best to revive it since an organ of our opinion, however humble it might be, is a necessity here.

The Association has always tried to be self-reliant. It has never appealed for funds from home. As a matter of fact it has tried to contribute its mite to needy and deserving causes at home, the last being the Quetta Earthquake Relief Fund. It hopes to continue to follow this policy in the future.

The Indian community here owes a deep debt of gratitude to the American friends of our Association.

Their sympathetic, thoughtful guidance and help have been an inspiration to us.

This summer at International House, New York, we conducted a course of lectures which was well attended by the summer session students from all over the United States and other parts of the world, studying in the Colleges and Universities of New York. The lectures were as follows:

(1) July 11, Thursday, 8-15 P. M. "Beautiful India" by Mr. N. S. Sen, M. A. (Calcutta) representative of the State Railways of India in the United States.

This was an illustrated travelogue lecture on the historical and scenic sights of India. An exhibition of India's artcraft formed part of this talk.

(2) July 18, Thursday, 8-15 P. M. "Opportunities for American Education and Industry in India of To-day" by Dr. V. R. Kokatnur, B. S. (Bombay), M. S. and Ph. D. (Minnesota), Educationist and Scientist, Consultant to Russia on the first Five Year Plan. General manager Sri Shakati Alkali Works, India.

(3) July 26, Friday, 8-15 P. M. "The Art of Hindu Dancing" by Miss Ruth St. Denis, world-famous dancer and interpreter of Hindu Dancing in America.

(4) August 1, Thursday, 8-00 P. M. Hindu Banquet. Guests of Honour Dean J. W. Withers, Ph. D., L. L. D., of New York University and Mrs. Withers. Dean Withers who is an acknowledged leader in the field of education of America of today gave an address on "Some leading characteristics of American Education."

It is hardly necessary for me to say that the United States provides unparalleled opportunities for our students and it is really a pity that few are taking advantage of them. The institutions of higher learning welcome students from India and give them the necessary facilities and help.

Persons from India who are contemplating a visit to the United States are free to write to us for any information they desire and we will be only too glad to be of any service to our countrymen and women. All communications should be addressed to the Secretary of our Association.

New York City, } P. GOPALA KRISHNAYYA,
August 31, 1935. } President.

INDIAN APPEALS AND THE PRIVY COUNCIL

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

For a century the Privy Council has maintained its prestige and dignity as the best and highest Court of Appeal, incidentally serving as a connecting link between the Colonies and Dominions on the one hand and the Mother-country on the other. Although appeals from abroad cost the litigants concerned a small fortune to fight out their cases at the Privy Council, the British subjects have been loath to break their contact with the Privy Council, as this grand institution has endeared itself to one and all who have had to do with law by its judicial wisdom born of experience, impeccable impartiality and skill and ability to tackle very knotty problems that require not only judicial insight but an abundant stock of patience. The laws they have made from time to time by their calculated and well balanced judgments will go down in the annals of law and history as the soundest juridical expositions that have been ever attempted or made at any age.



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But perfect as the Privy Council is, it occurred to me if there is anything that can be suggested with a view to making it even more perfect. The one point that strikes me forcibly is whether the judges ought to read the records of the cases *before* they hear the cases or if they should come to the Court with an open mind and hear the case as and when it is opened by the Counsel. I am personally for the adoption of the latter course as otherwise there is a possibility of their minds being influenced one way or the other, and they are apt to come to the Court with their minds made up to some extent which the counsel holding the brief for the opposite party will find it difficult to shake off, however convinced he may be about the merits of his own viewpoints. Then again the judge who reads the records beforehand is in a slightly more advantageous position than his colleagues who have not, and his views which have very likely been influenced by the judgments of the Courts below or the records, are bound to predominate during the whole hearing, and this will tend to affect his brothers on the Bench in no small measure which, I am afraid, will not be conducive to the cause of justice. But there can be no objection, of course, to the judges acquainting themselves with the facts of the case beforehand up to a point which is reasonably necessary for the understanding of the case. It also occurs to me if it would not be in the interests of justice for the President not to express his views in the course of the hearing too vehemently one way or the other on any point raised before the Judicial Committee so that his colleagues who have yet to make up their minds, can do so in their own way, and whether it would not be advisable if each judge records his findings independently of one another and the greatest common measure of agreement between the judges so arrived at shall be the determining factor in the ultimate decision of the case.

Will it not also be a step in the right direction that all cases that come up to Privy Council are decided by a Bench of five and not as is more often the case by a Bench of three? The litigant stakes his "all" when he submits his case to the Privy Council and is often reduced to an utter state of penury. As the Privy Council is his last and only ray of hope, it is only fair that his case is disposed of in the most efficient way possible and I certainly think that a decision by five judges is preferable to a decision by three judges.

The above suggestions that I have made in respect of the Privy Council can with equal force apply to procedure in the House of Lords and all courts with appellate jurisdictions in England or India.

London, } Yours etc.,
September 5, 1935. } J. CHINNA DURAI

BIRTH CONTROL AND MR. BOLE'S PROPOSAL.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

This Birth Control International Centre welcomes your support for the resolution on Birth Control clinics to be proposed by Rao Bahadur S. K. Bole to the Bombay Legislative Council. Action similar to that proposed in the resolution has been permissible in England since 1930 for women "where further pregnancy would be detrimental to health."

More than 150 Health authorities have availed themselves of their powers and are now helping women not only to save their lives but to space out

their children in accordance with their own health. As this service is carried out by medical practitioners there has not been even a suggestion that anything but good has followed.

The death rate of India being about 26 is more than double that of England which is 12 while the infant death rate is 70 in England and about 160 in India. Preventive health work and Maternity and Child Welfare services can bring the Indian figures as low as the English figures but only if birth control is taught and practised.

We congratulate Rao Bahadur S. K. Bole and wish him every success in his endeavour to help poor mothers.

Yours etc.,

London, }
September 16, 1935. } EDITH HOW-MARTYN

NATIONAL SOCIALISM AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

(Contributed.)

The fundamental relationship between the Party-State and the Roman Catholic Church is being discussed with renewed vigour in Germany today. A certain amount of tension has been evident among the Germany Catholics recently although this has nothing whatever to do with Church practice but is better described as 'atmospherics'. Resulting developments serve to throw a light on the Catholic Church problem in the Third Reich. The expression "political Catholicism" is often used by State authorities in this connection. As stated in the Party programme the National Socialist State is ready to guarantee every Christian Church absolute freedom in religious matters but on the other hand it demands that the Church shall observe unconditional and unlimited abstention from all questions related directly or indirectly to politics or not of purely ecclesiastical nature. The first problem which presents itself is where does religion end and where do politics begin? It is largely due to differences of opinion on where the line is to be drawn that the present friction has grown up. But unimportant excesses of subordinates on both sides should not lead people to suppose that a great cultural struggle is going on. There are a number of problems to be settled between the National Socialist Government and the Catholic Church but no very intimate knowledge of German domestic conditions is necessary to make it evident that a "Kulturkampf" is not being waged. In spite of their disagreement neither party desires an open war to break out. Bitter remarks are made on both sides but both the State and the Church readily admit that their disputes have nothing to do with the fundamental question of whether cordial relations can possibly exist between Church and National Socialist State. In this connection both sides agree and it is only a matter of instilling the totally new principle of the Third Reich into the Church and co-ordinating them harmoniously with ecclesiastical tradition.

The Fathers of the German Catholic Church will meet shortly at the Bishops' Conference in Fulda. Presumably new decisions will be made with regard to the negotiations with the State and a new spokesman for the Catholic Church will be appointed to take the place of the Bishop of Berlin who is now dead. Bishop Berning of Osnabruck who is a member of the Prussian State Council is said to be likely candidate. The Church seems to think much of Bishop Berning's diplomacy and it is to be hoped that the negotiations with the State about the Concordat will be resumed shortly. It is realized today more clearly than ever that the



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Reich Concordat signed on July 20, 1933 is the best possible foundation for a proper balance between Church and State as soon as the parties can come to an agreement on the interpretation of the Articles. If the Church and State had not agreed on principle the Concordat would never have been signed but controversy subsequently arose when the theory was to be translated into practice.

One section of the agreement is still no more than theory. Discussions were carried on last year between representatives of the Government and the Catholic Church and a solution was reached on July 29 but this was finally rejected by the Holy See which did not hesitate to overrule the German Catholics. Since then negotiations have been at a standstill and the present strife is partly due to this gap in the Concordat regulations. According to Article 31 the State guarantees not to interfere in "exclusively religious, purely cultural and charitable organizations" under the stipulation that an agreement between Church and State should be forthcoming as to which organizations and associations were to fall under this category.

Discussions will probably be resumed after the Conference in Fulda. A satisfactory solution would be in the interests of both parties. The recent campaign against "political Catholicism" seems to indicate that both State and Party are aiming at reaching a final agreement with the Church on the interpretation of the Concordat in order that religion and political activity in the Church may be unequivocally defined and friction come to an end.

GERMANY'S FINANCIAL POLICY.

Count Schwerin von Krosigk, German Minister of Finance, has published an article in the September number of the "European Review" ("Europäische Revue") dealing with the financial policy of his country, from which we quote the following: "Germany has twice stood over an abyss of economic collapse, and each time it has been possible to set aside the danger, and to turn despair and bankruptcy to hope and new life. The inflation period was overcome by the creation of new currency and by a policy of the most rigid economy. A complete change of financial policy was the only thing that saved Germany from the deflation period. Pockets were empty, there was no capital and trade was at a standstill, and so, in place of non-existent private orders, state orders had to be given. These could be financed only by means of short-term credits. The "attack on the reserves of the future" connected with this policy was the only possible way because these future reserves could only be built up by means of enlivening the nation's trade, which would, in its turn, lead to increased revenues from taxes and the slow building up of new capital, from which, then, the credits used for increasing trade would have to be repaid. Several factors contribute to show that this new financial policy has been successful: the number of unemployed has been reduced from 6,000,000 to 1,700,000, the state revenues have increased by two milliards of Marks, and many other economic figures serve to illustrate the same theme. The Finance Ministry has now to see to it that the upward trend is not disturbed or hindered in anyway. In addition the principal motive of the leaders of the Work Creating policy must be to use the newly created reserves to cover and to fund the credits. This task demands a state policy that will lead to the complete recovery so greatly desired by means of equalising the credits. There must also be a careful control of the prices of commodities. The national socialist government will certainly one day bring the proof that it is master of all the difficult economic problems with which it is faced."

THE FIGHT AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS.

I was one of the early pioneers of the open-air treatment in England. Nearly 38 years ago there was no open-air movement and no Sanatorium existing in England. Then two or three of us young men went over to Germany to study tuberculosis, and, to our astonishment, found that country far ahead in the open-air treatment having established Sanatoria 40 years before.

We returned to England full of hope and determination to make known the new treatment and to open up Sanatoria for the arrest of tuberculosis. The result was that within 35 years the Sanatorium movement spread and became popular all over England. So that when I opened my first Sanatorium in England in 1899 there were only two or three Sanatoria besides mine, now there are 494 institutions in Great Britain for the treatment of tuberculosis.

Looking back on my young stormy days, I feel proud I fought many a battle for the cause of tuberculosis. I was not satisfied with the current opinion of the day on many problems of the disease, and I was not afraid if my observations ran counter to the orthodox beliefs held at that time. Only I wanted to delve beneath the surface, to think independently and to know the truth of things at whatever cost—and cost it did, but I did not mind so long as my institutions and convictions led me into the right path and made me sure of my ground.

I tried to bring a new angle of vision and to persuade my profession to go beyond bacteriology into the new fields of biochemistry, sociology, and electronic concept of disease. I said that man is more important than microbe, and that he alone holds the master-key, and speaks the last word in the causation and cure of disease, that micro-organisms are rather the effect of a cause than the cause themselves, and that man's environment—the air he breathes, the food he eats, the drink he takes, the wages he gets, the house he occupies—these living factors go to determine the conditions of his health or disease. Such a view seemed revolutionary at the time, but now the profession is veering round to accept the truth of this new concept.

I said that the soil is more important than the seed, and that the sure and certain way to prevent and cure tuberculosis is not to try to destroy tubercle bacilli, but to strengthen life's forces, to improve man's soil or constitution and increase his powers of resistance by right living. Now, all the civilised nations are coming to believe this idea and are doing their best to raise the social and economic conditions of their people. In fact, in proportion as they have given attention to improving the social well-being of their people, and promoting their health and prosperity have they reduced the incidence and mortality of tuberculosis.

Again, I said that tuberculosis is more an insufficiency than infectious disease caused by bad social, economic and hygienic conditions, and that given fresh air, good food and healthy and happy surroundings tuberculosis could be conquered in the course of time, but that if the nutrition of the people is poor and their vitality low, the death rate from the disease would increase. This view has also been amply proved to be true in the late war when thousands of Germans and Austrians suffered from starvation and under-feeding, and died of tuberculosis from want of good nourishing food. So much so that Professor Kayserling, one of the foremost authorities on tuberculosis in Germany said:—"German physicians are beginning to say that tuberculosis should be regarded primarily not as an infectious disease, but as a disease of nutrition, to be controlled much more by feeding than by preventing infection." I have



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said the same thing about India. The main cause of tuberculosis in this country is poverty, underfeeding and malnutrition; next comes insanitation, bad housing and early marriage. The one sure way to prevent the disease is to raise the standard of living of people, improve their sanitation and housing, postpone the age of marriage in both men and women and cheapen such articles of food as milk, fruit etc.

I said that cow's milk does not give tuberculosis to adult human beings. This was a very controversial question years ago. But I proved to the hilt that in oriental countries like India, China, Japan where little or no cow's milk is drunk, tuberculosis is more prevalent than among the European races who drink more milk, and that in England the poor and the working classes who drink very little cow's milk suffer more from tuberculosis (70 per cent of tuberculosis occurs among them) than the well-to-do classes who consume a great deal more. I so convinced my opponents, that among others Dr. Jane Walker veered round to my view.

I said that tuberculin injection will do more harm than good and that it is not wise to inject poison into a patient who is already burdened with poison in his system. A battle royal was fought on this question and I lost many prospective patients at Mendip Hills, but I stood firm in my view and had the satisfaction to see many sanatoria, one by one giving up tuberculin treatment, including the King Edward Sanatorium at Midhurst, Kent.

Referring to conjugal infection, I said there is no evidence that living with tuberculous husbands brings about a greater mortality among their wives, and *vice versa*. Here again there was much opposition, but I brought arguments and statistics to prove my point, and I was supported in my opinion by men like Dr. Charles Goring, a great American statistician, who after a careful and exhaustive study of the question came to the conclusion that "the correlation of infection of tubercular disease from association in marriage is both negative and insignificant."

Now coming to the treatment of tuberculosis, some of you may know that the burden of all my addresses in India and the burden of my book has been to show that early diagnosis and early treatment offer the most successful results in a large number of cases of tuberculosis. I am glad to see that all the industrial nations who have adopted these measures report a great decline of tuberculosis in their countries. America which stands foremost in carrying out these measures has reduced the death rate from 125 per 1,00,000 to 56.4 per 1,00,000 in 20 years from 1912 to 1932.

Lastly, I advocated as early as 1913 a scheme of home treatment and Garden Colony. The idea is that patients could be treated at home when they live under ideal conditions. For this cause I bought private land adjoining Thambaram Sanatorium where bungalows could be built for relatives of patients who after a short stay in the Sanatorium could go and live with their families in these bungalows. This idea has been taken up in America, and in England in the Papworth Colony with no fear of infection to other inmates. The infection lies in indiscriminate spitting by consumptive patients especially in India, and I sincerely hope that the various municipalities, realising this danger, would take steps to stop this dirty and vile habit.

I have made some important contributions to the cause of tuberculosis, and though some of them are in advance of the time, they received the respectful attention of the tuberculosis specialists—large-hearted and broad-minded men

they were—in England—who appreciated the work I have done, admired the courageous way I presented my case, complimented me "wellknown as an authority in tuberculosis," and recommended that the Indian Government should utilise my services (which I regret they did not). Contrast this generous treatment with that accorded by the Madras University who refused to have my book in the library—whereas universities of world-wide fame, such as Oxford and Cambridge were glad to have my book in their libraries. In America, I was surprised to find that in the great university library in 5th Avenue, New York, not only my latest book, but every book I have written since 1910 and before is treasured and kept for the use of students and the public. This is the way India treats her children.

Even in this country during my several visits made at my own expense since 1913, I have done my best to rouse the people and the Government to the danger of allowing tuberculosis to spread over the land, and urged them to build Sanatoria for the early cases of the disease. I am glad to see that in my last days in this country I have done something to stimulate public opinion and the Government in this matter and I am still more glad that the Madras Government, alive to the seriousness of tuberculosis problems, are thinking of launching a big scheme to combat the disease. I wish them every success.

As for my part, seeing the urgency of the tuberculosis problem in India I left my Sanatorium work at Mendip Hills, and came over to this country and built the Sanatorium at Thambaram at the foot of Sanjivi Hills in 1928. So near Madras, it ought to prove a great blessing and a healing and educational centre to many thousands who are suffering from this dreadful disease. I would suggest that the Government without much delay should select some early cases from Temple Gardens and draft them to the pure air of Thambaram Sanatorium where they will have every chance of making a rapid recovery.

C. MUTHU

THE CONGRESS AND THE STATES.*

An interesting and as yet unelucidated political problem is the attitude of Congress to the States. This was brought into prominence recently by the engagement of the leader of the Congress party in the Assembly, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, as an adviser to the States. The significance of the choice should not be lost. Mr. Desai is an able lawyer, but there are many able lawyers in India without pronounced Congress or indeed any political associations. If the States deliberately choose a man of his political commitments as their adviser, it would justify a conclusion that they were at least inclined to preserve a Congress connection. One of the errors of British political parties is to look on the Princes as conservative diehards in the British sense. They are not. They are more or less absolute rulers, and if there is anyone who has to be a realist, it is a despot. The Indian Princes are realists; they are playing for their own hand—not unnaturally, since no one else will play for them. They see before themselves and their States a future in which the British element will play a less, and Indian elements—many of them disaffected or lukewarm towards the British connection—a greater part. They and their States are indissolubly connected with India's political future and they would be failing in common sense if they omitted to establish some sort of 'nexus' with forces

* The Round Table, September, 1935. realpatidar.com



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which seem likely to govern or at least influence the India of the future. To the British conservative might well be recommended in a slightly different sense, Strafford's famous words of three centuries ago, "Put not your trust in Princes."

The actual advice given by Mr. Desai was at first sight surprising and it occasioned much clamour and condemnation in the Liberal and in some of the Congress press. In substance he advised the Princes to stand on their rights; to demand that the Instruments of Accession be called treaties; to protest against the use of such words as "usage or sufferance" in any reference to the origin of the authority of the British Crown in regard to the States; to oppose any reference to State subjects in the new Bill soon to become an Act; to object to the Governor-General's having any power to prevent any menace to peace or tranquility in the States. This advice was elaborated later in an address given to the Mysore Bar Association. Mr. Desai declared that the position of an Indian State, according to international law, was that of a monarchical State, where the ruler was a despot in the Greek sense, the source of all power and authority, whose will was law. In this view only the Prince could represent the State as a unit of the Federation in a strictly legal sense. The *Leader* of Allahabad considered these opinions so reactionary and in such opposition to the previous position of the leader of the Congress party that it declared:

"We cannot but think that Mr. Desai divided his mind into compartments, political and professional. The memorandum is a sad commentary on the public spirit of its author."

The *Servant of India* describes Mr. Desai's advice as calculated to "stiffen up the Princes' attitude against the claims of the All-India Federation and to bolster up their truncated sovereignty."

In a way these comments are natural enough, but it is necessary to look deeper if we are to see the rationale of Mr. Desai's attitude. Though pressed from time to time to take up the case of the State subjects as against the Princes, the Congress has always hedged on this issue. Mr. Gandhi himself aroused much comment when he declared that "any attempt on the part of the Congress at interference can only damage the cause of the people in the State I have not lost hope that the Princes will... become real trustees of their people. I do not seek to destroy their status." This almost identically is Mr. Desai's view and presumably the present view of Congress. The demand for the abolition of the Princes and their position is, in Mr. Desai's words, psychologically wrong. His probable thesis might be summed up thus: there is no foreign domination in the States. Therefore keep them strong. If they are now assimilated, to what will they be assimilated? To British India in which for a long time to come His Majesty's Government in some form or other will retain a powerful say. In this theory, the States may be the location of the most effective resistance to and subversion of British authority in India. What will happen to the States after such subversion is achieved is another matter, and the Congress party of those days, under whatever name it passes, will quite possibly be ready to sacrifice them; but at the moment and in the immediate future the States may be a useful tool in the Congress hands. No such theory has ever been expounded by any Congress authority, nor for obvious reasons could such an exposition be expected. It is, however, plausible. One thing is certain: those idealists in the United Kingdom who look upon the Princes as the steadfast bulwarks of the British conservative case have thrust their heads in the sand and lost all power of surveying the future.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Gold Exports:—When all other countries are rigidly conserving their gold reserves, the Government of India have followed a policy of *laissez faire*. Nearly 30 million ounces of gold have been exported since September 1931 when Britain went off the gold standard and more are still going out. Indian opinion has loudly protested against this drain but Government have turned a deaf ear to it. Mr. Tallents, the Finance Secretary, has recently issued a statement in which he tried to show that the export of gold was beneficial to the Indian holders. His argument is that gold which India bought during specified years for 195 crores she has sold for 233 crores of rupees making a profit of 33 crores. Why should England, France and America, have been so foolish as not to see what the Government of India have shrewdly seen, the opportunity of making a profit by selling their gold? Mr. Tallents' reasoning would be valid if the gold-holders in India were mostly speculators. But this is not the case. The gold that is being drained away is collected from people to whom it was a last resource at a time of distress. The so-called profits they are said to have made are all on paper. A sentence in the Foreign Policy Report on "Britain's Economic Recovery," issued last July throws light on the purpose behind the Indian policy of free gold. "By February 1932 the Government (British) was able to take advantage of the returning financial confidence which followed the balancing of the budget, victory of the National Government at the polls, and large repayments of emergency Bank of England borrowings with gold imports from India."

Motherhood of God:—We reprint today excerpts from an interesting article in the *Vedanta Kesari* headed "The Mother; Her Worship and its Significance," As Dr.

Sunderland pointed out in his article "How We Know God Exists" (*Reformer*, August 17), India makes a very wide, almost universal, use of the name Mother as well as Father in connection with God. The Mother aspect is, in fact, given precedence over the Father aspect. Wherever the two are mentioned together, it is the Mother first; Parvati Parameshwar, Lakshmi Narayan, Sita Ram. The writer in the *Vedanta Kesari* thinks that Mother worship is in origin Aryan as distinguished from Semitic. It would be more correct to say, Indo-Aryan. Mother worship certainly originated with the matriarchal Dravidians. Matriarchy has survived only in Malabar, but the mother in the Dravidian south continues to enjoy a higher status than the father. The first verse in the Catechism of the ancient Tamil poet Auvai, which every Tamil child learns first, is "mother and father are the visible manifestation of Deity." Auvai and her illustrious brother, Tiruvalluvar, the author of the Tamil classic, Kural, were of the Pariah caste, but there are no names more venerated in the Tamil land. Reverence of mothers is instinctive to all Indians, but it can not be traced to Vedic sources. It has, nevertheless, taken root in the Hindu religious consciousness and the philosopher, Sankara, concludes a fervent prayer to God as Mother with the affirmation, "A bad son may sometimes be born, but never has there been a bad mother." The casual and even harsh tone in which Jesus refers to his mother jars on the Indian reader of the Gospels more than anything else. That this was not due to Semetic heritage is shown by a footnote in Claude G. Montefiore's article, "What a Jew thinks about Jesus" in the July *Hibbert Journal*. "To the ordinary Jewish mind," he writes, "Jesus committed a serious offence in putting a mother (of all people) to open and public humiliation."

The "Prabuddha Bharata" on Proselytism:—We reprint in another column the observations of the *Prabuddha Bharata*, published by the Ramkrishna Mission, Mayavati, with reference to a leading article on "Should Hindus Proselytise" in the *Reformer* of June 22. They are based on a misconception of our views expressed in that article. The point at issue was not conversion to the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, Sikhism or any of the reformed sects of Hinduism but proselytising from religions with an alien background like Christianity or Islam.



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The Hindu Mission at Hoshiarpur had included this among its objects and we suggested that it would be well to give it up. The difference between conversion to a reformed Hindu sect and conversion to Christianity is too obvious to require elucidation. It is that between passing from one room to another in one's own ancestral home and being admitted to a Rescue Home as a social derelict. The founder of the Brahmo Samaj was a strong opponent of proselytising missions, and the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj was itself a means of counteracting the efforts of these missions. Ramakrishna Paramahansa held all religions in reverence but no one has denounced proselytising missions in stronger terms than his immediate disciple, Swami Vivekananda, who also held all religions in equal reverence. Religion is not like a coat or a pair of shoes. It goes deep down into one's spiritual heritage and its vitality as an influence depends a good deal on its being rooted in its native soil.

Betel Chewing and Cancer :—We reprint from the *Hindu Organ* of Jaffna a special article on a new cancer treatment contributed to its columns by Dr. William J. Jameson who has been in charge for many years of the Green Memorial Hospital at Manipay and has had exceptional opportunities of gauging the incidence and causes of the disease in Jaffna. Dr. Jameson holds that excessive indulgence in betel chewing is primarily responsible for the wide prevalence of oral cancer in Jaffna. The disease is also prevalent in Malabar. The habit of betel chewing is common all over India and even beyond, but the incidence of oral cancer is not so high elsewhere as in Malabar and in Jaffna. Two years ago an article was published in the *Lancet* tracing the high incidence of the disease in Malabar to the use of lime derived by burning sea shells, while in other parts of the country slaked lime was used, with the betel leaf. It would be interesting to know if the lime used in Jaffna is the same variety as that used in Malabar. The new electric treatment for cancer, especially if taken at an early stage, is said to be a certain cure and Jaffna is soon to have it installed in one of its principal hospitals.

Religious Pretenders :—We publish on another page an article exposing the nefarious practices of pretenders under the cloak of religion. In all ages and countries, there have been such men. They have always been the greatest hindrance to religion. In India especially, they have found a favourable field of exploitation. This is because of the value attached by the people of this country to the religious life. It must also be borne in mind that bogus sadhus will not be able to impose on the people so easily but for the confidence created by many genuine sadhus by their unworldliness and devotion to spiritual things. The attitude of the average man is that no genuine sadhu should suffer because of the wickedness of bogus sadhus. We think it

necessary to say this as our contributor's criticisms may otherwise be misunderstood as applying to all or even a large proportion of sadhus.

The Concession-Hunter as Pioneer:—Mr. F. M. Rickett, known in Britain as Master of the Hounds in Berkshire, and in Iraq as the ablest of oil company promoters, sprang to world fame last month as the man who had negotiated a seventy-five years concession with the Ethiopian Emperor to exploit the mineral resources of that State. In the middle of September he was to have delivered a broadcast address but, owing to British Foreign Office intervention, the speech was cancelled. It has, however, been published in the press and is a vigorous defence of his conduct. He criticises the attitude of other Governments to the transaction as amounting to condonation of robbery with violence. Commending the concession-hunter as a pioneer he remarks, "I may be forgiven if I venture to say a word on behalf of this very useful member of society... The man who seeks concessions has usually to go into wild places and among savage peoples to find anything worth having. He is more of a pioneer than even the engineer or miner." Richard Burton in the first Supplemental Volume to his *Nights*, in a footnote on the imperative nature of the principle of retaliation in Muslim law, gives an interesting instance of the British trader's keenness for obtaining concessions and Eastern recognition of it. "There is a legend in Morocco," he writes, "of an English merchant who was compelled to forfeit tooth for tooth at the instance of an old woman, but a profitable concession gilded the pill."

Bombay's Condemnation of Italian Aggression:—At a crowded meeting of citizens held in Balavatsky Lodge last Saturday with the Mayor of Bombay, Mr. K. F. Nariman, presiding, the following resolution was passed without a single dissentient note:—"This public meeting of the citizens of Bombay expresses its whole-hearted sympathy with Abyssinia in her attempts to maintain her political and economical independence against the unwarranted and unjustifiable imperialistic war of aggression and exploitation, launched by Italy, and further appeals to the Indian commercial community not to render any assistance, directly or indirectly, by supplying war materials or commodities, as may be needed, by Italy in prosecution of the said war, and also calls upon the Indian Labour not to help Italy by recruitment or otherwise. Further, as an expression of India's indignation and protest, this meeting appeals to the citizens in general to start an effective boycott of Italian goods, commodities and manufactures as well as all Italian concerns so as to make the proposed sanctions effective."

Indians in Ethiopia :—Nagjee Jeewandas, a prominent firm of Indian merchants trading in the city of Addis Ababa, have written to a local friend about the condition of Indians



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In Abyssinia. The letter, which is dated August 2, 1935 is written in Gujarati and pays a high tribute to the Emperor of Ethiopia whom it describes as the nearest approach to the ancient Indian notions of kingship, writes the Calcutta Correspondent of the *Hindu*. According to the writer, the Negus can be interviewed by his subjects at all reasonable hours of the day without the intervention of any officer, for explaining their grievances and seeking redress. The latter adds that while His Majesty is solicitous of his people's welfare and does everything in his power to mitigate their troubles, he is equally devoted to his own officers, to lodge a false complaint against whom is to court the Royal displeasure. Indian residents of Abyssinia have always been recipients of particular kindness at the hands of the Negus who looks upon them as his country's guests and therefore deserving of, and entitled to, his country's hospitality. When the Municipality of Addis Ababa in 1932 adopted some measures which particularly harmed Indian traders, the Negus on being approached by Indians had no hesitation in ordering the Municipality to give way to Indian demands. The letter concludes: "We Indians shall look upon ourselves as unfortunate if in the coming struggle the Negus, who has been so friendly to us, is defeated. They say that God, however, favours those who are honest and who look upon other peoples' troubles as their own. If this ancient adage has any truth the Negus should come out victorious in the unholy battle that is being forced upon him by a European Power. Indians here are unanimous in the opinion that the Negus' cause is just and that God should not fail him at this hour of trial. If the Negus is defeated I for one shall lose my faith in God for the cause of the quarrel is mainly racial in character. Ethiopia's defeat is the defeat of all coloured races all over the world including India, China and Japan. Italy is bent upon erasing out of history the story of the Russo-Japanese War."

The League Committee of Five's Report:--With the advent of war in Africa, it seems the height of futility to discuss whether the proposals of the Committee of Five appointed by the League of Nations to settle the Italo-Ethiopian dispute, would have resulted, if Italy had not been uncompromising, in handing over Ethiopia to Mussolini. The best arguments in favour of this pessimistic outlook are to be found in the issues of the *New Statesman* published before the report was out. Therefore the following comment after the Committee had completed its report, is of added value:-- "The proposals are in effect a comprehensive plan for the supervision of Abyssinia by the League...The door would be opened to foreigners for economic development, and Italy's special claims in this sphere recognised. There is talk of territorial concessions by Abyssinia to Italy compensated by grants to Abyssinia of French and British territory on the Somali coastline. Such a settlement would obviously put

Abyssinia in a position of something less than absolute independence. But it would not put her under the Italian yoke, and if honestly carried out should be to her advantage as well as everybody else's." Italy's rejection of the scheme rules out the issue of honesty in execution. The objection put forward to the proposals on the ground that they are designed to facilitate foreigners in taking part in the economic development of the country, ceases to have any weight in view of Haile Selassie's own policy of utilising foreign talent where necessary, in the past. A *Foreign Policy Report* published before the Committee of Five's Scheme was out, summed up the problem facing the League in these terse sentences, "Should the League sanction a protectorate over Ethiopia administered by Italy and involving Italian military occupation, the fact that Italy would be nominally acting for the League by no means assures the passivity of Ethiopia...Success of Great Britain and France in their efforts to find a formula condoning the imperialism of their Italian rival at the expense of Ethiopia, would eliminate the unwelcome alternative of ceding or internationalising certain of their own colonies. Nevertheless, it may be seriously questioned whether the consequent short-run gains of stronger defence against Nazi Germany and the maintenance of the territorial *status quo* will outweigh the inevitable blow to the League principle of collective security in the face of armed aggression."

Conversion and Marriage:--It is commonly believed that conversion to Christianity or Islam, in the absence of divorce among Hindus, is a device by which a discontented wife can get out of her marital status, generally with a view to marry a second husband. We did not know, however, that Muslim women also are liable to this contingency. There is freedom of divorce in Muslim law and it is not clear why Muslim wives should adopt this tortuous procedure. We publish in another column the text of a Bill which Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang has drafted for introduction in the next session of the Legislative Assembly. "There have been," says the Syed, "many instances in which Muslim women are alleged to have changed their religion as the easiest mode of obtaining a divorce." The Bill declares that the conversion of married Muslim woman to a faith other than Islam shall not by itself operate to dissolve her marriage in the absence of any of the grounds which Muslim law recognises as a ground for divorce. The Muslim community, the Syed says, has repeatedly given expression to its supreme dissatisfaction with the view, upheld by Courts, that apostacy by a Muslim woman *ipso facto* dissolves her marriage. It is degrading religion to make it a convenience for attaining social ends and we are in favour of a general law declaring that apostacy does not relieve persons of their duties and obligations before conversion.



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HINDUISM AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

B. R. Ambedkar's speech at Nasik, a summary of which is printed elsewhere, would not have come as a surprise to any one who has followed his utterances during the last few years. On the same day as or the day after the Malaviya Conference in Bombay, which endorsed the Poona Pact, he spoke at a meeting at the Servants of India Society in which he expressed much the same views as in the Nasik speech of his personal position in regard to Hinduism. Last year at an entertainment given to him by the Indian Christians of Ahmednagar, he expressed himself similarly and in reply to a request that he should become a Christian and lead the Indian Christian community, he replied that, though he greatly revered Jesus Christ, he could not become a Christian because Indian Christians had not given up caste. Although he was at one time actively interested in the question of admission of the depressed classes into Hindu temples, he has of late declared against it and urged concentration on political and economic issues. The only advance noticeable in the Nasik speech is that Dr. Ambedkar recognized the need of religion and advised his hearers to leave Hinduism and adopt some other religion in which they are assured of equality. Speaking for himself, Dr. Ambedkar said that while he could not help having been born a Hindu he did not intend to die as one.

Untouchability is not the only custom which has to be reformed in Hindu Society. There are others scarcely less urgent and social reformers have been working at them for a whole century. Some who felt like Dr. Ambedkar that Hinduism was past redemption, quitted it without making any fuss and became Christians or Muslims. Hinduism went on its way unperturbed. Reformers set themselves to reform society, and by patience and perseverance, many reforms have been effected which were bitterly opposed by conservative Hindus, more bitterly, indeed, than the removal of untouchability, because those reforms affected the structure of the Hindu family and the conduct of everyday life founded on beliefs deep-rooted in the Hindu mind. The vast majority of caste Hindus are unaffected by untouchability and they are unconcerned about it. The Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Social Reform movement, the Ramkrishna mission of Swami Vivekananda, were all efforts to reform Hindu Society and religion. The Brahmo Samaj makes no distinction of touchable and untouchable and, if it is a religion of equality which Dr. Ambedkar is seeking, the Prarthana Samaj will welcome him with open arms. The Prarthana Samaj founded the Depressed Classes Mission nearly a generation back when Dr. Ambedkar was at school.

The Thiyas of Malabar have, within the last generation, advanced ahead of their caste Hindu

neighbours in education and social and economic status, as the result of the labours of one devoted man, Sri Narayana Guru, an account of whose life and mission was published in the *Reformer* of November 12 and 19, 1932. Though an untouchable, he was held in high esteem and reverence by all castes and creeds, and among his disciples are to be found Brahmins, Nayars, Adi-Dravidas and others. Last year, a Nayar disciple of his was in Bombay and spoke of his Guru to several audiences. He was a Bachelor of Arts and Law of the Madras University but had given up his profession and devoted himself to the mission of his Master. Sri Narayana Guru lived and died a Hindu. He had high regard for other religions but he held that for his people Hindu forms offered the most natural approach to spiritual, which he regarded as the first step to social, regeneration. There are numerous institutions all over Kerala to perpetuate the memory of this saint. A statue of his has been erected in the Jagannath temple at Tellicherry.

This kind of work does not appeal to Dr. Ambedkar. What he wants is some ready made religion and social system into which the depressed classes may enter at once on a level with everybody else. He wants the palm without the dust. Untouchability is a blot on Hindu civilisation. It is impossible to defend it. It is not, however, an essential part of the Hindu religion any more than child marriage, the restraint on the remarriage of widows or even caste. These are institutions which can be changed and have been changed without affecting the vitality of the religion. Every society has its shadow side. A book published two years ago by an anonymous author entitled "Children of the Poor" of life in the slums of New Zealand, the most prosperous of British Dominions, describes incidents which are revolting by comparison even with untouchability in this country. The lowest of the depressed in this country has a status. In the west, he has none. The writer lays particular stress on the number of churches in the locality where the scene is laid. The people who will be least affected by the prospect of Dr. Ambedkar leaving the Hindu fold, are the conservatives. "Why don't you become a Christian and leave us alone?" was a question which used to be hurled at social reformers. They would regard Dr. Ambedkar's exit from their society as the removal of a thorn in their side, and will go their own way. The fact that, though he has been speaking for some years about leaving Hinduism, he has not done so as yet and even now can only say that he will not die a Hindu, shows that there are some compensations in remaining a Hindu which he is loth to forego. The difficulty in the case of the masses of the depressed classes whose faith has remained unaffected by their social disabilities, is bound to be much greater.

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WIDOW'S ADOPTION AND HINDU LAW.

If the Privy Council decision in *Bhimabai's* case is, as I stated last week, not opposed to authority, the next question is whether it is opposed to reason.

It is urged in favour of the bill that the adoption by a widow in a joint family will result in disruption of the joint family, but the joint family system is fast disappearing owing to modern conditions of life. In Bombay a coparcener can sell his share without the consent of his coparceners. The Hindu Gains of Learning Act XXX of 1930 secures to a member of a joint family the gains of learning acquired by him even though the learning might have been acquired with the aid of the joint funds. This legislation which interfered with joint family rights was not opposed with any vehemence probably because it was the male members of the joint family who benefitted by the legislation. Is the decision of the Privy Council to be set aside by the proposed legislation simply because it is likely to benefit females in the joint family in giving them a right of adoption? The shares of other members remain intact and are not likely to be diminished by the adoption. They lose the benefit of augmentation of their shares, and the chance of succession to the self-acquired property of the husband of the widow making the adoption in the joint family in the absence of a testamentary disposition by the husband.

As regards the argument that the adoption by the widow in a joint family will result in bringing a stranger in a joint family and will divest the estate vested in other members of the joint family, reference may be made to the recent Privy Council decision, among others, in *Vijayasingji vs. Shivsingji* (L. R. 62 I. A. p. 161) where it was held following *Amarendra Mansing's* case that the power of a widow does not depend upon the question of vesting or divesting an estate. The proposed legislation is likely to override not merely one decision of the Privy Council in *Bhimabai's* case but will upset the whole trend of the recent decisions of the Privy Council. It would however be within the power of other members of the joint family to induce the husband to forbid an adoption after his death, or the husband himself may, if he is so minded, forbid such an adoption if the right of survivorship of the other male members of the joint family is intended to be safeguarded.

As regards the arguments that the widow in a joint family would not improve her status in the joint family and that she would have eventually to depend on the adopted son, it is clear that if the widow has the right of adoption, she would be treated with respect and consideration by the male members of the joint family. She will be in a position to impose conditions on the adopted son by reserving a life-interest in the self-acquired property of her husband. After the decision of the Privy Council, several instances have occurred in which members of the joint family have made liberal provision for the maintenance of the widow in order to dissuade her from making the adoption. The rights of adoption conferred by the Privy Council on a widow in a joint family will certainly improve her status and rights in the joint family.

As regards the argument advanced in 1879 in *Ramji vs. Ghamau's* case that the widow is "subject to all the pernicious influences which interested advisers are too apt in India to exert over women possessed of or capable of exercising dominion over property," it might be affirmed without any exaggeration that female education has made rapid strides during the last fifty years and that there is a great awakening among Indian women in general and Hindu women in particular due to several causes including the spread of western

education and culture. Franchise to women and reservation of seats to women in the legislatures have now been recognized by the new Government of India Act. Women who were long held back and relegated to a subordinate position in the social order have come by their own, and are now asserting their rights and striving for liberation from the restraints of law and custom to which they are being subjected. It is difficult to say in the present evolution of Hindu society that women are more liable than men to yield to the pernicious influences which interested advisers are apt to exercise.

The decision of the Privy Council is neither opposed to authority or reason, and there is therefore no justification for the initiation of legislation to override the effect of the Privy Council.

In Baroda the Hindu Law has been amended and the widow in a joint family shall hereafter be a coparcener and shall have the right to ask for partition and get her own share determined and separated as any male member of the family, and her share shall be equal to that of a son if there is one, and in the absence of a son she will get the share which her husband would have got if he had been alive at the time of partition. Similar beneficial legislation has been enacted in other Indian States. As I said on another occasion, it is a matter of regret as well as surprise that while the legislatures in British India give the lead to Indian States in matters of legislation relating to other diverse subjects, the legislatures in Indian States have now to give a lead to legislatures in British India in matters relating to removal of legal disabilities of Hindu women.

I might mention that decisions of the Privy Council have upset the law on other points of Hindu law prevalent for a long period, yet no attempt was made to override those decisions of the Privy Council. As an instance I may refer to the adoption of an only son which was held invalid by the Full Bench of the Bombay High Court, but the Privy Council set aside the decision and held that the adoption was valid on the ground that the texts were recommendatory and not mandatory. The decision of the Privy Council was opposed to usage and sentiments of the Hindu community and still no attempt was made to get over that decision of the Privy Council by legislation. The Hindu Gains of Learning Act XXX of 1930 did not meet with any opposition but was hailed with delight in some quarters though it was a blow to the joint family system from a proprietary point of view. The opposition to the Privy Council decision in *Bhimabai's* case has therefore been attributed in some quarters to the reluctance to concede rights to women, or to undue prepossession in favour of the supposed rights of the male members of the joint family.

There is one more point to which I would like to refer. The Privy Council decision in *Bhimabai's* case is based on its previous decision in *Yadav vs. Namdev* which arose in Berar where the Hindu law in the Bombay Presidency is followed. The Hindu law in the Bombay Presidency on the question under consideration is now authoritatively laid down by the Privy Council in *Bhimabai's* case. The legislation in the Bombay Presidency is provincial and will have no effect outside the Bombay Presidency, and the Courts in Berar will be governed by the Privy Council decision and not by any Act passed by the Bombay Legislature. Similar result would follow if a family in the Bombay Presidency migrates to another province, and in that event the Courts in the other Province will have to follow the Hindu law of this Presidency as laid down by the highest Court of appeal and not by the Act of the Bombay Legislature. Many other complications are likely to arise. I think it would be far better if the learned mover of



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the bill drops it altogether and a comprehensive bill dealing with the rights of the widow in a joint family is brought in the Imperial Legislature.

S. S. PATKAR.

THE CULTURAL CRISIS OF TODAY.

We of the younger generation find ourselves today in the midst of a vast upheaval in ideas and events—an upheaval more far-reaching in ideas—the dimensions and consequences of which it is not possible to gauge accurately at this critical moment. The final verdict will have necessarily to be suspended to a later date when perhaps the turbulent currents of today will have settled down into regions where their depth and extent can be charted with more ease. Nevertheless, it is essential to arrive at a proper perspective. We know to our own cost that the twenty and one trends in world history are daily forcing themselves on our attention. And we have to measure our force against them, to analyse their origin and position in our life today in order to arrive at a common understanding in outlining future policies, if not to withstand their combined attack at the present moment.

We spent our school-days in comparative comfort and normality. In spite of the prognostication of some of the gloomy philosophers, the world, it seemed, was gradually settling down to the task of post-war reconstruction. At first this seemed to be a heavy responsibility. But in spite of the slipshod way in which this has been accomplished, it is necessary to emphasise here that the world as a whole rose splendidly to the occasion. The enormous waste in productive power was not only compensated for during the course of a decade, but forces were liberated which far exceeded the most sanguine dreams of those who dared to be optimists. Of course, this raised fresh problems—problems mainly of rationalization and distribution,—problems of an economy dealing with the future as an organic whole; and which, as such, also harboured potentialities of mischief in case the remedy was not timely applied or misapplied. Yet it appeared reasonably sure that the economic background for social stability and world intercourse was being steadily built up. And then came the crash of 1929, and the consequent depression which till yesterday seemed to become a constant bogey.

What fresh currents have been thrown up by the events of the last five years? We have seen how the web of finance has intricately entwined the four corners of the globe, and the possible dangers which such a system involves in the absence of a concerted world control. We have witnessed political upheavals which have reduced China to insignificance and which have raised Japan to a status in which she is likely to be a menace not only to Far-Eastern peace but to world peace as well. We—most of us—have been surprised with a new, if not novel, revolution in Germany which professes to have its own *Weltanschauung*. We have witnessed a gradual dwindling in the system of collective guarantees as represented by the League of Nations and cognate bodies. It will not be fair to put the blame for these and similar developments on any one country in particular. Perhaps one can reasonably expect them to follow from the economic chaos that simultaneously threatened the world, without taking this as their full explanation. In times of distress it is not wholly unjust, and certainly not unnatural, to safeguard your own interests first.

Necessarily, this complicates the situation. And in that measure it also complicates our task of restating the foundations of social intercourse—the

flower of human culture. Inverting for our purposes Bergson's proposition that reflection ultimately leads to a loss of hold on life, we can say that in times of extreme difficulty we are naturally led to ponder over the principles on which all social intercourse is, or is supposed to have been, based. The only test we can apply is to ascertain how far this has been done with sufficient detachment and critical acumen.

Perhaps the main trend in world thought today is a violent reversion in the direction of what may be called "irrationalism." The faith in rational man gradually developed by Locke and Rousseau and implemented by the fathers of the French Revolution was finally perfected in the Economic Man of the Classical Economists of the 19th Century. In politics democratic theory was then slowly establishing itself as the last word in human polity. Critics of these prevailing trends, such as Ruskin and Carlyle, of course, could not be heard in the heyday of prosperity. But as the franchise was successively widened and as the art of electioneering was perfected, it was a matter of sense and statistics to point out what very often swayed public opinion in such matters. And if Graham Wallas was the first to put his finger on the spot, it unloosed forces which in Spengler and the Nazi ideologists masquerade as a scientific philosophy glorifying the so-called irrational elements in man. It would seem then that the pendulum of reaction has reached its other extreme. It is interesting to note, in passing, that this line of thought derives some of its inspiration from the current developments in Philosophy and the Natural Sciences. If the ultimate constituents of the atom defy ordinary logic, what glory must the mystic entity called Man hold in itself?

Nevertheless, it is necessary for us to guard against the opposite mistake. Here, as elsewhere, a proper sense of proportion is a sure sign of practical sanity. The complex of sentiments we organize round objects which we love or hate are indeed composed of a variety of emotions, transitory and abiding, inconsequent and far-reaching in their effects, yet amenable in a greater or less degree to harmonised control. Because at one extreme men run after the Saviour-Hero, and place implicit faith in him, it will be false to treat the impulses which force them to do so as the only abiding elements in social intercourse and those which need to be assiduously developed for a supposed social unity. If anything such a state of affairs implies the necessity to widen the sphere of rational control. The history of the human race would have been far more tragic if it were not so in actual practice.

There is a second doctrine in this connexion which is being increasingly used today, chiefly by the apostles of the "irrational" school of human conduct. It is the doctrine of the efficacy of physical punishment—in all its senses—as a corrective for political and social opinions. It has been raised and glorified in Communist Russia, Fascist Italy, and more recently in Nazi Germany. There is some truth in their assertion. For we all know that the impact of purely physical coercion—beatings, floggings and what not—can often work wonders. Hitler, we hear, has reintroduced some of the mediaeval methods of punishment, such as beheading; and the Nazis do not make a secret of the methods they employ in their concentration camps. This glorification of physical coercion is, in a sense, a corollary of the glorification of purely manual labour, which is a fashion with some of the prophets of the New Age. This doctrine, however, by itself is not enough to convert the whole people. For these nation-wide propaganda is necessary, which to be successful must naturally begin with the rising generation of the



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country. Hence drills, uniforms, disbed-up text-books, and the whole paraphernalia of Dictatorship.

Intolerance, then, is the key-note of the situation. In a sense, this is the inevitable atmosphere when the battle is between ultimate contending principles such as liberty and authority, individual initiative and centralised control. For the present at least there is no ready solution for the prevailing chaos. Only a radical turn in the events can bring about a comparative freedom of opinion and initiative to the individual. If the thoughtful among the younger generation refuse to be stamped into surrendering their reasoning faculty we can yet win the day. The task that lies before them is the task of "de-barbarisation"—a process perhaps as difficult and tortuous as the word which represents it.

P. S. REGE.

BOGUS SADHUS.

Nothing is a more striking feature of India's socio-religious life than the place and position occupied by Saints—Sadhus who in their picturesquely attractive and almost classically simple robes move about in stummy little-known localities hunting for prey with their counterfeited wisdom. But their nefarious acts are not as little-known as their local habitations and for some time provoked much report in the vernacular Press, and gossip in the public. The time has now come when such Bowas can no longer remain peacefully hedged in their former obscurity and the recent sentences passed by the Sessions Judge at Poona, and the question asked in the Bombay Legislative Council bear full testimony to the growing necessity of restricting legally or semi-legally, the practices of such sadhus who have amassed large fortunes by the exploitation of the ignorant and the superstitious, and spread out what is detestable moral crime. The temple-girls and the malpractices carried on in connection with them in the name of Hindu religion is a subject of the present article.

It is difficult to trace the origin of the Devadasi or temple-girl system, for it shades off into those times, when purely religious sanctions came to be distorted into ignoble practices adopted by the wily priests. The pages of Indian History are full of such things. For a long time the priestly classes enjoyed a certain degree of domination and authority in social life which was used by them to play upon the ignorance and religious-mindedness of the masses, and to reap no small benefit therefrom. This is the time and environment in which lies rooted the erstwhile grand but now withering tree of Hinduism of which true religion and misfaith, superstition and reason are the far-stretching branches.

Today, Devadasis are the women given over to the service of God, who manage to a certain extent the temple property, look over to the cleanliness of the idol and the shrine, and such are the modest duties they have to perform. They come from particular families, and like to style themselves as "devoted to Arts" (Kalawants), are masters in music, vocal and instrumental, but with all these things to their credit, enjoy but little social dignity. The reason why they are so low in public estimation is that they are virtually like prostitutes, not outcast from decent society but dignified in the name of religion.

Linked with the evil of the Devadasi system is the practice of making "Girl offering to Gods." The Sadhus undertake certain contracts—almost on a business basis, a contract to obtain suitable decisions in a court of law, a contract for the birth of a son, a contract to propitiate the evil stars, a contract to secure employment on the

fulfilment of which the parties have to donate amounts fixed by mutual agreement. In certain cases when the results to be achieved are rather arduous, girls are offered to the divinity of the temple, who are almost under legal compulsion to attend to the divinity—divinity visible in the persons of the Sadhus whose comforts are most carefully and ungrudgingly looked to. One can unhesitatingly declare such practices as not only gruesome, but as involving a certain assertion, in these days of individual liberty, to dispose of precious human personalities, whether it be a sister or daughter as articles "presentable and marketable."

The circle of the devotees and admirers of the Bowas does not extend to the ignorant and illiterate classes alone, in fact it is much wider and embraces a few representatives of the liberal professions. On one occasion I could make out amidst the burly-burly crowd that loitered about the Sadhu's "gates" a Solicitor, who has given over his daughter for adoption to the holy Seer, and also a Third Class Magistrate who had come to present the saint with an excellent gold watch, which may enable him properly to distribute his time in a business-like manner. It is difficult to say why some people, intelligent and educated as they are, should have such strange fascination almost verging on willing slavery to these Saints.

On another occasion, after much painful struggling and elbowing eager spectators thronging on all sides, I had the good fortune of seeing one of these Bowas who is reputed "to enjoy a very lucrative practice in his profession." That bulky unassuming figure, half-naked half-dressed, deep involved in solemn meditation, a mystic-looking man who shared in common the features of a rustio, was seated on a low stool. A heap lay before him, a heap of ornaments, clothes, fruits and money, almost an emporium of presentable articles. Nothing he would talk, just a murmur broke the silence, and suddenly like one attacked by an epileptic fit he switched away, for Sadhus "must turn their back to all wealth"; meanwhile his adroit assistant rushed to the spot, and made a clean sweep of all the things. This, one can understand is a clever pretence of such Sadhus to show their disinclination towards worldly objects, and when gifts are offered they would run away from those gifts, for the gifts are certain to follow them. Wherever they go foolish crowds running after them unload whatever precious things they may have on their person.

On entering into the *Ashram* (an abode of the ascetics) one is likely to be struck by the pomp and grandeur of the princely residents. In the centre of the hall stood a stately couch, with cushions of exquisitely embroidered silk, on which His Holiness reclines in the idle hours which formed a major part of his daily routine. The inmates of the house consists mostly of ladies of varying ages—from girls just breaking into womanhood, to the old wrinkled dames, who do the work of spies. It reminded me of the harems of the Moghuls, who free after the fatigue of war dreamt away their precious hours in the luxuries of the harem, where ladies most delicately fanned them, embalmed their heads with sweet scents and pressed gently their tired limbs. So to suggest, the renunciationist attitude of the Saints to life is a thing apart for the sham-heroes who are in the place of public worship today.

The ceremonies in the *Muths* (Houses of Saints) are as hideous as they are despicable—crude rites of a barbarous age. The familiar one is *Lang Puja* or organ worship into the details of which one for the sake of decency cannot go. It would be better for the reader to see it himself and then judge the



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standard of degeneration. His Holiness bursts into different moods. Sometimes he poses like a child and begins to crawl about the floor, asking for milk and honey and then the ladies most affectionately fondle him, cradle him in tender soothing lullabies. He would sometimes wear a sari, put on ornaments and flowers and chat with the ladies as being one of them. Sometimes he would say that he is in actual communion with God, make some vehement indistinct exclamations, and reject whatever food is brought to him.

One has simply to go and visit one of these Ashrams in order to bring to daylight, a host of funny obnoxious practices of the sadhus, who sit crowned at the social summit commanding supreme homage from the Hindu Society, as will be denied to a man of the highest achievements in several spheres of civic life. It is a highly ingenious way by which these sadhus not only escape all social affront and abhorrence, but also find a suitable corner in the irrational heads and superstitious hearts of the backward people. The golden means to this dramatic transformation, is a simple one, a purple gown, and a pinch of ash to put the holy marks on the forehead—a veritable garb which enable the wolf to mix in a herd of harmless sheep.

If it is desired to purify our social life from the pollutions that are now attached to it, if it is necessary to save thousands from being victimized at the altar of rude and sickening ceremonies, it is imperative that propaganda on a large scale should be carried on, both in press and on platform. It will undoubtedly stimulate a spirit of enquiry and reasoning, where now is spread listless apathy and mute ignorance. The state can come to the help of the public in another way—by the forfeiture of wealth that is neither temple or charity property, but stands in the name of individuals who had no visible means or living except this ill-practised Bowaism.

A. S. BANAVALLIKAR.

MUSLIM MARRIAGES BILL.

Syed Ghulam Bhik Nairang M. L. A., will introduce in the next session of the Legislative Assembly a bill entitled the Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill having for its object the removal of all doubts as to the effect of apostasy of a married Muslim woman in relation to divorce. There have been many instances in which Muslim women are alleged to have changed their religion as the easiest mode of obtaining a divorce. The object of the bill is to remove this anomaly.

The main provisions of the bill are as follows:—

In a suit for dissolution of marriage brought by a Hanafi Muslim woman (i. e., a Muslim woman who professes to follow the tenets and doctrines of the Hanafi School of Muslim law) the provisions of the Maliki law shall constitute the rule of decision.

A married Hanafi Muslim woman may bring a suit against her husband for the dissolution of her marriage on any of the following grounds:—

(a) that her husband is absconding and cannot be traced;

(b) that her husband is impotent;

(c) that her husband is suffering from insanity of a dangerous type;

(d) that her husband is neglecting to maintain her;

(e) that her husband constantly and persistently maltreats her;

(f) on any other ground which may be sufficient under Muslim law of the Hanafi or Maliki School for the dissolution of marriage.

The conversion of a married Muslim woman to a faith other than Islam shall not by itself operate to

dissolve her marriage.

The statement of Objects and Reasons says that the Muslim community has repeatedly given expression to its supreme dissatisfaction with the view upheld by courts, that apostasy by a Muslim woman *ipso facto* dissolves the marriage. Hence the Bill.

GOD AS MOTHER.

The conception of the Supreme Divinity has developed mainly along two lines—as the Father of the universe on the one hand, and as the Mother of the universe on the other. Man cannot possibly think of the Divine except in anthropomorphic terms, and it is therefore quite natural that he describes it as Father or Mother. In the Semitic religions which grow up in a social and ethical environment that was hostile to the due recognition of woman's dignity, the notion has gained ground that God is only the Father of the universe and not its Mother. To call Him Mother has been looked upon as sacrilegious. In religions of Indian origin, however, human imagination has never disdained to clothe the Supreme in the symbology of Motherhood without in any way hampering the growth of parallel theologies laying emphasis on the Fatherhood of the same Principle. In fact, even in the case of cults like Saivism and Vaishnavism, which look upon the Supreme as the Father, He is conceived as including in Himself the Mother element. God in these cults may therefore be described as a Father-Mother God, although they lay greater emphasis on the Father aspect and describe the Mother element as the creative and grace element in Him. Thus Siva is Uma-Maheswara and Vishnu is Lakshmi-Narayana, Uma and Lakshmi standing for the Mother element in both the cases. And when the symbolism is further concretised and brought to the human level, the Mother element is described as the consort of the Deity, through whom the Supreme brings forth the universe into existence and bestows his Grace on the souls that struggle for the same.

But there is however one school of thought in India which has conceived the Supreme as essentially the Mother of the universe. Even when admitting the presence of the Father element in it, this school describes that element only as the quiescent or static aspect of the Great Mother. This school of thought is known as the Saktas, and of all the Hindu sects it is pre-eminently the Mother cult proper. Embodying, as it does, a very high philosophy, a sublime outlook on life and a practical system of spiritual discipline, this sect, perhaps more than any other in India, has come to be misunderstood, and calumniated both by its own followers and its unsympathetic critics. By a strange perversity of human nature, certain followers of this sect have come to divest the Mother of Her Motherhood and to look upon Her only as the Great Female. As a consequence of this changed outlook all the ethical and spiritual implications of this great ideal came to be reversed. When the Mother idea was submerged by the idea of the pure Feminine, the sexual aspect came to be inordinately stressed in the conception of salvation, and what was worse a short-cut to salvation was devised by the theory that every woman in the world was an embodiment of that Great Female and that by congress with her to the accompaniment of certain ritualistic practices and mental disciplines, one could reach the state of supreme perfection. All the abuses of the Shakti cult, as the system of Mother worship is called, have sprung from this one disastrous step—the supplanting of the Mother idea by the notion of the Pure Feminine. The

* The Vedanta Kesari for October.

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degenerate practices referred to above are the natural consequences of this change in outlook.

It was indeed an unparalleled perversion of human ingenuity that could foist such disgusting ethical implication on a doctrine so pure and philosophical as Shakti Vada. In the first place the conception of Divine Motherhood is never meant to impute any pre-dominant sexual attribute to the Supreme Divinity. If we are to view the Supreme Being who gives birth to the cosmos in the light of our human experience, there is an undeniable appropriateness in describing It as Mother instead of as father. And then again since the guiding principle in devotional practices is the cultivation of intimate relationship with the Divinity, it is quite natural if a devotee looks upon It as the Mother, seeing that the relationship between mother and son has an intimacy and tenderness unknown to the paternal relation. The conception of the Divine as Mother is thus meant only to imply this creativity of the Supreme and Its loving and intimate relationship with the soul, and not to stress on pure Feminineness as Its essential nature, or to sanction the immoral practices that have long been associated with the Shakti cult.

The ethical and spiritual implications of such a philosophy are quite apparent, and the speciality of the Mother cult in all its unsullied forms of development lies in having developed a system of practical spiritual disciplines based on those implications. Now one of the main problems of spiritual life consists in overcoming the dragging pull that the senses and their objects exercise on us. It is however the experience of every spiritual aspirant that no amount of conscious resistance and fight against the impelings of his lower nature take him even a step forward in the conquest of the primordial passions that struggle for expression in his bosom. On the other hand, all such violent efforts complicate the matter by inducing a constant remembrance of sensuous objects. The cult of Mother worship recognises this, and therefore points out that the way to success lies not in a magnified consciousness of evil as *evil*, but in transforming our outlook on it and learning to see the Divinity at the back of it. There is nothing in the universe which is not the Mother. It is because we forget this fact that we are subjected to attachment, infatuation and fear in the presence of objects that generally excite such feelings. But the Mother, says this cult with a boldness that may shock many a conventional theology, is as much in what is evil and fearful as She is in the good and peaceful experiences of life. The seductive and the alluring on the one hand, and the revolting, the destructive and the terrible on the other are in no way different from the pure, the lovely, the mild, and the life-giving in as far as they are all alike the manifestations of the Divine Mother in Her cosmic play. She is thus Avidya that takes man away from spiritual perfection and entangles him in worldliness, and She is also Vidya that confers on him spiritual illumination. Man is asked to recognise this great fact and in consequence to learn how to see the face of the Mother even in all the degrading influences of life and a manifestation of her glory even in the terrible and destructive aspects of Nature. When this attitude of mind is conscientiously and sedulously cultivated, it helps the spiritual aspirant not only to overcome the adverse influences of his elemental nature, but to direct the energy of those very downward-pulling tendencies to take him to the goal of spiritual perfection.

The cult of Mother worship has therefore devised certain systems of spiritual discipline according to which duly qualified aspirants are placed in the midst of environment that may be shocking, terrifying,

revolting or seducing, and are trained by various methods of meditation and sublimation to recognise the Mother even in these so-called unspiritual situations and to direct the instinctive energies through higher channels for spiritual realisation. It is in connection with these disciplines that the Tantric works dealing with Mother worship, prescribe Sadhanas or spiritual practices in the dreadful surroundings of the cremation ground, or to the accompaniment of what have gained a notoriety as the Panchamakaras of the Tantrics. But consideration of the essential tenets of the doctrine has shown that the purpose of these disciplines is never to cater to the animal needs of man but to train the mind to recognise the presence of the Divine even in what is considered fearful or seductive in life.

For example let us take the presence of Shakti (or woman) in the worship, which is responsible for most of the abuses in this cult and the criticisms levelled against it. We have shown before that according to the fundamental postulate of this system the Supreme Being must be looked upon more as the Mother than as the Father of the universe. From this has sprung the ethical doctrine, so ennobling and purifying in effect, that every woman is in a special sense a symbol and a manifestation of the Divine Mother. A true follower of this cult cannot therefore entertain any other attitude except that of pure and unsoiled affection of a child towards its mother in regard to all individuals of the fair sex. It is therefore a doctrine that can form the bed-rock of an ethics which not only enforces kindness, equity and fairplay towards woman, but also kills the seeds of carnality in man's relationship with her and educates him in a feeling of pure reverence, bordering on worship, towards all women irrespective even of their character. But even the devil can quote scriptures and find higher sanctions for his base ends. The attempt of the corrupt Shaktas to find in Mother worship a sanction for their objectionable practices is perhaps the most glaring illustration of this perverse tendency in men. To call women the symbol of the Great Mother and simultaneously to look upon Her with a sexually contaminated eye is a feat which only the most heinous form of human perversity is capable of.

It has been remarked that the ethical and cultural integrity of any epoch in a nation's history can be measured by the position accorded to women in society and by the respect that man pays to womanhood in general—in other words by the extent to which the true worship of Shakti is practised by the society at large. Swami Vivekananda has very pertinently pointed out that the greatness of the modern West is largely attributable to its practice of the social worship of Shakti, to the genuine consideration it shows for the welfare of women and the high position it gives to them in society. But the Western mind is outwardgoing, and its respect for womanhood has been largely physical and intellectual. The seeds of corruption are latent in an outlook that adores the physical aspect of Shakti, and the supplanting of the old European ideal of chivalry by the grossly sensual standard of sexual ethics in contemporary West, is a natural consequence of this physical adoration of Shakti. Such a degeneration is a serious outrage of Divine Motherhood and consequently the surest way to national degeneration. Great social thinkers like Spengler have already remarked that the new sex-ethics of Europe is one of the surest symptoms of its approaching decline.

In India where the worship of Shakti in a religious sense has been in existence for ages past, its true spiritual significance, as we have already pointed



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out, has long been forgotten. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that nobody even suspects that it has any social significance at all. When the sublime conception of Mother worship was dragged down to the level of debauchery, the degradation of Indian culture was the natural consequence. From the social point of view, it is an irony of fate that the genius of the same nation that has given expression to the most exalted sentiments regarding womanhood has also devised theories libelling the essential nature of woman and advocating the denial of all freedom and opportunities of self-development to her. A reversal of this view of woman and the revival of the true Shakta ideal in this respect form the necessary condition of a cultural Renaissance in India.

THE FIGHT FOR PROHIBITION.

Many folks thought that with the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in the United States Prohibition was dead and done for. So it would have been dead and done for if those who believed in it had given up the struggle. The truth is that activity has never ceased in this sphere of making the world safe for sobriety.

There is a growing belief that the Conventions which repealed Prohibition were illegal bodies—and this is a matter which will doubtless be brought before the Supreme Court for settlement. But apart from this legal battle with the Wets, there is being heard throughout America a cry that is loud and strong against the ravages of Drink now becoming more and more apparent. Press reports to hand declare that "Prohibition Starts its Way Back"—evidence of the concern felt by sections of the people.

In Congress a bill has been introduced to restore Prohibition in the District of Columbia—which includes the Capital city of Washington—and in a number of States, counties and cities, Prohibition has already been sustained by popular vote.

But the fight for Prohibition is not confined to the United States. In other lands there is a rallying of the forces. New Parliaments, now being elected, must come to grips with the alcohol evil, as in a mechanical age such as this, social and other reformers—and those who are not strictly reformers—must take action. The next few years will see great changes for the better in the adoption of laws affecting prohibitory measures dealing with the liquor traffic. Whatever a man's views on the great political questions of the day, there is no gainsaying the fact that all problems will be better solved by a sober electorate: sober to the extent of not being in any way influenced by alcohol.

At the forthcoming General Election in New Zealand, National Prohibition will again be voted on. Handicapped though the Prohibitionists will be by the State Purchase and Government Control option the hard fight before them is of extreme importance and value to the whole community. In Australia and Canada, the struggle for prohibitory legislation is making headway. Prince Edward Island—the dry Canadian Gibraltar—continues its bold and successful policy, while the rest of the Dominion founders in the Wet morass of Government Control, which is really control by the Liquor Traffic. In South Africa, India and other parts of the British Commonwealth, together with many of the Continental nations of Europe, any change in the liquor laws anticipate little of worth to the Wets.

Similarly, in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, ere many weeks have passed, the electoral struggle is

bound to rally the national Temperance bodies to some united frontal attack on the Liquor Traffic, the result of which should, at least result in giving the people power by Direct Veto to protect their areas and homes from the devastating influence of intoxicating liquors.

Thus the Prohibition forces struggle on. Some turn in the road here and there heartens the workers. But always while the liquor interest plies its iniquitous traffic will there be need and necessity for the vigilant eye and strong arm to check it and, in the end, crush its power over human lives.

London } GUY HAYLER
October, 1935. }

TO PROSELYTIZE OR NOT?

True Hinduism or Brahmanism includes all religions of the world. Even those who repudiate all conventional religions are not outside its limitless fold, for it is equivalent to nobleness itself. Believing in the divinity of man and its sure and gradual unfoldment, Brahmanism embraces all and rejects none. Being all-inclusive, it is impossible for it to proselytize, for it means that there is something outside it, something other than itself, which it seeks to make its own. Brahmanism cannot convert. The editorial of the June 22 issue of *The Indian Social Reformer* has our support.

But we do not think that the Arya Samajist correspondent, Lala Devi Chand (in the same issue) is wrong either. His support of proselytization is as good as the *Reformer's* editorial repudiation, but only on different grounds. Brahmanism is universal but it comprises almost an infinite variety of sects and subjects differing from one another not merely as the Protestants do from the Catholics, but as the Christians from the Mohammedans. Now, is it wrong for a Brahmo to win over, morally and spiritually, a Sanatanist to his own fold, or for a Vaishnava to win over a Sakta? The losing sects grieve their loss as intensely as the losing religions. This is a fact. But this ought not to be. If the mere preaching of truth convinces a man that a certain sect or religion is better suited to his mentality, then others ought not to stand in his way of self-development. If we leave aside the question of oughtness and stand on facts, we must treat all sects and religions equally. So long as there goes on conversion in certain quarters other quarters cannot be advised to view their losses with philosophic equanimity. The sense of loss is not a monopoly of any particular sect or religion; it is something universal. To ask one who feels the loss to go on losing and sit weeping at home is certainly not a good piece of advice. Let them who feel the prick of loss act as aggressively as they can; and let them philosophize on universalism who will.

Many of us have a very poor idea of universalism. Universalism is not an empty abstraction; it expresses itself in particulars in the same way as the Infinite expresses itself in the finite. Universalism as it is in itself is not to be found in any society or form or church of religion, it is something to be felt, not in an empty void but in, through, and beyond everything. But these "everything's" are things with forms, limited concrete things, requiring protection and subject to expansion as well as dissolution. Very few there are who can dispense with concrete things and live in pure abstractions. This being a fact, our societies and churches ought to be protected and expanded by all moral means. Proselytization in this sense and in this way is a desirable thing, which, Brahmanism as a church or society or a group of either, cannot wisely and dutifully forego.

* The Prabodha Bharata.

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But all people cannot and do not see the universal in the particular; and they are the fanatics, who are destroyers wrongly engaged in works of construction. There are people again whose eyes are fixed more in the universal than in the particular. These preachers of universalism bring peace and goodwill among differing, and sometimes warring, sects and religions; but they too do not neglect the particulars nor preach against them but see and show their beauties and thus preserve and expand them. Both kinds of protection are necessary. The world we live in is not merely a world of ideas but a world of things and persons as well. The practical, though a somewhat narrow, method of proselytization is as necessary for one world, as the ideal method of the preaching of the universal in the particulars is for the other world.

UNTOUCHABILITY AND CONVERSION TO OTHER FAITHS.

A startling solution of the Harijan problem was offered by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar in his presidential speech (writes *The Times of India* Nasik correspondent, amplifying a news item sent by the Associated Press) at the Bombay Presidency Depressed Classes Conference at Yeola on Sunday evening. The conference was attended by 10,000 persons of all shades of opinion, including people from Hyderabad and the C. P.

Dr. Ambedkar, in a feeling speech lasting over an hour and a half, recounted the plight of the depressed classes in all spheres, economic, social, educational and political, and the immense sacrifices made by them to secure the barest human rights under the aegis of Hinduism.

Continuing, he narrated the inhuman treatment meted out to them by caste Hindus during the past five years, and their struggle to secure elementary rights in Hindu society and equal status through the Kalam temple entry movement.

He said it grieved him very much to state how the tyrannical caste Hindus thwarted Harijans' attempts throughout the country to obtain their rights as members of the same community. He particularly referred to the Kalam temple *satyagraha* and the Ram Rath procession *satyagraha*, which has now become a stalemate. He said he realised that the time, money and efforts spent over these matters have come to naught.

Dr. Ambedkar expressed the opinion that the time had come to make a decision in the matter and settle their future. The disabilities they suffered and the indignities they had to put up with, he pointed out, were the result of their being members of the Hindu community. He inquired if it were not better for them to leave that fold and embrace a new faith that would give them equal status, a secure position and rightful treatment.

He advised them to sever their connection with Hinduism and to embrace any other religion, but warned them to be very careful, in choosing the new faith to see that equality of treatment, status and of opportunities would be guaranteed them unreservedly. He referred them to the treatment accorded in other religions such as Buddhism, Islam and Christianity.

Referring to his own personal decision in the matter he said unfortunately for him he was born a Hindu "untouchable." It was beyond his power to prevent that, but he declared that it was within his power to refuse to live under ignoble and humiliating conditions. "I solemnly assure you that I will not die a Hindu," he declared.

Concluding, he referred to the coming constitution and the work before them of securing their rightful

place in the new councils. He advised them to select the right men to represent them and to present their case as strongly as possible. That could only be done if they sank their internal difference and petty jealousies and presented a united front to the outside world.

Referring to the Kalam *satyagraha* and the temple entry agitation he advised Harijans to end them as the past years had demonstrated the futility of such agitation. Instead, they should conserve their energy to establish their civic rights and status. He exhorted them to so conduct themselves in future as to leave no doubt to the outside world of their decision to be and to remain a separate community outside the Hindu fold and to carve out for themselves a future worthy of free citizens.

Earlier in the conference Mr. A. D. Runkhambhe, Chairman of the Reception Committee, in his welcome speech expressed his pleasure at the response given by Presidency Harijans and the great interest they were evincing in planning their future. After making special reference to the numerous disabilities of the depressed classes, he gave some instances where Government officials are alleged to have favoured caste Hindus and discriminated against them.

GANDHIJI'S REJOINDER.

Interviewed on Dr. Ambedkar's speech at Nasik, Mr. Gandhi said:—

"The speech attributed to Dr. Ambedkar seems unbelievable. If, however, he has made such a speech and the conference has adopted a resolution of complete severance and acceptance of any faith that would guarantee equality, I regard both as unfortunate events, especially when one notices that in spite of isolated events to the contrary, untouchability is on its last legs.

"I can understand the anger of a high-souled and highly educated person like Dr. Ambedkar over atrocities such as were committed in Kawitha and other villages. But religion is not like a house or a cloak which can be changed at will. It is a more integral part of one's self than of one's body. Religion is the tie that binds one to one's creator and whilst the body perishes, as it has to, religion persists even after death.

"Dr. Ambedkar has faith in God. I would urge him to assuage his wrath and reconsider the position and examine his ancestral religion on its own merits and not through the weakness of its unfaithful followers.

"Lastly, I am convinced that change of faith by him and those who passed the resolution will not serve the cause which they have at heart, for the millions of unsophisticated illiterate Harijans will not listen to him and them when they have disowned their ancestral faiths especially when it is remembered that their lives for good or for evil are intertwined with those of caste Hindus."

A WRONG LEAD.

"Conversion to other faiths would weaken the numerical strength of the depressed classes and encourage their oppressors. The best advice to be given to the community is that they should keep up their strength and fight for their rights and privileges. That would be manly," observed Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan (Madras), leader of depressed classes, in the course of a statement on the resolution advising depressed classes to leave the Hindu fold passed by the Nasik conference.

He added that the news came to him as a thunderbolt. He advised those who were unable to face their enemies to emigrate to some country where untouchability did not prevail.

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NOT A HASTY DECISION.

"What religion we shall belong to we have not decided; what ways and means we shall adopt, we have not thought out; but we have decided one thing, and that after due deliberation and that deep conviction, that the Hindu religion is not good for us," declared Dr. Ambedkar when showed by the *Associated Press*, Gandhiji's comment on his Nasik speech advocating the severance of the Depressed Classes from the Hindu fold.

"Inequality," he said, "is the very basis of that religion and its ethics such that the Depressed Classes can never acquire their full manhood. Let none think that I have done this in a huff or as a matter of wrath against the treatment meted out to the depressed classes at Kavitha village or any other place. It is a deeply deliberated decision.

"I agree with Gandhiji that religion is necessary, but I do not agree that man must have his ancestral religion if he finds that religion repugnant to his notions of the sort of religion he needs as the standard for the regulation of his own conduct and as the source of inspiration for his advancement and wellbeing."

Asked when he proposed to get himself converted and whether there will be individual action or mass action, Dr. Ambedkar said, "I have made up my mind to change my religion. I do not care if the masses do not come. It is for them to decide. If they feel it is good they will follow me, but on the contrary if they feel it is not, they will not follow my example. My own advice is that Gandhiji should allow the depressed classes to chalk out their own line of action. Kavitha does not represent an isolated incident."

THE NEW CANCER TREATMENT.

(By W. J. JAMESON.)

Cancer is one of the most baffling diseases that medical men throughout the ages have had to contend with. Prior to 1895 surgery or cautery were the only means available to medical science for treating this dreaded disease, and in Jaffna today, surgery remains the only means of eradicating it. The year 1895 was the turning point in the history of medicine. Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen working alone in his laboratory in the University of Weurzburg discovered a fluorescence produced by "a new kind of ray". This was the birthplace of the first X-Ray. This discovery was a stimulus to physicists throughout the world investigating these X-Rays and other radio-active substances. M. and Mme. Curie studied radio-activity of a large number of minerals containing Uranium and Thorium and it is to them that we owe the discovery of radium. Radium is an element which is extracted from pitchblend, and is one of the rarest used metals in the world, there being scarcely over 2 pounds in the whole world today. A radium treatment bomb of 15 grams being constructed in Brussels, is costing 22½ lakhs of rupees. These two types of rays revolutionised the treatment of cancer and many patients are alive today because of their use either separately or in conjunction with surgery.

During this century considerable research in the use of X-Ray and Radium Therapy has shown their usefulness and their limitations. Radium is very expensive to purchase and is limited in its usefulness. In Germany they had only 10 grams of radium, with a population of 80 million people and were unable to

*The Hindu Organ, Jaffna.

purchase more. The scientists there began investigating means of producing a similar type of Ray from a mechanical source. Scientists of Siemens-Reiniger-Werke after years of steady investigation produced an X-Ray tube which would give a distribution of radiation comparable to that of radium. This X-Ray tube is on entirely different lines from the usual X-Ray tube.

The tube is entirely shock-proof, and the rays can be brought as near the patient as desired, and localised only on the seat of disease. This is possible, because of the construction of the X-Ray tube, which permits the cathode rays to be transformed into X-Rays, and to pass out of the end of the tube, and then through a suitable applicator which limits the rays, to the field of the tumour. It thus preserves the surrounding healthy skin and tissues which is one of the limitations of the present form of radiation. In certain deep tumours the tumour may be exposed by operation and the treatment applied directly to the tumour without injuring healthy tissues. The other important feature of this tube is that the depth of penetration can be controlled by voltage and filters, and healthy tissues behind a growth can be preserved. The variety of applicators permit the use of this tube in inaccessible places such as the tonsil, and direct application of rays with a penetration only the depth of the tonsil, can be secured. The treatment itself is absolutely painless. For tumours that are sensitive to touch or located in a sensitive spot such as the throat a local anaesthetic is used. The usual period of treatment for early cases covers ten days, with an application made for five minutes daily during this period. Late cases require a longer period.

This new form of treatment for cancer bears the name of its inventor Prof. Chaoul. Prof. Chaoul is a Radiologist in the Charite Hospital, Berlin, working in Pro. Sauerbruch's Clinic. He has been using four of these tubes for more than three years and there are many patients alive today because of this new type of treatment which has overcome some of the limitations of both deep X-Ray and Radium Therapy.

Dr. Vail, one of the leading Surgeons in India, developed the most malignant type of cancer of the neck and in spite of the fact that he used Radium and had surgery in India, the growth continued to grow. He flew to Germany where he anticipated further radical surgery, but discovered Prof. Chaoul. After an examination of the tumour, the Professor said he might cable back to his family that he could be cured in ten days. Dr. Vail returned to India fully cured and told me of this wonderful new treatment. I have seen a moving picture film of the cases treated by Prof. Chaoul and have thoroughly investigated this new type of treatment and am convinced that it is the best type of treatment for the most common form of cancer that we have in Jaffna, Oral Cancer.

I cabled to Dr. Mathew who was studying in Europe to go immediately to Chaoul Clinic and acquire a thorough knowledge and treatment of cancer by this new method, under Prof. Chaoul. Dr. Mathew has just returned to the island after several months of study with Prof. Chaoul and is most enthusiastic about this new blessing to Jaffna. Part of this outfit has already arrived and we hope by the end of next month to have the plant in operation.

I would just like to give a word of warning regarding cancer. Cancer is not an hereditary disease though a tendency of susceptibility may be inherited from parents who have had cancer. Some form of irritation is necessary to produce cancer in



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these susceptible individuals. The most common form of irritation that I know of in Jaffna is betel chewing. In about 96% of cases of cancer of the month, there is a definite history of prolonged betel chewing. In my opinion, cancer is definitely increasing in Jaffna. One way to eliminate this scourge is to eliminate the cause—*chronic prolonged irritation*. Nowhere in the world is cancer of the mouth so prevalent as in Ceylon and India where this habit of chewing is almost universal.

The second warning that I would like to give is that any form of treatment for cancer should begin early. New growth should be shown to a competent Doctor at the earliest possible moment. A small surgical operation at that time or an application of this new type of treatment would be likely to cure the condition within ten days. With neglect, the tumour grows into the deeper tissues and surgery may become impossible owing to the involvement of vital tissues. The result of radium and X-Ray in these late cases has been unsatisfactory, and even with this new type of treatment, the long standing cases will require prolonged treatment. The percentage of cures of cancer depends largely upon the time when the cancer treatment has been started. With our new treatment, I feel that cases will come to us earlier than when we had only surgery to offer.

Family Life in Russia:—The Soviet Government have passed several new measures to restore normal family life in Russia and tighten the matrimonial bonds which were loosened 18 years ago as an essential part in the creation of the Bolshevik social system. The most important decree concerns divorce. Hitherto a husband or wife could without warning enter a registry office and get a divorce immediately without even informing the divorcee. The right of divorce without the consent of the other party and without any judicial procedure remains intact, but both parties must now appear together before the registrar. Otherwise the one who seeks a divorce must wait until the authorities have informed the other partner what is afoot and invited his or her presence before the registrar. If the partner cannot be found there is a delay of six months, after which the divorce is granted without further formalities. Other new laws for restoring the family give the parents greater responsibility for their children, with the liability of three years' imprisonment for abandonment or malicious refusal to pay alimony.

Memel Elections:—The results of the Memel Elections held on September 28th have been officially announced. The German party obtained 24 seats out of a total of 29 and the Lithuanians five. Out of a total of 1,912,000 votes, 1,600,000 were registered. Each voter had twenty-nine votes. The German party obtained nearly a million votes. Memel, however, is under a Lithuanian Governor who is pseudo-dictator under the control, not of the Memel Diet, but of the Fascist Government in the Lithuanian capital.

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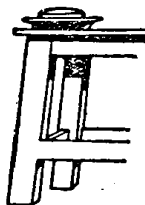
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Indian Nationalists and the Reforms:—The All-India Congress Committee at its annual meeting in Madras postponed consideration of the question whether or not the Congress members of the Legislature, Provincial and Federal, should accept office if they returned with a majority—a policy which has been impressed upon it by some prominent members. The acceptance of office by Nationalists who have condemned root and branch the constitutional reforms would be a complete turning back upon their part. Subject to any unforeseen circumstances arising before the elections, the obvious course for such men would be to constitute a strong opposition which would thwart the mischievous consequences of the reforms but will also compel the supporters of the reforms to carry out in office the mandates of the popular party. In the conditions provided in the new Government of India Act this would be the best way in which nationalist members of the legislature would serve their country. In office they would be powerless. Almost before they begin the duties of their office they will find themselves up against the many obstacles provided in the Act to their national policy. Take the question of Currency—des-

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out by ministers at the centre, apart from the uncertainty when the federation section of the Act will come into operation. In the provinces we shall have legislation like the preposterous Motor Taxation Bill now before the Bombay

Legislative Council which in order to abolish tolls raises taxes payable by a very large number of vehicles which never pass the toll bar or only once or twice a year. Some one has referred to the Irish precedent. Surely Irish precedent is all the other way. Mr. William Redmond refused to accept office in Mr. Asquith's ministry at the commencement of the War although he gave his entire support to the Government in recruiting soldiers from Ireland and in other ways.

Congress and the Non-Brahmins:—Babu Rajendra Prasad's answer to the charge of the Justice Party that the Congress was a Brahmin movement, evaded the real issue. He said that it was not true because Gandhiji, Vallabhbhai Patel and himself are non-Brahmins. But Satyamurthi, Prakasam, Nageswararao Pantulu and Rajagopalachariar are Brahmins and the Justice Party which is mainly concerned with provincial politics, is justified in regarding the Congress as a Brahmin movement, if a movement is to take its colour from the caste of its prominent leaders. The real question, however, is, if this is a right test to apply to a movement. Surely not the caste of some prominent leaders but the aims and objects of a movement determine the character of that movement. Babu Rajendra Prasad's reply implies that if Gandhiji, Vallabhbhai Patel and himself were Brahmins, the charge that the Congress movement was a Brahmin movement would be justified. He failed to take notice of the fact that the anti-Brahmin feeling of the Justice Party is to be compared, according to the friendly suggestion of the *Catholic Leader*, to the anti-semitic feeling in Nazi Germany. Catholics and Mohammedans are also included in the Justice Party and the *Catholic Leader* is a supporter of that party. The Congress has or should have nothing to do with the caste or religion of its members. If Babu Rajendra Prasad was not prepared to recognise that many of the great leaders of Indian nationalism have been Brahmins, he might have at least refrained from seeming to countenance the petty anti-Brahminism of the Justice Party.

Dr. Ambedkar's Suggestion:—What is cribed in the press as Dr. Ambedkar's suggestion that a hard-headed bullion shell turned out to be a hard-headed bullion caste Hindus are concerned to abandon the faith and classes to the promised

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another unspecified religion has been calmly received by caste Hindus; some of them have even expressed their satisfaction that they will not have the problem of the untouchables on their hands. In view of Dr. Ambedkar's threat they would have themselves taken the initiative in the matter but that Hindu society is so constituted that only the particular group to which the man belongs, has the right to put him out. The same principle applies to any caste admitting non-Hindus to its membership. He becomes a member of Hindu society which has no means of acting in such matters. The representatives of the proselytising religions, the Christians, the Muslims and Sikhs have invited Dr. Ambedkar to throw in his lot with them. The Maha Bodhi Society has sent a message deprecating his intended apostasy but stating that if he is, however, determined to leave Hinduism, Buddhism has all the requisites which he desiderates in his religion. A few Hindus have expressed the view that the work of Hindu leaders like Gandhiji and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, has mitigated Dr. Ambedkar's threat as great advance has already been made towards the removal of untouchability. It is from other untouchable leaders, however, that the strongest protests have come against Dr. Ambedkar's declaration. A few of them handsomely acknowledged the work that is being done by earnest Hindu reformers but the majority take the view that by going over to any other religion the depressed classes would forfeit the special rights conferred on them by the new constitution. As Christians and Mohammedans, they would form part of the separate electorates of those communities and would not be in the same favourable position in which they are now by retaining the character of scheduled castes conferred on them by the Government of India Act. This is a curious argument for remaining in or rejecting a religion but there it is—a part of the mentality fostered by the reforms.

Caste and Conversion:—Conversion to Buddhism seems to find favour with some leaders of the antyajas as the best means of getting rid of the social disabilities to which they are subjected as Hindus. We do not think that conversion to Buddhism would have such a magical effect. Even in Buddha's own time, although he admitted even sweepers to his Sangha, the caste system flourished side by side and continued to govern social relations. That is to say, the laity did not cease to observe caste distinctions in marriage and meals. The Harijan Sevak Sangh has also laid down that its propaganda excludes these two matters. The only effect of conversion to Buddhism would be that the Mahars and others will be known as Buddhist Mahars and so on. The Kavitha caste people would have the same "on to have their children attending common s the 11 11 t present. But conversion uly conversion will certainly o look upon their present ntirely different standpoint—

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Swaminath Natarajan

namely, the inexorable law of Karma, which is at the heart of the Sakyamuni's teaching. We are sure Dr. Venkatrao, the President of the Buddha Society, will welcome antyaja brethren who wish to study Buddhism, to the Ananda Vihar at Lamington Road where there is a good library and a shrine which breathes the spirit of peace inherent in Buddhism. It is not generally known that there are today many anusthanic, or practising, Buddhists among Hindus of all castes. The last Dr. Nair was such a one and we are glad that his family is following in his footsteps. In May last we had a Brahmin Buddhist, Judge of the Mysore High Court, presiding at the Buddha anniversary in Bombay. Those who would become Buddhists would do well to bear in mind that five centuries before Jesus said, 'Love your enemies,' the Sakyamuni proclaimed, 'Hatred is not conquered by hatred : Hatred is conquered by Love.' We are glad to see that the *Dnyanodaya* of Poona, while appreciating Dr. Ambedkar's viewpoint, has emphasised that conversion means a change of heart and not a change of community. It writes, "In the stir and agitation resulting from Dr. Ambedkar's speech and Gandhiji's comment the word 'conversion' has been used as if it meant a mere change of community. This is one of the commonest blunders in India and every Christian speaker or writer on this subject should help to restore this wonderful word to its only correct meaning of a *conversion of heart.* By emphasizing a change of community, India has inherited one additional curse, that of communalism. But when we emphasize a *change of heart,* then we come to understand the meaning of Jesus : 'Except ye be converted and become as little children ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.' Those who would be in the Kingdom of God on earth as Jesus taught it must undergo such a change of heart that child-like trustfulness in God, and true humility (the only basis of democracy) in relation to both God and men, must mark their daily life and character. Without such an inward change, effected by the Spirit of God Himself, Dr. Ambedkar and his oppressed brethren will find Buddhism, Islam or Christianity, as unsatisfying as Hinduism. "For the Kingdom of God is within you," said Jesus." By the way in another note the *Dnyanodaya* insinuates that Dr. Ambedkar's preferment to some unspecified high offices was prevented by caste Hindus. High offices, such as those to which Dr. Ambedkar may aspire, are not in the gift of caste Hindus as the *Dnyanodaya* is well aware, and, if Dr. Ambedkar did miss preferment, the reason must be sought elsewhere.

Ethiopia and the League:—When a house is on fire the thing immediately to do is to put down the conflagration. What the League of Nations is doing now with its committees of five and eight and thirteen and eighteen is to devise means of depriving the incendiary



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of his business while the slaughter of women and children in Ethiopia is merrily going on. Mr. Baldwin, the British Prime Minister, told the House of Commons on Wednesday that this is the only thing that could be done having regard to the League Covenant. If that be the case, the Covenant must be a surprisingly inept document. The strength of the League depends on the extent to which it reflects the moral sense of mankind. There is no difference of opinion as to the culpability of Italy in its aggression on a primitive nation almost entirely without the modern equipment for mass murder. It may be said that each nation has enough to do to look after its own safety to undertake to defend weak nations against those who would despoil them. The League of Nations was established to safeguard weak nations as one of its primary objects. Nevertheless the argument for non-intervention in the present Italo-Ethiopian dispute might have some force but for the fact that the whole claim of Italy to subjugate Ethiopia rests on engagements entered into with Britain and France regarding the disposal of Ethiopia, engagements to which Ethiopia was not a party and when they were brought to her notice, refused to be a party. Ethiopia, it is said, is not competent to be a sovereign State. Is Portugal competent? Is Belgium competent? Is Denmark competent? Oh, but, it is said, slavery prevails in Ethiopia. There is a chapter in Mr. Farago's 'Abyssinia on the Eve' which we noticed in the *Reformer* of October 12, on this question of slavery. Domestic slavery as it exists in Ethiopia is very different from the slavery depicted in "Uncle Tom's Cabin," which comes to the mind of most people when they hear slavery mentioned. The domestic slave in Ethiopia enjoys a status superior to that of the paid servant. He is a sort of retainer who can be raised to any position. He sometimes marries his master's daughter. If the master marries his daughter, she enjoys the same status as the free-born wife and her children are heirs to their father's property. The 20,000 slaves whom the Italians are proclaimed to have liberated in the parts of Ethiopia occupied by Italian troops, must either starve or join the Italian army against their kith and kin in an enforced servitude.

The Churches and Imperialism:—The "Christian" reaction to the Italo-Ethiopian dispute has been anything but unanimous. The International Federation of Religious Socialists which is an organization covering several European countries and associated with similar associations in America, has issued a last appeal to Christendom. The appeal threatens a "savage" revolt of Blacks against Whites and the rejection of Christianity by a large part of the world, as a consequence of the present Italian aggression. "Will you not," it concludes, "with a last effort, stand up against this whole ruinous course of things which is so much worse than all paganism ever was and is? Against these

universal preparations for war growing gradually into a worship of the infernal?" In similar vein is Mr. George Lansbury's condemnation of the Archbishop of Canterbury's support to the application of sanctions. "Today," he writes, "Christians of all denominations are organised to carry out a mass murder. Apart altogether from the Italo-Abyssinian dispute, the youth of the world is now being urged to make ready for another war to end war. From one end of the world to the other, a most terrific race in armaments is in full swing. To meet this crisis, I ask that the Christian Church of our land shall demand from our rulers a declaration by Britain that: 'We, the British people, have given up all desire for Imperial conquest and intend in future to rule in any part of the world only with the consent of the governed, and because we wish for neither power nor domination over others, we will henceforth depend for our existence on the laws of love and service as taught by our Lord, and not on force, and without waiting for others' aid, we will disband our armed forces and invite the world to follow our example.' But the Archbishop of Canterbury is unrepentant. He has even hinted in a recent speech that, if the League applied drastic sanctions against Italy, the Pope who had expressed his inability to go farther in support of the League than he has already done, might feel freer to express his views. Mr. Lausbury, however, does not suggest any measure for stopping the callous slaughter of Ethiopians which cannot have left him unmoved. In discussing the larger issue he has evidently lost sight of Ethiopia's present trouble.

A Hoax on Bullion Merchants:—Press messages dated the 21st instant revealed the perpetration of a colossal hoax on the Bombay and Calcutta markets. A number of European bankers and prominent brokers in Bombay received, according to the Associated Press, a letter from Simla, purporting to have been issued by the Commerce Department, Government of India, stating that the import duty on silver had been removed and an export duty of Rs. 10 per ounce on gold levied. The news created excitement in the market, followed by heavy loading and unloading in the two metals. Silver, which closed on Saturday in Rs. 67-7 first settlement, shot up to Rs. 70-12 first settlement, while gold which closed at Rs. 35-0-9 on Saturday suddenly dropped down to Rs. 31-12. Frantic efforts were made by merchants and other interested parties to get into touch with Delhi, as there was a suspicion that the "notifications" were a hoax. In an hour came the reply from Delhi denying the basis of the alleged notifications, and the markets came to normal. A United Press message revealed that the report had repercussions on the Calcutta Stock Exchange. The hoax reveals that the policy of the Government of India regarding gold and silver is so artificial that a wild rumour of this kind affects the hard-headed bullion merchants of Bombay and Calcutta.



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BOMBAY, October 26, 1935.

ANTI-INDIAN LEGISLATION
IN ZANZIBAR.

The Commission on Agricultural Indebtedness appointed by the Government of Zanzibar has made its report. Although it is treated as a confidential document by the Government of India it has been published in Zanzibar and commented upon in the Zanzibar Press. The *Zanzibar Voice* writes of the appointment of the Commission as the one normal and satisfactory action of the Zanzibar Government during the last two years. In its opinion the personnel of the Commission was as representative as could be desired, but, adds the *Zanzibar Voice*, "in nothing was the Commission so fortunate as the choice of its Chairman, Mr. C. E. Law, Chief Justice of the Protectorate." There were, besides, two English officials on the Commission, Mr. J. P. Jones, Assistant Chief Secretary and Provincial Commissioner (Vice-Chairman), and Mr. J. Parnall, Administrator-General, Land Officer and Public Trustee. There was one Arab Member, Sheikh Seif bin Suleiman el-Busaidi, and an Indian member, Mr. Tayabali Rajabali, Bar-at-Law. The Report is unanimous and it completely vindicates the position of Indians who were sought to be discredited as exploiters of the ignorant Africans and Arabs. The Committee, in contradiction to the assumption of the Zanzibar Government in support of its recent decrees, shows that the relative proportion of debts to assets of the Zanzibar cultivators is not so heavy as it would appear to be at first sight. Referring to the fact that only 5,432 owners out of approximately 18,000 replied to the questionnaire issued to them to give particulars of their indebtedness, the Commission observe: "Either the remaining 12,500 odd owners were completely indifferent as to their ultimate fate, or they did not reply because they were not financially embarrassed. If the latter surmise be the correct one, the position which presents itself, on the figures quoted, appears to be that about 30% of the owners are indebted and that about 23% of the total indebtedness is by way of mortgage or fictitious sale." The Commission has no difficulty in showing that there are at least 1,000,000 clove trees more than the official estimate in Zanzibar and out of these Indians owned approximately 12½% of the total and the number of clove trees mortgaged to Indians was 7½% of the total. After a close examination of the figures the Commission observe: "It is stated in the Bartlett-Last Report (paragraph 55) that 'it is probable that not less than half the agricultural property of these islands has passed into the hands of the money-lending classes and that at least half the remainder is encumbered to them, most of it heavily.' We find that the above expression of opinion is not borne out

as a result of our investigations. We are, of course, aware of the fact that there are moneylenders other than Indians, but we feel that the amount so involved is, comparatively speaking, negligible. Before leaving the subject of Indian holdings, we desire to point out that such property as has passed into Indian hands has not passed into the hands of the money-lending classes exclusively, for there are in the Protectorate Indians who hold properties as *bona fide* investors and agriculturists."

The Commission recommend the setting up of Conciliation Boards with the object of bringing creditors and debtors together with a view to settling the debts and that Government should assist plantation owners with loans at low rate of interest. The Commission conclude by recommending that the moratorium created under the provisions of Section 19 of the Alienation of Land Decree should be lifted as soon as possible after a decision has been taken by Government regarding the liquidation of existing debts. We are surprised to see that the Government of Zanzibar oppose the Commission's central recommendation—namely, the creation of Conciliation Board. The Zanzibar Government refuses to accept the Commission's carefully worked out estimate of the number of clove trees and the extent of holding by Indians. It says:—"The Government, after a careful and exhaustive examination of the grounds on which the Commission based certain conclusions to which it came on these matters, has found it necessary to inform the Secretary of State that it is impossible for it either to accept the reasons given by the Commission for its conclusions or to agree with the conclusions themselves. Government is satisfied that the restriction upon alienation of land is absolutely essential in the interests of the agricultural classes and without such restriction the rapid transfer of land away from such classes will continue." We are astonished that the Government of Zanzibar should thus throw overboard their own commission, consisting of the Chief Justice, the Assistant Chief Secretary and the Administrator-General. The decision now lies in the hands of the Secretary of State for Colonies and we trust that Mr. Malcolm McDonald will not allow himself to be misled by the Zanzibar officials.

The Zanzibar Land Alienation has been compared to the Punjab Alienation Act. The *Zanzibar Voice* gives a complete answer to this misimpression. It writes:—"It is necessary to clear an erroneous idea, which unfortunately has had too long a run. In justification of the 'Land Alienation Decree' reference has been made to similar legislation in India. However the conditions in India are entirely different. In India the agriculturists are a hereditary class, who have for numerous generations tilled and cultivated the soil and waged a grim struggle against nature 'red in tooth and claw,' to preserve their land or their right to occupy it. The debt which such land



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carries, is often an accumulation of debt incurred by previous generations of holders. The Law of Limitation in Indian States is entirely different from here and Hindus as a rule consider it their duty to pay the debts of their fathers. Nor does the system of joint family property prevail here. In Zanzibar in many cases clove plantations have been purchased by present owners with borrowed capital. These shambas have been bought often as a matter of investment or speculation and the debts are incurred by present owners only. Total failure of crops due to various natural causes beyond the control of man is practically unknown in Zanzibar except in the case of the great storms in 1872. Besides land tenures and land revenue systems in India are entirely different and involve different considerations. For all these reasons it is erroneous to compare the shamba owners in Zanzibar with the agriculturists in India. Where else did produce give such large and easy returns as cloves did in Zanzibar, at any rate upto 1932?"

JOURNALISM IN INDIA.

The first thing that strikes one looking back some forty years on Indian Journalism is the remarkable decline in number and importance of newspapers controlled and conducted by Englishmen. At that time, there were 9 important Anglo-Indian papers: 2 in Madras, 2 in Bombay, 3 in Calcutta, 1 in Lahore and 1 in Allahabad. The last one, the 'Pioneer' was the most important as it was regarded as more or less written by high English officials or at least inspired by them. One famous leading article headed, "If it is real what does it mean?" on the great demonstration in Bombay when Lord Ripon left India, was said to have been written by Sir Auckland Colvin, the then Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces. The other Anglo-Indian papers were also more or less semi-official organs in normal times. When there was any official measure which seemed to trench on the privileges of the European community, like the Ilbert Bill, the Anglo-Indian press speaking generally sided with their community against the Government. With the beginning of the century the position of the Anglo-Indian press steadily declined. Madras and Bombay which had two papers each had to be content with only one. In Calcutta where there were three papers, two expired including the 'Englishman' which at one time almost rivalled the 'Pioneer' in its influence in official circles. The 'Pioneer' has within recent years become an Indian concern. This decline of the Anglo-Indian press is synchronous with the introduction of the elective principle in the legislatures and the admission of Indians to offices long reserved for Englishmen including membership in the Executive Council in the provinces and at the centre; and with the growing strength of Indian nationalism. Another reason for its decline in influence has been the growing tendency among Europeans in India to regard themselves as a minority community whose interests have to be safeguarded by statute. The Anglo-Indian press, therefore, has come to be regarded as a communal press whose outlook is limited by the communal horizon. British journalists of independent outlook no longer come out to India or, if they do, they very soon find their position intolerable and take the earliest opportunity

* Mr. K. Natarajan's talk at the Journalists' Association.

of quitting it. Had the Anglo-Indian papers been alive to the signs of the time and adapted themselves to the changing conditions they would have retained their influence and led the Indian press in journalism. Even now it is not too late. If, however, they persist in their isolation from Indian nationalism, the Anglo-Indian press as a distinctive factor in Indian journalism, has no future.

Another feature of Indian journalism worth noting is the experiment of running newspapers financed and controlled by Indians, with English editors. With a few exceptions the experiment has failed and it is bound to fail for obvious reasons. The problems that are coming up for discussion and solution nowadays are problems which concern the structure, traditions and inner workings of Indian society. It is only Indians who can appraise the real value of the slogans which the partisans use from time to time. The English editor is under constant temptation to shout with the loudest for fear of being considered disloyal to his employers or to adopt an extremely reactionary view in sympathy with his countrymen here. It is not his fault but the position is an anomalous one.

Coming to the purely Indian press, 50 years ago there was not even a single Indian daily paper conducted in English. Now we have a dozen well established daily papers. Some which were started, have died and these, speaking generally, were rather given to extreme expressions of opinion. The English-reading Indian public although it may temporarily applaud strong language has a permanent bias in favour of balanced judgment in public affairs. It is worthy of note that few of our daily papers, though they support one or other of the political parties, are party organs. They hold themselves free whenever occasion arises to criticise party leaders. This is a healthy sign. Attempts, whether by Government or political parties, to dictate to the press must be resisted in the interests of Journalism as also of national progress. The generality of Indian editors has a wider view of things than the average party politician. Further, the press is always in session and able to take a continuous view of passing events. The vernacular daily papers have also risen in importance but their influence is necessarily confined to the linguistic areas. There were polyglot newspapers written in two or three languages but there are fewer of them now than before. All-India newspapers, until the time comes when India has a common vernacular, will have to be conducted in the English language.

Weekly newspapers have an important function apart from that of the daily papers. While the tendency of the daily paper is to subordinate the views side to the news side, the weekly paper has the special privilege to form and guide public opinion to a much greater extent than the daily papers. The writer in a weekly paper has a quite different standard from the writer in a daily paper. In fact, the same man writing in both a daily and a weekly paper, instinctively recognises the difference. The weekly paper is not a daily paper published once a week. The attempt to make it so has resulted in the loss of influence of some well-established weeklies which have yielded to the temptation.

I think the weekly journal has a great future. The daily newspaper partakes of the nature of a factory and a trading concern. These two latter have no necessary relation to journalism. The future State will, undoubtedly, take over the collection and free dissemination of news which is now done by private agencies at a heavy cost. The radio has immense future possibilities and the time is not far distant when the cost of a receiver will come within the means



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of the masses. The public, therefore, will not depend on a daily with its expensive machinery for news which will be supplied free to it. What the public will then want is only carefully considered comments on the news so supplied and this will be provided by small weekly sheets which can be produced and distributed cheaply.

The greatest single force in the making of the destinies of future India is the press. Its freedom is of the utmost importance as it is only through a free press that the Indian people can become conscious and unite in achieving their national destiny. Communalism is, perhaps, the greatest obstacle in the way and the highest task of an Indian journalist today, is to counteract communalism by pursuing steadily a policy of understanding, conciliation and good-will; while at the same time upholding the cause of a single and equal citizenship for all those who accept India as their homeland.

ORGANISING FOR A BETTER WORLD.

As a result of the process of human growth, the modern world has been confronted with three imperative demands—an economic demand for the increased necessities of life, a scientific demand for efficiency and organisation, and a religious demand for equality and freedom. These demands, through whatever channel they may find expression, come from the people themselves, the abused, the voiceless and unarmed masses of the world that are divided by the various national governments among themselves. All the movements that are moving on earth today in the name of humanity are in fact efforts to meet either of these demands. But none of them carries with it the heart of mankind as a whole. The boundary lines between politics and religion and between religion and the actualities of life are so clear-cut that the life of society is divided into water-tight compartments and sub-compartments intertwined with incorrigible customs. Neither between the functions nor between the functionaries is there harmony and collaboration. And those few who are prepared to work for the ends of humanity are not finding the means to proceed further in building the edifice of human freedom.

During the days when the force of hunger alone was acting on the human stage, there existed certainly some sort of equality and unconscious justice even as that which still exists among animals. But no sooner did intellect make its appearance than it incited those individuals who are inclined to follow its lead, to make the best use of the things that surrounded them even at the cost of others. Soon they learnt to employ tactics and energy to produce, to sow and reap, to hoard and spend, to serve and employ and to make organised efforts to satisfy the increased requirements of a complex life. Selfishness was made possible, the origin of exploitation. A person gifted with superior intellectual powers but not disposed to increase his wealth or fight for needs which were not supplied to many of his other fellow-beings, is beaten in the rivalry of life by one who is inclined to do so. Investment and possession have become a power. As such they are objects of envy and all those who could wield that power were forced to protect it against those who tried to compete for its possession. The politician-soldier came to their rescue. But the two classes, sprung from these two distinct but identical interests, being unproductive, had to levy two different kinds of taxes on the productive masses. The tax levied by the politician-soldier formed the revenue of the policy which he had organised in the name of the community, and which in fact was a bulwark against any possible attack on the exploitation

which he sought to protect; and the tax which is collected by the businessman on all the things he sold, formed the wealth of nations which in reality was the private property of a few. This latter revenue of the businessman not only includes the Marxian "surplus value" or the profit a capitalist gets on all the things he himself produces through his own factories of either men or machines, but also what he derives through trade, by investing on purchases and selling the goods at extraordinary prices. Now that scientific improvements in the monetary system as well as machinery have been made to a large extent, it has become easier for the same businessman to invest more and gather more. The bank hoards for him and the improved machinery makes it possible for him to dispense with human labour and yet produce much more. And the politician-soldier continues to protect him, to enlarge his territory by extending his empire, and to organise the rest of humanity to submit the exploitation. The bigger businessman has swallowed the smaller one, while bigger kingdoms have swallowed weaker ones. Thus capitalism and imperialism have developed hand in hand.

But this is not the whole story. From behind these forces of hunger and intellect, the force of emotion was evolving with equal, if not greater, rapidity and both of them are now at a point of being outpaced. Amidst all peoples, amidst all classes and sections one deep and positive longing is commonly growing—the longing to be free, to be free from all kinds of wants and oppressions; to be free to grow higher and greater. If suffering domination and slavery are international evils, the desire to be free from them is an international emotion. Consequently rebellions and attempts to change the existing systems in favour of an organisation which might secure a greater measure of freedom are common throughout the world.

International evils can be removed only by super-national efforts. The bulk of humanity must move as one force against the present economic and social anarchy which has always favoured the fortunate few. The defective social organism can be remedied only by an organised movement conducted by a representative body of the world masses as a whole. Stray individuals, however powerful they are, and the institutions they develop can do little to bring about a thorough-going change in this seemingly omnipotent system under which humanity is ceaselessly labouring.

A society can move or think only through an organisation, and the desire to be free which is universal must seek a universal organisation in order to translate itself into a reality. This is where Cole found fault with the cosmopolitanism of Wells, when he said that his scheme needs an international organisation which is absent today, to put it into practice. He did not say, however, that it is not possible to create such an organisation. As long as there is population on this earth, so long is there the possibility of organising a common platform, a common meeting place where all of them can together deliberate on issues which concern them as a whole and assert themselves against wrongs done to them. The realisation by the masses of the world that their interests are common is the first step towards realisation of world unity and towards the universal movement for freedom. Therefore the greatest need of today is a fully representative organisation, which stands for humanity as a whole and its complete freedom.

But the ideal should be clean and the programme must be scientifically laid down. The main incentive, the central force lying behind all successful movements, is but the motive power of the ideal, and it is



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the idealities of the dawn that move the dark realities of the night. Otherwise there would be stagnation and relentless darkness. What moves the present is the hope of the future. All of us are prepared to take all risks, sacrifice everything we have, if there appears on the scene a ray of hope, a promise of a way out of oppressions and exploitations.

If what we want is an extreme and undiluted form of democracy, it should be an educated democracy, otherwise it would break in the very process of construction. The people of all nations should not only be brought together, not only be fed well, but also should be educated enough to bear the responsibilities of their own social well-being. This process would naturally evolve an ethical and international constitution which can be called a state, but it would be a state without a policy, a law without class-safeguards, where every member of the society, is in himself an officer in charge and at the same time the immediate as well as ultimate beneficiary.

Life can become light and easy only if you take it seriously and work for its freedom. Its freedom consists in the perpetual feeding of our physical and intellectual needs and in its capacity to make positive advance towards self-realisation or emancipation or expansion, resisting effectively the temptations of vice or viciousness. Despair must cease—despair that gave birth to the dangerous theories of the omnipotence of fate and theories that justified the miseries of slavery. Ignorance and poverty, though they were born one after the other, have coupled themselves so intimately that they refuse to die separately. Intellectual and economic slaveries have become a custom but it is custom which is skin-deep. Inside is the burning desire to be free. Now if at any time, there could be a concentrated action on behalf of humanity as a whole. For if ideas have brought us closer, science has brought us nearer. All secrets are exposed and all boundary lines erased. To make the best use of all our achievements and resources, we must come together, seek scientific methods to get out of the difficulties that confront us and then make positive advance towards all round freedom, physical, intellectual as well as spiritual. If we must live, we must have the fitness to live.

Certain thinkers are of opinion that an eternal compromise between the nations of the world (through their governments) may bring about some sort of peace in the world. But peace is not merely warlessness. There cannot be any peace as long as humanity is within the four walls of the prison. The peace we want is the peace that lies in the freedom of our wings. A compromise between nations of conservative, capitalist and imperialist ideologies, controlled by people who are caught in the toils of party feelings and superiority complex, means nothing to the suffering masses. It is not the united action of the negative governments but the organised action of the people themselves that can save them from further onsets of want and its attendant misery.

Civilisation is harmony in social life. Love and exploitation, progress and poverty, wisdom and war, intelligence and ignorance, reason and stagnation, organisation and chaos, these things cannot go together. Harmony can be achieved through the organised utilisation of all our resources for the proper feeding of all the faculties of the inner soul. Unutilised or undirected human energy is the origin of all wars and misunderstandings. The wars that were fought and the one that is being fought today, are exposing in what helpless plight humanity is. One man with the political machinery in his hand can drive a people against their own fellow-beings in another nation. Politicians, priests, bankers all have

divided the voiceless people, the bulk of humanity, among themselves and are utilising them endlessly for their own selfish ends. All governments profess to stand for our cause and betterment. Yet most of us remain ignorant and poor. The immediate need of the world is an organisation for the people to make them independent, unanimous, prosperous and progressive, to build for them a social order which would wipe out national boundaries and keep humanity under one law, the law that has nothing in conflict with the moral code of nature.

The first task of that representative body is to organise its branches throughout the length and breadth of the world and through them monopolise the trade. With the profits gathered there, it should start electrification and education. Having electric power in hand it can start wholesale industrialisation, thus monopolising the whole of the businessman's tax. By then, excluding agriculture, every economic activity will have been in the hands of the masses. All employees of that representative body (or the world peoples conference or congress) must be very highly qualified and this condition itself would be a great incentive for learning. And even during the time of employment it should be made a condition that every employee must spend a certain time for further improvement of his or her mental faculties. One world university must be organised and all the programme for education must be conducted through it. In the beginning, much of the schooling has to be conducted under the shade of trees or through correspondence. But ultimately it is possible, if the economic side of reconstruction makes steady progress to turn every village into an educational centre in itself and every individual life into a fight for the realisation of beauty and truth. It is then that the society will be able to frame rules for the general conduct of its members even without the help of the scheming politician-soldier. That would be the beginning of human freedom—perhaps, the only possible beginning.

Allahabad,

M. N. RAO.

THE MISSIONARY MOTIVE.

Mahatma Gandhi has appealed once again to the "great and rich Christian Missions" requesting them to "confine their activities to humanitarian service, without the ulterior motive of converting India (or at least her unsophisticated villagers) to Christianity and destroying their social superstructure."

This appeal will naturally be discounted, by those whose philanthropic services are still solicited, as the pathetic cry of a charity child which does not know its ailments and wants to be rid of medication but seeks to cling to the sugar with which the drugs are coated.

The Right Reverend Dr. Mathias, Archbishop of Madras, in his quick and sharp reply, issued through a reporter of the *Madras Mail*, promptly disowns and pricks the bubble reputation which seems to assume that Christian Missions have been sent over here to pour out the riches of the West in charity for healing the sick and relieving the distressed masses of this country. His Grace is surely on unassailable ground when he declares that their "first and chief motive, and not merely an ulterior motive, is to conquer India for Christ," by preaching the Gospel and leading souls to Him, which is in itself a work supremely humanitarian, and that their other humanitarian activities are merely incidental.

"It is the command of God; it is His work; these souls are His; *He has committed them to our care*, and at the judgment seat, He will demand an account of them." Such is the stern motive and motto



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recommended to Christian religious workers by the Reverend author of "Imago Christi" or Example of Christ.

It is this "command of God" and "committal to our care" from which has developed the doctrine of Spiritual Trusteeship which, apart from and independent of the twin doctrine of political trusteeship, is the driving force behind Christian Missions in India and everywhere else in the world to the south and east of the Mediterranean as far as the Pacific. It is the doctrine by which every follower of Christ, especially every one born in the Western climes favoured with a long and rich Christian tradition behind them, is enjoined and privileged to regard himself as the keeper of his non-Christian brother's soul, and has to engage himself incessantly in contriving means to make him accept the Christian gospel and turn with loathing from the ways of his parents, pronouncing them dark, superstitious and ungodly (vide *Reformer* of 23rd February 1929, page 404.)

"It is an undoubted fact that Hindu parents of the higher castes fiercely resent all attempts on the part of Christian Missionaries to take a child away from its ancestral home and subject it to the steady influence of Christian teaching," says Judge Paul Appasamy M. A., LL. B., in his illuminating book on the *Law Applicable to Christians in India* written for the National Christian Council; or they also regard such attempts as "a breach or abuse of the confidence that they have reposed in Christian Missionaries."

But no Christian Missionary true to his faith and calling can help incurring the blame or even courting it. He cannot possibly afford to abandon his God-ordained duty and throw away his God-given privilege at the request of any human being. His own soul-salvation and rank in Heaven depend upon the numerical results which he can manage to show, of his faithful trusteeship on earth, when questioned on the awful Day of Judgment.

I know thou hast believed on Me
And light through Me is thine,
But where are all those glorious stars
Which in thy crown should shine?
Thou seest yonder joyous throng
With gems on every brow,
For every soul they led to Me
They wear a jewel now!

Mr. Paul Appasamy himself patiently enumerates many logical and sound psychological reasons to explain why "the Christian teacher or Missionary is anxious to force the pace, and to separate the child from what he considers noxious influences, so as to enable him to continue the religious enquiries in peace of mind and the best environments available."

All these and many other excellent reasons may or may not prove comforting to the bereft Hindu parents and their distressed friends. But then they have the handsome assurance of His Grace the Archbishop Dr. Mathias of Madras that "we Missionaries following the command of Christ do not believe in conversions by force or fraud, or by means of material inducements, which unfortunately many Hindus believe to be the secret of our success."

Gandhiji thinks it a virtue in himself and in his co-religionists that none of them has 'designs' on his neighbour as to his religious faith, for he regards all the great religions of the world as true—"as true at any rate for the people professing them as mine is for me." And so he thinks he must honour his neighbour's religion even as he honours his own. Gandhiji succeeds thus only in exposing the Achilles heel of Hinduism in an unbrotherly world of warring creeds. Dr. Mathias is too adroit and quick not to perceive the

opening and strikes in at once with his trenchant remark that this declaration "is only an unfortunate and flippant expression of the spirit or that dreadful indifferentism so widely prevalent in these days," and ends with a counter declaration of his own faith that Christianity is the only true and possible religion. A Hindu may be admitted to be a Mahatma or great-souled man, and also loved as a very dear friend. But no *Moulana* worthy of his title and no *Padri* worth his salt can hide or keep to himself the perturbing fact that that man with his saving virtues is not really among the "saved" and stands nowhere in God's estimation when compared with the meanest sinner among the True Believers (vide *Reformer* of 16th February 1929, page 389.)

His Grace the Archbishop of Madras may or may not be right when he says: "We cannot confine our work to merely social service without being guilty of a grave dereliction of duty." But every man of sound business sense will agree that it is for the 'fisher of souls' not for the fish, to choose what it shall be fed upon, though the kindly Doctor of Souls is too polite to say so.

K. R.

THE GITA IN A NUTSHELL.

If the Vedas were revealed to the world through the God Brahma or through the various seers (Mantra-Drashtas), the Gita was revealed, at a more mature stage of the world, through an incarnation of God himself. This fact persuades us to think of the Gita more highly than of any other Hindu scripture. Verily it is entitled to be considered the Word of God. As such it is the Supreme Scripture of the Hindu community. What I say here is strongly corroborated by the long line of holy saints and teachers who have for the last twelve centuries or more busied themselves with the interpretation of its teaching sooner than with that of the teachings of other scriptures. No religious book has been oftener commented upon than the Gita. This fact is unmistakable recognition of its supreme importance for us.

The fundamental problems discussed by Shri Bhagwan Krishna are, to my mind, threefold: Are we to live or refuse to live? Why are we to live? How are we to live?

The first was exactly the problem with Arjuna. He was a very good type of citizen. He would sacrifice a whole kingdom rather than be a cruel citizen to kill his fellowmen, nay his own kith and kin. He was keenly experiencing the hardness of the situation when love and duty clash. He would retire from the active life of the world. His attitude was one of refusal to live.

But the Lord urged him to live in the thick of the battle of life and to be a good citizen, because, He said, the killing which he was called upon to do would not interfere with his nobleness which is a quality of thought and not of action. We are what we think not what we do. In life no strict righteousness is possible except in a good will. If we have come to possess a good will or a balanced will, we have conquered the evil of life and have attained liberation.

Thus was expounded the necessity of life. All is God's creation and He wills out of His supreme will that it be so. In the heart of all life He is the soul; at bottom he is the agent. The complex creation is a play of his will and energy. It is not possible for any one not to be. The extreme necessity of life manifests itself in an intense love of life. The most distressed soul would like to live on. Let people denounce life, but they all love to live in one manner or another. All forms of salvations are only the various views of con-



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tinued life. In this God is a success like unto himself. We are vain, therefore, if we think that we can renounce or can retire. Renunciation or retirement is only an exchange of one lot with another. All lots should, therefore, be regarded as having equal grace. This is the balanced view of life which conduces to our joy of freedom. In this the Gita inculcates a form of spiritualism.

Life being thus necessary, let us know how to live. This question has already been answered by implication. Each one of us must stick to his duties which devolve upon him according to his station in life. One must not flinch from them, must fulfil them at all costs. This is the only view which promotes the equilibrium of social organization. Either from this consideration or from an appreciation of God lovingly manifesting Himself in and through us and our activities, we must always accept the joy of life and of all that it stands for.

It is vain to think that one way of life is attended with greater grace than another. Emphatically it is not so. Grace centres only in the mind or attitude. A particular activity can neither help nor hinder the attainment of God's grace. The worldly activities should be permitted to pursue their free course. The thinker, the fighter, the trader, and the labourer must each adhere to what he has adopted in agreement with his propensities. For the preservation of society this is very necessary. This principle alone can maintain and conserve social order. Only we must remember that social activities are only for the satisfaction of social needs. They are not in themselves a means of acquiring divine grace unless they are fulfilled in a divine mood. We can attain God only if we love God, ever have our hearts fixed upon Him. And this we must do. We must have a mentality of devotion, or divine love. The supreme message (Parmam Vachah) of Bhagwan Krishna is devotion. A life of devotion alone is a life of supreme perfection; but I said a 'life', which means one of activity of some sort, for truly speaking Life cannot be divorced from activity, life at bottom is activity. This is how to live.

Sitama, C. I.

RAM PRASAD PANDYA.

THE LEAGUE ASSEMBLY—A CONTEST OF CREEDS.

The Sixteenth Assembly of the League of Nations has been entirely dominated by the Italo-Abyssinian conflict. It has been universally recognised that infinitely more grave than the dispute between these two countries is the clash of ideas and ideals between Italian Fascism, on the one hand and the Geneva institution on the other. In short it is a contest of creeds.

With great frankness Signor Mussolini has declared his faith in his classic essay in the *Encyclopedia Italiana* entitled "The Political and Social Doctrine of Fascism," as the following extracts will show:

"And above all, Fascism, the more it considers and observes the future and the development of humanity quite apart from political considerations of the moment, believes neither in the possibility nor the utility of perpetual peace. War alone brings up to its highest tension all human energy and puts the stamp of nobility upon the peoples who have the courage to meet it." Again—"And thus hostile to the spirit of Fascism, though accepted for what use they can be in dealing with particular political situations, are all the international leagues and societies which as history will show, can be scattered to the winds when

once strong national feeling is aroused by any motive—sentimental, ideal or practical."

Such a political creed is diametrically opposed not only to the letter, but to the whole spirit of the League Covenant and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. There is no doubt as to where the Protestant Churches of the world stand in this matter. "Any nation," declares a recent Conference of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches, "which breaks its plighted word not to use other than pacific means for the settlement of international disputes will stand condemned not only by the moral judgment of human society but by the teaching and spirit of Jesus Christ." Whilst the Executive Committee of the Universal Christian Council conveyed to the statesmen of all nations "its conviction that they have the wholehearted support of the Christian Churches which it represents, in their efforts to prevent a flagrant violation of the Kellogg-Briand Pact."

The League Assembly has proved once again to be a remarkable rallying point for world public opinion. Indeed never before, in the League's history, has such solidarity been manifest. The representatives of nation after nation went to the tribune to declare their loyalty to the principles of the Covenant; and what is more, the willingness of their peoples to make sacrifices in their defence. "If the Covenant is not observed as a whole for all and by all," solemnly declared Eamon De Valera, "then there is no Covenant." Halvadan Koht (Foreign Minister of Norway) voiced a practically unanimous conviction when he said: "The events of these days will decide whether the League will be able to maintain its existence as a political instrument in international relations."

As these words are written the issue still remains in the balance. Will the League, as Signor Mussolini prophesies, be "scattered to the winds"? Will international ideals and methods be demonstrated helpless when faced with dynamic nationalism? The near future will show. All we can say with certainty is that a triumph for the conceptions of the League can only be secured at a price. What price? The League system has largely failed up till now in two vital respects. The League has not provided, as it was intended to do, an instrument for the peaceful change of the *Status quo* where justice demanded such change. Secondly, through lack of *esprit de corps*, the League has permitted both violation of treaties and the successful use of armed force upon more than one occasion.

Mutual defence and common justice—these conceptions, so different from the pre-war anarchy of balance of power, are basic in the Covenant. Both imply sacrifice, especially for the strong and for the satisfied. If aggression is to be held in check by collective pressure, moral and material, then legitimate grievance must be fairly considered and generously handled.

At a moment of grave anxiety and danger, there is real hope to be drawn from the fact that there are not wanting signs that under the stress of impending catastrophe this double lesson is being learnt.

Geneva,
September 28, 1935.

BERTRAM PICKARD.

Mr. Henderson Dead:—Death has occurred of Mr. Arthur Henderson, the Labour Leader. Mr. Arthur Henderson was reported to be suffering from stomach complaints and jaundice by the middle of September. In a nursing home in London he had an operation and his condition was reported to be satisfactory. He had been ill since then and it was reported on Saturday that his condition was causing anxiety.



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A PRE-WAR OUTLOOK ON WORLD EVENTS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In the *Reformer* dated October 12, you say that the Anglo-Indian press, with the one exception of the *Times of India*, has been consistent in protesting against Mussolini's colonial ambitions. This exception is all the more inexplicable in view of the *Times of India's* glorious stand in the days of India's national humiliation under the martial law administration in the Punjab in 1919.

Though the *Times of India*, like *The Englishmen of Calcutta*, had previously criticised Sir Rabindranath Tagore's famous letter to Lord Chelmsford, renouncing his knighthood, it characterised as "A Libel" General Dyer's statement before the Hunter Committee that, for what he did, he had the support of all the Europeans in India. The *Times of India's* protest against that statement infuriated a large number of influential Europeans. In the present case, I trust, the *Times of India* will yet adopt the right course, as the European planter's logic cannot have entered the *Times* building.

In a previous issue you noticed, with approval, the Archbishop of Canterbury's denunciation of the Italian campaign. It reminded me of Telemachus' semi-historic denunciation of the gladiatorial performances. No denunciations or protests have come so far from the Vatican. The Church has surrendered, if not sold, her spiritual power for the temporal re-possession of a few acres of land. It has been the admiration of the whole world that the Church attained her moral strength and greatness through her uncompromising and unbending attitude towards all the forces of evil. The Church on many occasions trod on the necks of mighty emperors. Incidents like the arrogant king Visvamitra standing as a humble suppliant before Vasishtha were numerous in the early history of the Church. The submission of the Roman Emperor Theodosius to Bishop Ambrose is a case in point: "When Ambrose was informed of the massacre of Thessalonica, his mind was filled with horror and anguish. He retired into the country to indulge his grief and to avoid the presence of Theodosius.....The emperor was deeply affected by his own reproaches and by those of his spiritual father; and after he had bewailed the mischievous and irreparable consequences of his rash fury, he proceeded in the accustomed manner to perform his devotions in the great church of Milan. *He was stopped in the porch by the archbishop* who, in the tone and language of an ambassador of Heaven, declared to his sovereign that private contrition was not sufficient to atone for a public fault or to appease the justice of the offended Deity." (Italics mine). 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' Chapter XXVII. There is not now a single Bishop in any Church who will dare incur the displeasure of a King or a Dictator, and to this extent the moral power of the Church has come down. Savonarola said: "In the primitive Church we had golden prelates and wooden chalices. Now we have wooden prelates and golden chalices."

What the modern Tamerlane Mussolini is attempting to do in Ethiopia, Napoleon did in Egypt. In his proclamation after the victory, Napoleon imposed upon the Egyptians this blasphemous order: "My name shall be mentioned in all the mosques during public prayers." All that now remains in Egypt of Napoleon's conquest is a heap of the bones of the Egyptian soldiers taken prisoners by Napoleon and

by his own orders afterwards murdered by the French soldiers "as there was not sufficient food for all."

Mussolini's ambition to raise Italy to her former glory is doomed to failure, even if the other blood-thirsty nations of Europe would continue to stand still while he committed more murders and enriched himself with the "spoils of war." He may be allowed to plunder a few more lands resourceless and badly armed, but his downfall is certain. When Italy was at the height of her greatness, a Roman citizen could purchase with a copper piece luxuries which an oriental potentate might envy to possess. The glory of the world's greatest empire took wings when one evening Alaric, the king and leader of the Goths, entered Rome. The Romans had been accustomed to regard and treat the Goths as barbarians, just as they now regard the Ethiopians. When the Gothic army was let loose like wild animals in the heart of Rome, and unprintable things began to take place in every part of the Eternal City, the terror-stricken members of the Senate with one voice begged for the terms of peace. Alaric mentioned them. Overcome with fear and amazement the Roman chiefs exclaimed: "If we surrender all these, what is left to us?" "Your lives," was Alaric's reply. And Rome fell without the world falling with it.

The same fate awaits Benito Mussolini and all other cowards who oppress the weak.

Coonoor,
16th October, 1935. }

Yours etc.,
M. G. JOSEPH.

THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN, 12TH SESSION.*

The 12th Session of the International Congress of women for suffrage and equal citizenship took place in the City of Istanbul from the 18th to the 25th April 1935. The place of meeting was "Yildiz Kosk" an old palace of Sultan Abdul Hamidkhan with a lovely old—rather neglected—garden. The palace is situated on a small hill from where we had a magnificent view of the Bosphorus and a part of the city of Istanbul. In this Palace we had dressing-rooms and a hair-dressing saloon, and an exhibition of articles brought by delegates of various countries (which were sold for the benefit of the Congress). We had the press, a translation bureau, a bank with facilities for exchange, a traveller's bureau where we could arrange for tickets and passages. We also had a restaurant which supplied luncheon every day. The Municipality had given us free bus tickets for the duration of the conference. Members of the Reception Committee—our charming Turkish sisters—were women of great personality and organizing capacity. It was amazing to think of them confined, and enshrouded only a dozen years ago. How bravely they have taken their position in the world, how manifestly they organize and how great a privilege it was to get to know them intimately. Mme Latife Bekir, Mme Lamika Refik and members of their Committee did their work extremely well.

The Turkish Government are to be congratulated on their very modern outlook in life. Not only have they emancipated their countrywomen but they have realised the value of the co-operation and service of half the population of their country. The men came in large numbers to all our open sessions. Members of Government, Municipalities, and university took the keenest interest in our proceedings.

On the 15th April before the Congress was formally opened we had a press meeting where

* The Sri-Dharma.

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each delegation gave a short account of the work of the women of their country. India expressed a hope that her peace movement would be taken as an example by other countries. "We believe in non-violence and in service and in sacrifice rather than arms and ammunitions and military services as a means to obtain world peace."

The Turkish press was ever in attendance. All the newspapers had columns full of women's congress every day. Some papers brought out special numbers and most of them were profusely illustrated. Each one of us was photographed a dozen times a day and cards and pictures were all sold out before the end of the day.

Not content with giving us unstinted hospitality the Turkish Government even issued a set of stamps to commemorate the women's movement. For the first time in history the women have been so honoured.

Mme. Curie, Mrs. Champman Catt, Jane Adams, Salma Lagerlof and other notable women have been immortalized by this modern and novel method.

The delegates were most cordially welcomed not only by the reception committee consisting mainly of members of the Turkish women's union and progress and all their co-workers, but by the Turkish officers on behalf of their Government. There was a Turkish Boat from Alexandria which took us over at half rates and gave us luxurious cabins and food. At Izmir, we were welcomed by the Mayor and a few members of the Municipality who came to our boat to read the address and presented flowers and literatures of their great country. It was an extraordinary act of courtesy and kindness which reached our hearts and made us their friends and sympathisers even before we set foot in Istanbul. There were representatives of thirty-two countries participating in the Congress of women for suffrage and equal citizenship. Asia and Africa and South America made the union of both Hemispheres, a living palpable reality. Asia sending her women from Iran, India, Beyrout, Damascus, Baghdad, Arabia, Egypt from Africa and Jamaica from South America. It was a thousand pities that neither China nor Japan, Burma nor Ceylon were represented as we were looking forward with great interest to come into contact with Chinese and Japanese women. Egypt and India and Central Asia and Jamaica thought alike and spoke alike—had visions and ideals of the future which were identical. We felt the strength of our unity with a great surge of pride and we knew that without pacts and treaties we could rely on the unity friendship and joint actions of the women of Asia. Indeed it was amazing how the bond of womanhood cemented our friendship and united us to the woman of the West. We may have different angles of vision but in all matters of principle we had complete unanimity and our goal was the same. The declaration of principles proposed by the board on matters of Equal

1. Political rights
2. Economic rights
3. Moral rights
4. Legal rights
5. Peace and the League of Nations

was accepted and ratified without a single dissenting voice.

There was no subject on which our perfect unanimity of thought was as apparent as when we were discussing the subject of world peace and Disarmament. An amendment to the Resolution suggesting that Pacifists should not be considered as traitors to their country was accepted for discussion in the Committee later on. Some countries were desirous of including a new clause to the effect

that women should not be debarred from military service. We all protested that it was against our principle to work for Peace to deliberately demand the inclusion of women in that organized murder and destruction known as war.

H
BEGUM SHAREEFA HAMID ALI,
President, Indian Delegation.

TWO EMINENT LIVING AMERICANS.*

Among the American publicists, educators, politicians, literally hundreds of them have championed the cause of Indian Freedom and it is not my intention to write about them, but I wish to mention that two eminent Americans—Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland and Rev. Dr. John Haynes Holmes—have served the people of India most effectively by championing the cause of Indian freedom and interpreting Indian ideals to the American people. The well known services of Dr. Sunderland need not be discussed at length. But I must say that during the last fifty years Dr. Sunderland has been doing his best to spread the truth about India. It may be mentioned that even the late Dadabhai Naoroji and Sir William Digby owed much to Dr. Sunderland, because the latter was possibly the originator of the theory that the famine in India was not due to want of food in India but due to poverty of the people caused by foreign exploitation. Dadabhai Naoroji, Ramesh Chandra Dutt, Sir William Digby, Keir Hardy and others developed this theory expounded by Dr. Sunderland. In the field of Comparative Religion Dr. Sunderland has done signal service to India by interpreting Indian religions as well as philosophy. Dr. Sunderland has spent his time and money unceasingly to serve the people of India, because he felt that by doing so he was serving the cause of humanity. His work "India in Bondage and Her Right To Freedom" remains today the best work on India.

The people of India in general do not know much of Dr. John Haynes Holmes, the pastor of the Community Church of New York. He is a great student of Comparative Religion and is the greatest of the active religious leaders of America, noted for his liberalism and appreciation of all religious faiths. He is possibly the greatest and the most fearless advocate of Peace. During the World War he opposed America's entry and opposed War in any form in the most vigorous manner. When anti-Germanism was the prevailing thought in America, Dr. Holmes welcomed the Germans as human beings to share with him and his church-members the spirit of human fellowship. He has championed every progressive cause in the United States and upheld every movement for human freedom—Indian freedom, Philippine Independence, etc.

It is not generally known to the Indian public that Dr. Holmes was one of the first Christian pastors, who gave full recognition to the intrinsic value of the Non-Violent Non-Co-operation Movement sponsored by Mahatma Gandhi. In a historic sermon delivered in the Community Church of New York Dr. Holmes several years ago proclaimed Gandhi as "the greatest man in the world today." Since that day, he has used his efforts, through his writings and lectures, to make known the activities of Mahatma Gandhi and the All India National Congress unceasingly. In his paper, *Unity*, during the recent years, more has been published about India than any other paper in a foreign land.

As a public speaker Dr. Holmes is unquestionably one of the foremost in the English-speaking world; and he has used his eloquence to rouse the people of America to further the cause of justice, liberty and

* *Unity*, Chicago.



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peace. He was one of the leaders of the movement that the ill-fated Sacco and Vanzetti should be given justice. He is now agitating that Tom Mooney who is in prison due to perjured evidence, should be freed. He is advocating that the "Scottsborough Negro prisoners" should be freed. He believes and preaches that all the Indian political prisoners in India, Germany or Soviet Russia, who are placed in jails or concentration camps without trial, should be freed. He, like the founders of the American Republic, believes that the cause of justice and human liberty should be fought all over the world.

Dr. Holmes is a truly religious man, a man of peace. War and violence are opposed to his conception of religion. For this reason he advocates disarmament and arbitration among nations. He does not hesitate to criticize his own government, when he thinks that it is following a wrong policy, endangering the peace of the world. He is one of the foremost exponents of the idea that Christianity and War cannot be reconciled. He was one of the first Christian leaders to advocate that Christian pastors should take the leadership in refusing to support any war, and furthered the recent historic meeting of Christian Ministers (held on May 2, 1935) at the Riverside Church (popularly known as the Rockefeller Church) at New York in which more than two hundred Christian ministers took the following solemn oath:—

"In loyalty to God I believe that the way of true religion cannot be reconciled with the way of war. In loyalty to my country I support its adoption of the Kellogg-Briand Pact which renounces war. In the spirit of true patriotism and with deep personal conviction, I therefore renounce war and never will I support another."

Dr. Holmes has raised his powerful voice against race-hatred, religious bigotry and political and economic imperialism. He is always for the under-dog; but he is not one who believes in the mechanistic theory of life. He lays special emphasis on the value of idealism and spiritual significance of life, which he so admirably discussed in one of his recent sermons on "Life, Death and Immortality" delivered on the last Easter Sunday. Like Dr. Sunderland, Dr. Holmes was once a Unitarian minister; but he does not believe in any special creed and sect and is truly a universalist. The following statement which is accepted by him as a declaration of faith, gives some idea of his creed:—

"Unto the Church Universal, which is the depository of all ancient wisdom and the school of all modern thought; which recognizes in all prophets a harmony, in all scriptures a unity, and through all dispensations a continuity; which abjures all that separates and divides, and always magnifies brotherhood and peace; which seeks truth in freedom, justice in love and individual discipline in social duty; and which shall make of all sects, classes, nations and races, one fellowship of men—unto this Church and unto all its members, known and unknown, throughout the world, we pledge the allegiance of our hands and hearts."

In the Rev. J. J. Sunderland and Rev. John Haynes Holmes one finds the finest types of eminent Americans and true followers of the founder of the Christian faith. Dr. Sunderland is ninety-five years of age and still vigorous and busy with his literary activities in serving humanity. Dr. Holmes is barely fifty-five years old and as a champion of human freedom, religious liberty and opponent of racial prejudice is never too tired to extend a helping hand to all seeking his co-operation. America is not a land of mere "dollar-chasers." There are many idealists in this country. If India should be proud of her Tagore and Gandhi, then the United States can justly be proud of her Sunderland and Holmes.

TARAKNATH DASS.

THE HARIJAN PROBLEM.*

The problem of Harijans is now before the public—before the towns people and the rural public, before the Government and before the thinking public who talk in terms of the nation. Mahatma Gandhi's sincere efforts in not allowing them to be separated from the rest of the Hindus, and the new attitude of Government of being no longer indifferent to their welfare as before, have made it a problem of great importance. As a result of the Poona Pact arrived at in 1932, the number of seats reserved for them in the Provincial Councils was increased from 70 to 151, and in the Federal Assembly from the present number of one nominated seat to 19 elected seats. This will give them a great lift in the national councils, and their importance cannot now be belittled, much less can they be relegated to oblivion as before.

But apart from the political side, the question has to be looked at from the social side. Apart from voting for council elections, which may come once in three or five years, it has to be considered from the human side, from the point of daily contact in the whole countryside of the so-called untouchables with the rest of our huge masses. It is a question concerning the change of mentality of crores of our villagers, who have considered it a part of their religion, to shun and almost taboo five crores of these unfortunate people without any logic. Effacement of physical untouchability has been comparatively an easy matter in towns and cities, but a tough matter in rural parts which contain 90 per cent of our people. Even supposing that the physical touch of Harijans comes to be tolerated in rural areas in course of time, it is the change in the superiority complex of caste Hindus and other people affected by contact with Hindus, that needs to be brought about as early as possible.

If once the truth is brought home to the Hindu mind that a Harijan can be and is as clean, intelligent and useful to national interests as any one else, if once the unpleasant truth is admitted by Hindus in general that we have erred and also sinned in the past in maltreating, it may be unconsciously, our own brethren, the way to reconciliation to a complete amalgamation of Harijans with the Hindu society, as much as the caste system can allow it, will not be a long one. But some people are yet loath to admit that our past conduct has been bad. They are not able to get rid of the idea that the Harijans are separate from the rest of the Hindu community. Though Bengal Hindus have the largest proportion—44 per cent of Harijans or Scheduled castes—of all provinces in India, they are yet smarting under the Poona Pact and the reservation of 30 seats for Harijans out of 80 Hindu seats. They yet believe that these 30 seats are taken away from them and given to some other race of people not their own. They refuse to believe that these seats are given to a section of their own community, who can easily be merged among themselves by kind and tactful handling. This mentality needs a rapid and complete change.

The Harijan Sevak Sangh has now been in existence for nearly three years past. It has its branches established in all provinces and in almost all districts and in some sub-districts also. A large number of whole time workers are engaged in doing ameliorative and other work of a silent kind. The work is divided in several directions—educational, social, economic, hygienic. But the Sangh's outstanding work is educational, as it believes that the future workers among the Harijans must come from among themselves, and that can be done by extensive as well as intensive education. The workers of the

* The Social Service Quarterly.

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Sangh drive and encourage a large number of Harijan children into common primary schools. Besides, a large number of scholarships—by hundreds—is given to them for secondary and technical education. About 120 students are supported in colleges by regular monthly scholarships varying from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30. It is the ambition of the Sangh to create large number of lawyers, doctors, engineers, mechanics, tailors, carpenters from among them, who will elevate in future people who are their own kith and kin much sooner than any other agency can. No doubt it is the bounden duty, nay some compensation for their criminal neglect in the past, of the so-called high caste Hindus to continue to do their share of the work for Harijans both by voluntary efforts and by State aid.

One of the ways in which the Sangh is trying to serve Harijans is by providing them with additional sources of water supply, especially in rural parts. The Sangh not resting satisfied with the efforts made to throw open to Harijans all public wells the use of which is denied to them at present, is raising a special fund to construct wells for them, especially in dry tracts. And this year a fund of about a lakh of rupees is being collected for that purpose alone.

Let us hope that the collective effort of all Hindus and others and also the state will remove this stigma of untouchability and the thousand disabilities imposed as a consequence thereof and thus uplift not less than five crores of people of our own country of our own religion, our own kith and kin.

A. V. THAKKAR.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Can the Pope Prevent War?—"What can the Pope do to prevent this or any other war?" asked the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster (Dr. Arthur Hinsley), referring to the Abyssinian conflict, during an address at a London church. "He is a helpless, old man with a small police force to guard himself, to guard the priceless treasures of the Vatican and to protect his diminutive State which ensures his due independence in the exercise of his universal right and duty to teach and guide his followers of all races. Can he denounce a neighbouring Power—a Power armed with absolute control over everything and with every modern instrument of force? It is said he could excommunicate. Yes, and thus make war with his "Dictator" neighbour inevitably, besides upsetting the peace and consciences of the great mass of Italians, with the result of a fierce anti-clerical outbreak. I have insisted, and insist again, that the Pope is expressly excluded by the secret Pact of London in 1915 from future deliberations in the councils of peace. Until he is invited to intervene by both sides, he cannot act as a judge. As an independent sovereign, he has no grounds of intervention in the present case—not even those grounds enjoyed by a member of the League of Nations to join which League through Italy's express stipulation he was not invited. The present Pope and his predecessors have made incessant and unavailing efforts to avert war."

Girl Aviators In Bengal:—The love for aviation evinced by the Bengali girls is evidenced by the fact that a number of applications are pouring in from the girl candidates for the offer announced recently of a sum of Rs. 1,000, being devoted for the training of a selected girl candidate at the Bengal Flying Club, Dum Dum. Among the applicants are one Muslim lady of an aristocratic family, six girl graduates and one woman teacher of the local College. One application has been received from Lahore also. This encouraging response has induced an anonymous donor to offer a sum of Rs. 500 to be utilised for the training of a second girl aviator. The last date for the application is October 30, 1935.—United Press.

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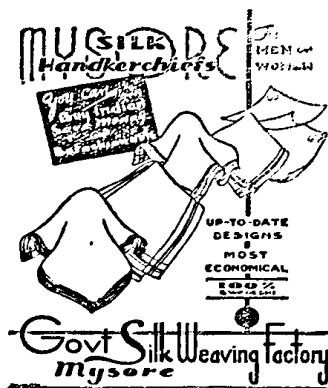
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice : I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The Doon School:—Lord Willingdon opened on Monday the Doon School, so called, we suppose, because it stands in the town of Dehra Dun. Dehra School would sound better but Dehra has five letters while Doon (spelt with two o's) has four which is also the number of letters in "Eton" of which it is intended to be a faithful reproduction. Lord Willingdon referred to his presence at the function as a unique experience in his long career of service in the British Empire. Whether he intended this as an encouragement to prospective Donors and future Doonians or as a hint of his personal doubt about this experiment at transplantation, the remark is worth noting. The Viceroy referred to the criticisms nowadays so common of Indian Universities. He agreed that the education imparted on them was soul-less because the students there did not live in contact with life. The Doon School will, if anything, be more completely detached from the life of the country than any of the existing colleges and universities. Soul is the one thing you cannot import from abroad, and its absence in our educational system cannot be cured by borrowing one from Eton, if it has one to spare. The English Public School has also been criticised for paying too little attention to the soul and too much to the body. A master of the Eton School, Mr. Foot, wrote two articles in the *Nineteenth Century* some years ago on the aim and character of the education imparted there. It may be the same gentleman who has come out as Headmaster of the Doon School. One point in the article, has fixed itself in the memory. In Eton they were taught that no one should do anything which he can bully another into doing for him. Spelling, may be left to the stenographer. It should be the aim of the Etonian to boss the show and draw the salary and appropriate the credit for things well done, and leave the discredit for things ill

done to the many defects of character and custom which are so obvious to Englishmen "in this country."

Unappreciated Virtues:—The virtues of this great English institution are not appreciated in nearby Scotland nor in the British daughter Dominions. They are not appreciated by the cousins of the United States. In Europe the English system is attacked, as His Excellency remarked, on the ground that boys are kept boys too long. This is not the only main or chief ground. There are other and more serious ones. Among these is one of special concern to India in the present stage of social evolution, namely, that it fosters a contemptuous attitude towards women. Sir Sankaran Nair once remarked that the English Public School man was a Turk in his attitude to women,—not of course, the present day Turk but the Turk of the pre-Revolution days. It required some courage on the part of Mr. Foot to speak in these democratic days of turning out an aristocracy even though he qualified the term by saying it was to be one of service and not, of privilege. He said, rather crudely for an educationist, that English officers who were trained in Public Schools in England were likely to favour candidates who possessed an imitation of it in individuals who applied for jobs to them. We are not sure. It is more probable that they may be inclined to resent the pretensions of Foot's men to the authentic Public School tradition. Mr. Foot is new to India. If he keeps an open mind he will soon learn that, in the conditions surrounding his enterprise, snobs are more readily raised than aristocrats of service. The Doon College is doomed to stand for some time as a monument of costly futility.

British India and the Indian States.—In our very first comment on the White Paper containing the conclusions of the Round Table Conference, which became the basis of the subsequent deliberations leading to new Government of India Act, we expressed our surprise at the total absence of any explanation of why British India should be cut up into eleven separate parts in order to form a federation with the Indian States. The Maharaja of Bikanir had declared at the first Round Table Conference that the States did not mind whether British India came in as a unit or as separate provinces. At that time and in the minds of



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Princes like the Maharaja, the States were to federate with British India in order to help the movement towards Swaraj: It was to be a comradely gesture. This attitude was completely perverted and in the subsequent proceedings the provinces were visualised as the great monster against which the States had to be protected. The States became the principals in the movement which originated in the demand of British India for representative, responsible government. There was bound to be a reaction and we saw a portent of this in the last *Round Table's* warning to "beware of the Princes." Iago suggested to Othello that Desdemona, who had deceived her father, might deceive him also. Such is the *Round Table's* advice to the British public with regard to Princes. Another point of view was represented by Sir Patrick Caddell, a retired official of the Bombay Government, in a paper read before the East India Association in London. He reported that in the spring of 1932, the late Maharaja Jamsaheb Ranjitsinghji of Jamnagar told him that he, Jamsaheb, did not believe that the States would last more than twenty years after Federation. Sir Patrick professed that he himself did not agree with this view as to his knowledge there was not any appreciable desire on the part of the people of the States to unite their fortunes with British India. But he gave many reasons to lead to the conclusion that neither the Princes nor the people of the States were enamoured of the idea of entering the Federation. A person in Sir Patrick Caddell's position seldom knows more of Indian thought than what he wishes to know. As for the Jamsaheb's fear for the existence of the States, he was, no doubt, thinking, first of all, of his own State. Sir Patrick advised the Princes not to be in a hurry about joining the Federation. The advice is belated and, in any case, superfluous, as both Princes and Provinces, are at present watching the trend of events in Ethiopia with more interest than the oncoming of Federation.

Plight of Christian Untouchables:—That conversion to Christianity does not improve the lot of the Depressed Classes, is the confession rather absent-mindedly made by Mr. S. C. Chatterji, Principal, Christ's Church College, Cawnpore, in his presidential address to the 29th annual Conference of the Indian Christian Association of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, held at Allahabad on Monday. He said: "In our own province out of a total Indian Christian population of 1,73,000 over 1,25,000 are village Christians belonging to these (untouchable) classes. Their lot is as pitiable as that of the classes from which they have come into the Christian fold. In many places they are denied the elementary human right to draw water from public wells, their children are not allowed to attend public schools and their acceptance of the Christian faith has resulted in additional social and economic disabilities being imposed upon them. On account of the political status they have been

given under the new constitution, the Hindu Depressed classes have lately found a champion in Mahatma Gandhi, and various organisations have taken up the cause of their uplift. Government also have shown similar solicitude. The United Provinces Government have already made special funds available to provide special educational facilities for them. All patriotic people must welcome these humanitarian efforts. But it is a deplorable fact that even these noble efforts are tinged by political considerations and religious differences. For, one cannot fail to note that the large number of Christians residing in the villages have been entirely ignored." Dr. Solanki, member of the Bombay Legislative Council, publicly stated with reference to Dr. Ambedkar's recent advice to the depressed classes of Nasik to change their religion, that he had himself in a hasty moment adopted the expedient of conversion to Christianity as a means of relieving himself of the social disabilities in Hinduism but soon found that this was an illusion and returned to the fold which he had quitted. Mr. Chatterji, however, does not advise the 125,000 Indian Christians who find themselves in the same predicament, to adopt the obvious course of retracing their steps to the old fold like Dr. Solanki. He complains that Gandhiji and the Government of the United Provinces have ignored the Christian untouchables in their measures of uplift! If Mr. Chatterji and his friends had not encouraged hopes of bettering their material condition, not a single man of the 125,000 persons of the Depressed Classes would have gone over to Christianity for the sake of the spiritual message. What are the 43,000 Indian Christians of the better classes doing? Why do they not organise uplift work among their fellow-Christians? Mr. Chatterji's address is a blend of cringing and swaggering which does not reflect the spirit of Christianity. It is a falsehood and calumny to impute a political object to Gandhiji for his work for Harijans. If he was actuated by a political object, he would have—as we think he should have—accepted the reservation of seats for Harijans and the matter would have ended there. Instead, he took the line that he could on no account acquiesce in any arrangement which implied that the Harijans were not in every respect one with and inseparable from caste Hindus, and thus involved himself in the humiliating exchanges which followed with Dr. Ambedkar at the second Round Table Conference.

"Islam":—*Islam* is the latest addition to the all too few journals expressing the mind of Muslims in India through the medium of the English language. It is published in Lahore and has reached its tenth fortnightly issue. *Islam* advocates the formation of a League of Islamic nations. It is obvious that, though the Koran like the Vedas may be regarded as a final and complete revelation, there are bound to be various interpretations of the precepts by succeeding generations according to their needs and conditions. This is illustrated



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by *Islam's* defence of polygamy which we reproduce in another column. The general view, expressed by Muslim scholars as regards polygamy in Islam, is that the Arabian Prophet only tolerated it as an improvement on the pre-Islamic license of his people, as is proved by the condition, almost impossible of observance in modern life, which he attached to marrying more than one wife, namely, that the husband should treat all his wives with absolute and impartial equality. The explanation offered by *Islam* would, on the contrary, imply that polygamy was mandatory and not merely tolerated. It says that there is always bound to be a surplus of women in every community and that, if polygamy were not allowed, the surplus women will have to lead a life of prostitution. The nations which have a surplus of women are few and, even among them, it is a phenomenon largely explained by emigration. More male children are born than female except in a few groups in an unhealthy scale of economic affluence. In India, the Muslims have a chronic deficiency of women, in excess of that in other communities. Polygamy is exceptional among Indian Muslims, less than one per cent of married women having to endure or enjoy the company of co-wives.

Tardy Sanctions:—Ethiopians continue to be butchered to make a Roman holiday by thousands. Mr. Lloyd George speaking on the Italian aggression in the House of Commons, complained that the leisurely manner in which the sanctions are being deliberated, would not save a single Ethiopian life or delay Mussolini's march by a single hour. Surely, the Liberal veteran knows that the sanctions are meant not to save Ethiopia but to save Europe when the Italian Dictator, with the Ethiopian laurels fresh on his brow, thinks of avenging Caporetto which was a more recent and more disastrous defeat for the Italians than Adowa. The White races, whatever their statesmen may say, would regard the defeat of Italy by Ethiopians as a serious set-back to their prestige with the coloured races. They made a mistake in letting Japan beat Russia and many of them think that was the cause of the emergence of Japan as a great power threatening their dominance. They would like to see Ethiopia go under the Italian boot but what they dread is that the same boot may later be turned against them. It is this danger they want to avert by means of the sanctions by depriving Italy of economic advantages likely to accrue from the Ethiopian conquest. The coloured races are shrewd enough to see through the subterfuges used to mask this purpose.

Srinivasa Sastry:—The Governor of Madras unveiled a portrait of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry at the Annamalai University on Thursday. The picture is the work of Mr. Nageshwar Rao of Bombay and is a speaking likeness. Mr. Rao has managed to catch and fix on his large canvass the quizzical eyes and lightly mocking smile, outward expression of a mind which has learnt, in the spirit of the *Gita*, to look with an equal

eye on the praise and frown of the multitude no less than of the official world. At the first two Round Table Conferences, Sastry outshone the Labour Premier in eloquence and rather piqued him by his sincerity. He was unceremoniously dropped out of the third and subsequent proceedings. Sir Annamalai Chettiar, the founder of the University which bears his name, did a public service by persuading Mr. Sastry to accept the honorary office of Vice-Chancellorship. He has enhanced it by the presentation of this magnificent portrait to the University. Sir Annamalai is no longer in the good books of the Justice Party. Mr. Sastry as a Brahmin is as hateful to it as a Jew to a Nazi. Lord Erskine's association with a function which concerns the two men, is sure to cause heart-burnings in the Ministerial camp. As a sign that His Excellency intends to be above party politics, his attendance and speech at the function will be justly appreciated.

Mr. C. Vijayaraghava Charya:—With Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, to whom Dewan Bahadur A. Ramaswami Mudaliar paid a fervent tribute a few days ago as the Indian with the greatest record of public service now among us, stands C. Vijayaraghava Charya, the octogenarian veteran of unsullied personal and public life, with an unbroken record of disinterested and fruitful work in the whole field of Indian national life. We are pleased that a movement is being set on foot to commemorate his distinguished career. Many public men of note have associated themselves with the movement and, among them, all honour to them, several prominent members of the Justice Party. This has called forth a querulous protest from "an esteemed correspondent" in the organ of the Party. The writer, who has the decency to hide his identity, does not question the greatness of Vijayaraghava Charya—he could not do it if he would. But he fears that the association of his party men in this non-party affair will have a bad effect by distracting the rank and file from the fixed idea that all Brahmins are rogues and cheats and that virtue is to be found only among those who have managed to evade a Brahmanic descent. For Acharya is a Brahmin every inch of him and he will be the last man to disown his Brahminhood to please the Madras Nazis.

The Pasumalai Schools:—The Pasumalai Institution, which has now completed ninety years of its useful career, has throughout set itself in several ways to harmonise Christian spiritual and cultural ideals with those of India. Such attempts have our warm sympathy. The Pasumalai school of missionaries does not regard mass conversions as the best form of activity for Christian teachers. They keenly realise that Christianity to become a permanent part of the Indian heritage, should be assimilated to the sentiments and traditions of the Indian people. We publish a part of the report which reached us last week.



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HINDUISM AND ABORIGINAL TRIBES.

The article on "Are the Gonds Hindus?" which we publish in this issue from the Rev. Verrier Elwin, invites a lengthy comment which we do not intend to offer at present. But there are a few salient points on which it would be unfair to him to withhold our opinion. Mr. Elwin says that whether Gonds are Hindus or not is more readily settled by reference to the latest Census Reports than to an out-of-date work like Hewitt's 'Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times.' We entirely disagree. Mr. Hewitt was Commissioner of Chota Nagpur in the early sixties of the last century when, presumably, what is called the Hinduisation of the aboriginal tribes, including the Gonds, had progressed far less than in 1931 when the last Census was taken. If even at that time evidences of an unmistakable character pointed to the Hindu origin of the Gonds, it is clearly conclusive proof that Gonds were and are Hindus. As regards Mr. Elwin's estimate of Hewitt's book, we certainly should not have commended the book to him had we thought it was all a farrago of nonsense. Hewitt is not master of a convincing literary style but we have always regarded his two volumes as a monument of research and a rich mine of material such as that on which Fraser built up his thesis in 'The Golden Bough.' Hewitt, as we remarked before, is a pioneer in Indology and it is much to be regretted that his merits have received no recognition. As Mr. Elwin attaches so much more importance to Census Reports, he will be interested to find, in Part III of the Report 1931, dealing with the Ethnography of India, that the section on Gonds by Mr. W. H. Schubert bears out the main facts mentioned in our note, and adds something further. Their wedding ceremony is of the usual Hindu type influenced by Hindu ritual. There are eleven *Gotras*, a peculiarly Hindu concept, among the Gonds in the tract along Lachchna. Marriage with a person of the same *Gotra* is forbidden—another Hindu peculiarity. The Gonds in this area are certainly the most primitive people of the tract and are regarded as the pure aborigines. Marriage is performed by a Brahmin. Some of the Gonds wear the sacred thread also. They do not eat the flesh of the cow. Bhagwan (Mahadev) is to them the great God whom all the world worships. In the face of these facts it is difficult to deny that the Gonds are Hindus. Mr. Elwin who attaches so much importance to the Census in one place, in a later part of his article warns administrators against being misled by Census returns into treating the tribes just as if they were ordinary Hindus. May we point out that, there has been a marked tendency since the beginning of this century in Census reports and other official documents to stress the differences between Hindus and the aboriginals which was totally absent in Hewitt's time? It is true that

these practices are observed by the more advanced Gonds but what the more advanced do today is what the less advanced will do in course of time, in other words, it is their line of natural evolution with which interference from outside is pernicious and unwarranted. The contact of Whites with primitive races has almost uniformly been disastrous to the latter. Not only has this been the case when the White man deliberately disregarded the well-being of the aborigines but even when he worked among them with the best intentions. The Gonds can be never raised in the social and spiritual scale except through the ancient door of Hinduism. This is not to underrate the services of the Rev. Verrier Elwin and others of his type but only to warn them of the danger of obstructing the natural evolution of the forest tribes.

The official theory that the aboriginals and the Hindus are two distinct groups and that the former are gradually being Hinduised by contact with the latter, is absolutely opposed to the facts of history. The Hindu religion and civilisation was born and grew for centuries in precisely the same forest environment as that in which the aboriginals are found today. Environment, it has been said, is three-fourths of character. The common elements in the aboriginal and Hindu culture is the result of its having grown up in an identical environment. The strength of Hinduism, in fact, is that it is racy of the soil. Already in the time of the Ramayana, the same Dharma was recognised as authoritative by the Aryans as well as the tribes denoted by their totems, Monkey, Eagle, Bear and so on. Ravana himself, the great antagonist of Rama, was a devotee of Shiva and his offence, seducing a married woman, was that he violated the Dharma which was the common property of Northerners and Southerners alike. His Queen, Mandodari, is one of the seven stars of Hindu womanhood, taking rank with Sita and Savitri as a model of purity. Rama himself is denounced by the relatives of the lady, Surpanakha, who was mutilated by Lakshman at his brother's command, with having broken the law which forbids injury to women. The poet Valmiki is obliged reluctantly to acquiesce in the charge, notwithstanding his great admiration for the hero of the Ramayana. Not only that but even the Sanskrit language was evidently cultivated by the leaders of the Southern tribes, as shown by Rama's expression of admiration at the purity of pronunciation, grammar and idiom of the Sanskrit of Hanuman when he first met him in the forest of Dandaka. Sir Henry Maine pointed out years ago that one effect of British rule in India has been to stereotype fluid custom and thus arrest the natural evolution of social life. Mr. Elwin quite unconsciously is doing the same thing in trying to set up the Gonds as outside the orbit of Hindu evolution. It is true that he does not want to convert them to Christianity but the effect of his work among the Gonds, if inspired by this idea of separateness from Hindu society,

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will be to leave the Gonds in a state of unstable spiritual and social equilibrium. Apart from polemics, the true conception of India is that, with the exception of Muslims, Christians, Parsis and Jews, the rest of the population is Hindu at various stages of evolution.

✓ ABOLISHING UNTOUCHABILITY.

The recent declaration by Dr. Ambedkar from the presidential chair of the Depressed Classes Conference held at Yeola that, though he had the misfortune of being born a Hindu, he would not die a Hindu has created a great stir in the Hindu community. Dr. Ambedkar's utterance is the utterance of an anguished soul and his advice to the Depressed Classes to change faith is a counsel of despair. Mahatma Gandhi, on the other hand, thinks that Untouchability is on its last legs and that in a few years' time it will disappear from the Indian soil altogether. In the condition of things as they are, there is nothing whatever to warrant this optimism. Untouchability is not going to leave us so easily and so soon, and conversion of the untouchables to any other faith, though it be *en masse*, which it will never be, is not likely to remedy the evil. Patience and sacrifice, of the type of Mr. Vitthal Ramji Shinde, in the cause of the removal of untouchability are alone likely to bring about the desired change.

EARLY EFFORTS AT REMOVAL.

Long before any efforts of an organised character were made for the removal of this ancient evil the late Jyotiba Phule opened a school in Poona for imparting instruction to the children of the Depressed Classes. The attempt does not appear to have met with any considerable success. In the early nineties, the Prarthana Samaj of Bombay started a night school for the workingmen of these classes at Byculla and the school continued to attract a large number of students for more than a dozen years. The Samaj started three more schools for the same purpose and they all flourished for a few years. These attempts were made more with the object of improving the condition of the Depressed Classes than with the express object of removing untouchability. But they did serve their purpose and paved the way for the foundation of the Depressed Classes Mission Society of India which aimed at the removal of untouchability root and branch from the Indian soil. This Mission Society was founded exactly twenty-nine years ago by Mr. Vitthal Ramji Shinde, a Brahmo missionary and then a missionary of the Bombay Prarthana Samaj, and not by the Bombay Prarthana Samaj as is very generally believed. Mr. Shinde had studied and restudied the Census Report of 1901 only to be struck by the awfulness of the gigantic figures of the untouchable population of India and the herculean efforts that would have to be made to abolish this age-long tyranny. Another man with a less stout heart would have given up the task as hopeless but Mr. Shinde was not to be daunted. With the active sympathy of a number of his Samaj friends and practical encouragement from persons like the late Sheth Damodardas Goverdhandas and Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, he founded the Mission Society on the 18th October 1906. The Society attracted some self-sacrificing workers and monetary aid from the educated classes came in. Bombay was the headquarters of the Mission and centres of work were opened in such places as Thana, Poona, Hubli, Kolhapur, Nagpur, Amraoti, Ratnagiri, Savantwadi, Dharwar, Belgaum, Rajkot and Madras. Mr. Shinde

toured the country at frequent intervals under hardships which only those in the know could understand. The result of his ten years' strenuous work was marvellous. Wherever he went, day and night schools were opened for the children and the adults of the Depressed Classes. Hostels, industrial classes and free dispensaries were started and as if by magic an awakening among the depressed classes themselves about the wrongs they lived under was created. I was in charge of the centre in Bombay and I shall narrate now, very briefly, what was done in this town and its suburbs to remove the bane of untouchability.

The headquarters of the Bombay branch were at Parel where we had two elementary schools, one for boys and one for girls, one anglo-vernacular school teaching up to the fourth standard, one industrial school in which were taught carpentry, sewing and book-binding, and a hostel which had as many as fifty inmates belonging to all the different untouchable communities in it. In the city we had three Gujarati schools, and a Marathi school in the suburb of Chembur. Work in all these schools was entrusted to very efficient teachers and the schools were kept open for the children of the caste Hindus also, if they cared to send their children to them. Ghadiali was in those days the centre of all sorts of healthy attractions—drill, scouting, lantern and other lectures, social gatherings, Sunday classes, dramas, kirtans and theistic services being the order of the day. The result was that the Depressed classes children mixed freely with the children of the higher classes and attained a status at which those who saw them were astonished. There was no talk of castes and untouchability and consequent feeling of superiority and inferiority among the inmates of the hostel and the schools. The students were smart, neat, well-behaved and anxious to learn. No one who saw them could regard them as untouchables. One day a Brahmin gentleman came to see me and asked for water to drink. I asked the boy who happened to be the nearest to fetch a cup of water for him. After he had drunk the water I asked him if he could make out the caste of the boy who had fetched the cup. "Of course, a Brahmin," said the visitor, whereas the boy was a loveable Mahar child from the Berars.

Most of the students who attended our schools were averse to any kind of manual labour though some took very kindly to carpentry and tailoring. If asked as to what they intended to do in life, they used to answer that they would like to become government servants or school masters. This perhaps is a necessary phase of thought when people begin to take to learning first: The higher classes did the same. Government service no doubt gives status and the students were right in hankering after it. Industry also brings a sense of uplift and those who became tailors and carpenters felt that they were freed from the thralldom of untouchability.

FIFTEEN YEARS OF MISSION WORK.

At Parel things went on in a smooth way and the progress achieved in about fifteen years was remarkable. In 1921 I left the mission for reasons which need not be stated here and some other workers followed suit. But the work done in Bombay and the other important centres of the Mission was very fruitful indeed. I am even now in correspondence with many of the young men who studied in our hostels. Two of the inmates have become M.L.C's; one is a Deputy Collector; two are Tahsildars; one is a practising pleader; four are doing carpentry; about a dozen are school-masters; four are engaged in tailoring; some are in government, Municipal and railway service; one was the owner of a printing-press of his own; and at least five are



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conducting hostels for students of their communities in the Bombay Presidency and the Berars. Here it may be noted in passing that Laxmi, the adopted daughter of Mahatma Gandhi, was an inmate of our Bombay hostel and her parents were teachers in our Gujarat schools before she left to join the Mahatma's ashram at Ahmedabad.

I have mentioned all the above facts in no spirit of self-advertisement. Whatever may be my shortcomings no one who knows me will accuse me of this vice. I was merely a lieutenant of Mr. Shinde and whatever I and the other workers of the Society did was the result of a fixed policy of work. And that policy was *service* and *not patronage* of the Depressed Classes. We knew that we members of the higher classes were guilty, consciously or otherwise, of inflicting untold wrongs on the untouchables and the only way of atoning for our sins was to serve them in a spirit of humility and love. The work done by the mission in just a few years since its inception and the awakening created by it were so great that even now, we feel that had the policy followed by us been continued unchanged untouchability would have been on its last legs by this time. Somehow there is noticeable a tendency on the part of persons who talk of Harijan uplift—persons who are not connected with the mission—to ignore the work of the Mission altogether. Far be it from me to make any insinuation, but I do feel that omission to mention the name of the Mission and of its founder Mr. Shinde in connection with the removal of untouchability is deliberate.

V. S. SOHONI.

THE PROBLEM OF UNTOUCHABILITY.

Untouchability is one of the various forms of human oppression and slavery is its content. It is present in all the countries in one form or other bearing different kinds of sanctions. In the civilised Rome where politics was predominant slavery had its political sanction. In Greece where intellect played the prominent part it had its Aristotelian intellectual sanction. In ancient India where religion was predominant it had this sort of religious sanction. And those who dream that the problem of untouchability will be solved by merely checking the ill-treatment meted out to them by the so-called touchables, are only under the influence of some sort of fetishism. It merely betrays their insincerity of purpose and the shallowness of their love for Harijans.

The oppression of Harijans involve two kinds of of slaveries, economic slavery and intellectual dependence. Their wholesale dependence for their livelihood on the caste Hindus and their colossal ignorance go to attest this statement.

Hindu society in particular is not the work of a mere religious emotion but the carrying out of an utopian plan which in an age of machineless drudgery acknowledged the necessity of the existence of a class of menials as a permanent feature of human life. Now having been influenced by the scientific spirit which is finding substitutes for the labour of the oppressed classes on one side and on the other finding ourselves as a nation, politically and economically wholly dependent, we are bound to be driven to despair and wrath when we are not able to find scientific methods to get out of the difficulties. Dr. Ambedkar is one of the victims of this ignorant despair.

Economically the seven millions of Untouchables are under the pay and protection of caste Hindus and it is preposterous to suppose that it would be

possible to influence them to choose another religion against which those caste Hindus would necessarily have a more intense prejudice, without enabling them to stand economically independent. Perhaps when they are economically and intellectually independent, untouchability will automatically disappear. One cannot expect to be better treated by a person on whom one is a regular dependent simply by going to him in the name of another religion. Nor has he in his possession such moral strength with which he would be in a position to fight out his equality. From the very cradle he was brought up in an inferiority complex and in the absence of political and economic equality, he is forced to make his inferiority his social habit. Embracing another religion cannot erase the traditional memories, it alone cannot bring about a change of heart or the true equality he is in need of.

The movement for the removal of untouchability must be openly converted into a movement of complete equality and the general will of the public is always in favour of such a movement. It is obvious for one who has studied the development of human society that all oppressions are being slackened despite all the bitter attempts of the privileged few to guard them from the rebellious spirit of the oppressed. The intellectual acquisitions and moral lessons are never wasted but they are being gradually assimilated by society in due course. Society is growing steadily and during the process of that growth it can afford to leave none of its branches behind. To solve the problem of untouchability one must take pains, one must act. One must lift them as a whole by means of a scientific plan to that level where others stand. They must be reorganised into freedom and independence. The untouchable who is today an intellectual and economic slave, who is merely a ploughing and sowing machine and who is habituated to smile at insults, must be lifted from the mire of tradition and transplanted in a healthier atmosphere.

If the reformer sincerely loves the Harijan he must create conditions where he cannot but be treated with the respect any human life deserves. Mere washing of the eyes and feeding the emotions is no cure of the disease. Now the only religion which intellectuals like Dr. Ambedkar can embrace with permanent effect, is the religion of social reconstruction towards complete equality. This religion is no doubt a hard task-master but true love is always prepared for hardships. This is the only religion which enables the Harijan to live and think by himself. Let Dr. Ambedkar and his friends organise an educational movement for him and have his eyes opened. Let them agitate for better hygienic conditions for him. Let them read to them scriptures of all religions including that to which by birth he belongs. Let them enable him to think for himself and choose his own way of life. And that is the time for preaching him the advisability of changing his faith and embracing another. Otherwise to lead him now where their own likes and dislikes lead, is only to take advantage of his ignorance and pliability. This would be perpetrating an inhuman crime on helpless humanity. Dr. Ambedkar or anybody has no right to choose another faith for him unless he is able to convince him of its efficacy; and ignorant man as long as he is ignorant cannot be convinced, he can only be cheated. Amongst other societies also untouchability exists with equal vigour though in a different form. Are there not levels of living amongst Christians and Buddhists, is there no economic differentiation or class distinction amongst them? Amongst Buddhists and Christians is there the equality existing today which Buddha and Christ



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hoped to establish? Is a nobleman in any country unapproachable and is not a menial everywhere a virtual untouchable? This is what Shaw complained when he said that there are enough untouchables in England and had no inclination to spend time over those of India. And the position of a converted untouchable will be much more despicable. Dr. Ambedkar and his friends are angry—with whom and why?

It is but natural if they grow wild against the system under which they and the rest of his fellow-beings including the Mahatma are labouring. They must change the system and create a new one and a new life. It is patient work that is required for this and not volatile passion.

While this battle was going on between them and the perturbed reformers many half-true definitions of religion had come on the scene. One of those is that religion is the sacred relationship between oneself and God. If this is correct, religion ceases to be a social affair, confining itself to the mere individual and his development. On the other hand religion is the sacred relationship between man and man. Buddhism is a religion but it does not mention the name of God. George Santayana said Poetry when it intervenes in life, becomes religion. Religion is the process of adjusting oneself socially and individually for his spiritual expansion into the infinity. Life thus is a training-ground. And the only way of expanding oneself is by utilising all one's energies and time to lift society to a higher level and glorify the human soul. It is on this feeling and sense, of duty that the welfare, the safety of human life and the possibility of development in the future lies. To serve the oppressed and raise them to the level of a free human being is the greatest of religious duties. For that, shouldering of responsibilities of constructive service and wise action bereft of personal fancies, are necessary. Rashness and wrath are symptoms of hatred for what one does not want and not of love for what one really wants. A negative movement does not carry one very far. The society of harijans can only be rendered help by positive action of a thorough-going reconstruction, reconstruction of the whole of its environment, influenced by the highest type of religious emotion. Let the harijans be organised into an army of freedom, let the reformers offer them a scientific programme and lead them towards real freedom where they can be really happy and really equal.

Allahabad.

M. N. RAO.

"THE MOTHER OF GOD."

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

It seems that "the casual and even harsh tones in which Jesus refers to his mother jars on the Indian reader of the gospels more than anything else." In "the ordinary Jewish mind (disbelieving in the Godhead of Jesus Christ) the same critical feeling is aroused." This would be natural to the reader of the gospels when he interpreted those gospels as separated from their rightful background,—that being, the assumption of the Godhead of Jesus Christ, and His unflinching progress towards His goal, the sacrifice upon the Cross. Seen in this perspective the reason for the tone He adopts in addressing His mother and kinsfolk becomes perfectly clear. He endeavours to bring home to them the fact that though humanly speaking He was their kinsman, He was also their God. Unless the Gospel story is read with a correct understanding of its import, the greater part will remain meaningless or become misinterpreted.

Penukonda,

October, 24, 1933.

Yours etc.,
I. J. PITT.

ARE THE GONDS HINDUS?

"The very last thing that I should ever want to do is to quarrel with *The Indian Social Reformer*, but the paragraph, "Are Gonds Hindus?" (October 12) is so full of misstatements that in the interests of accuracy I feel bound to write about it.

Whether the Gonds are Hindus or not is more readily settled by reference to the latest Census Reports than to an out-of-date book like Hewitt's "Ruling Races of Prehistoric Times." The editor of this journal was good enough to let me Hewitt's book when I was last in Bombay, but I did not have the chance of telling him that I had never read such farrago of fantastic nonsense, such a portentous display of misleading information. Far from it being the fact that the Gonds are "descendents of the tribe to which Kaikeyi, mother of Bharata, half-brother of Sri Rama, belonged," they are generally called Rawanbansi, the children of Rawan, the very opposite faction. Hanuman is not the wind-god of the Gonds. Bhimsen is not regarded as their ancestor, though as the embodiment of manly strength he is widely revered among them. I have never heard of the five Gond festivals mentioned by Hewitt, nor are they given in Trench, Russell or any of the other authoritative works on the subject. The priests of the Gonds are certainly not a special class of Brahmin, but are generally drawn from the Baiga and related tribes. If I may say so, it is as shocking to find a responsible paper like the *Reformer* basing its opinions on Hewitt as it would be to hear that the present Bishop of Birmingham had suddenly adopted the puerile inanities of British Israelism!

I am not interested in the religious aspects of this question. To me it does not matter in the least whether a man is a Gond, a Hindu or a Christian. But on a proper answer to the question important administrative and political decisions must depend. For example, there is a Bill before the C. P. Legislative Council which proposes to apply to the Gonds the Law of Mitakshara, as interpreted in the Benares School of Hindu Law, in matters regarding succession, adoption, joint family and partition. Now, this may or may not be a valuable piece of legislation, but whether it be good or bad, consideration of it should be based on an accurate knowledge of Gond customs. But Rai Bahadur Jaiswal, the member-in-charge, in his statement of the Objects and Reasons of the Bill, claims that since the Gonds have already adopted the Hindu customs in these matters, the Bill introduces no real changes but simply consolidates existing custom. "Gonds generally believe in and talk the language of Hindu Law. Adoption is very common among them. Their living is almost on the same lines as a joint Hindu family with a manager in the father. They partition the family property just as any Hindu does."

After reading this, I went to the trouble of sending out a questionnaire to some thirty representative Gond villages to discover the actual facts. The result was surprising. Adoption, far from being common among the Gonds, is practically unknown. Their practice of partition is entirely different from the Hindu practice, and even the Hinduised Raj Gonds do not observe the Joint Family System. They do not, except in the villages surrounding the big towns, talk the language of Hindu Law. The Bill, therefore, instead of consolidating actual conditions, will introduce far-reaching changes. Science is never out of place, and a scientific knowledge of anthropology is essential for those who would legislate for the aboriginals.

"The only reliable test," writes the *Reformer*, "of whether a group like the Gonds is or is not Hindu is whether it regards itself as Hindu or not."



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On this test, about half the aboriginals of the C. P. must be regarded as Hindus. According to the last Census, there are 4,258,707 tribesmen in the British Districts, and of these 2,287,493 returned themselves as Hindus, while nearly two million, although they had every opportunity to call themselves Hindus, stated that they were followers of the tribal religions. In the last ten years over 145,000 aboriginals have become Hinduised. The Gonds of Korea State, for example, are rapidly giving up their tribal customs in favour of Hinduism. The forest tribes of Sarangarh who ten years ago stated that they followed their own religion, have now unanimously declared for the Hindu faith.

There are some interesting remarks in the latest Census Report for the C. P. on this subject:—
“Events of recent years have led to a political movement to claim all Gonds and other primitive people as Hindus. There is a marked tendency among some tribesmen to return themselves as Hindus, whatever form of religion they may be following, with the idea of gaining social uplift. The catholic nature of Hinduism makes it very easy for aboriginals to be returned as members of the Hindu fold, and the tribesmen themselves adopt varying attitudes. For instance in Jashpur State the Pahari Korwas claim to follow their own religion, whilst the majority of the Dehari Korwas returned themselves as Hindus. In Udaipur the Oraons indignantly repudiate any suggestion that they are Hindus, and yet in Jashpur the statistics for this tribe show equal members following Hinduism and tribal religions. Some members of the Pando tribe, a typical people of the forest, living until lately principally by hunting, claim to be Hindus simply because they do not eat the flesh of the cow.”

Personally I think it is a great pity that a religious classification has been adopted. For the purposes of administration, legislation, and economic and social reform, the aboriginals constitute a distinct and separate unit, and our administrators will make a great mistake if they are misled by the Census returns into treating the tribes just as if they were ordinary Hindus. The tribesmen should be classified by blood and not by religion. A scientific knowledge of their customs and outlook is vital for the proper safeguarding of their interests. It is for this reason, and this reason only, that I have raised the question whether they should be regarded as Hindus or not.

From the religious standpoint, the adoption of Hinduism by an aboriginal is generally beneficial. Mr. Willis, I. C. S., writing twenty years ago, said, “The Paikra Kanwars are an instance of what Hinduism can do to teach primitive people social decency and self-respect, carrying with it lessons of thrift, industry and self-restraint; and what is true of the Paikras is true to a less extent of all the other component classes in the superior social stratum of the Chhattisgarh estates.” The Hinduised Raj Gond has an incomparably higher spiritual outlook on life than his Dhur Gond brother. Unfortunately, from the social and economic standpoint, the advantage is not maintained. The Raj Gond puts on a sacred thread and refuses to eat with other Gonds. He puts his women, who previously have enjoyed a position of dignity and freedom, into a semi-purdah. He refuses to let his children be vaccinated and they suffer terribly from the epidemics that periodically scourge the Gondwana. It is impossible to persuade him to take up any cottage industries because he is afraid that these may offend his new-found caste dignity.

I do hope that this article will not be misunderstood. I am writing solely in the interests of accuracy, and because I believe that it is only by insisting on the integrity of the tribes that they will

get a square deal from Government or the public. I live among the Gonds and love them. I have never interfered with their religion, and when any of them ask me to make them Christians, I refuse. I think myself that it would be better for us all to adopt a similar attitude of detachment and leave their ancestral faith alone.

Gond Seva Mandal, VERRIER ELWIN.
Karanja.

THE PASUMALAI EDUCATIONAL CENTRE.

The Madura Mission Sangham has just completed ninety years of educational work. The Pasumalai system consists of a High School, a Model School and a Training School. In addition to the subjects taught in ordinary schools as prescribed for Government examinations, our boys are engaged in a number of extra-curricular activities. We may mention some of them here. As a part of physical education, classes are conducted regularly in physiology, personal Hygiene, Tropical Hygiene and First Aid. Within the last year 147 boys received First-Aid certificates from the St John Ambulance Association. This doubtless enables our boys to save lives and relieve suffering of the people among whom they live. All our boys are regularly trained to sing both Indian and European tunes. Now the emphasis is on Indian music rather than European music. Music classes are thoroughly enjoyed by all our boys.

It is a well known fact that we have extensive Farms and a well equipped Manual Training school for giving training in handwork and practical agriculture. So it is unnecessary to speak of them here beyond reminding ourselves of the training they afford for the hand and the head and how they promote dignity of labour and relate school activities to life in rural parts. Our aim is much higher than preparing candidates for examination. We aim at proper blending of physical, intellectual and spiritual education. Boys are here considered more important than examinations and the results in the examination not so important as character formation. Nevertheless our results in the public examinations are on the whole satisfactory.

Our aim in imparting physical education is threefold:

- (a) To find out the special need of each student by periodical physical examination and noting his progress.
- (b) To teach him the general laws of health so that he may know how to maintain his physical and mental vigour.
- (c) To teach him how to guard the health of his community and to be of service in maintaining that health.

If a boy is found to be weak and his weight is not satisfactory Cod Liver Oil or other special nourishment is given him. We tabulate each month the physical achievement of students and there is a good deal of zest and competition in trying to improve, to educate the students in the laws of health and in seeing all conditions of living conducive to the best health of the student body.

Physical activities are regularly carried on for all classes in the school. Some time of the day is given for drill work, and there are games and sports for all after 5 in the afternoon. Our schools are taking keen interest in all inter-school activities.

The chief aim of our schools is to develop in our students Christ-like character and a spirit of service. Continued efforts are made to achieve this, through various school activities. There is a great revival in Scout activities in the year under review. The Student Christian Movement, the Y.M.C.A., the Sunday School and other religious organizations



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have contributed not a little to the moral and spiritual growth of our children.

This year in studying scriptural and spiritual truths we are using what is known as the "Trait Study" method with such subjects as "Truth," "Hunger for Righteousness," "Co-operation," "Brotherliness" etc. Each Sunday night about 40 leaders gather to help each other in discussing these subjects. Classes are divided into groups of 10 to 18 where discussions are informal. The special emphasis is on "doing" or living a brotherly love-filled life rather than mere studying the truth.

The hostel life has always played a large part in the experience of our Pasumalai boys. There has been a steady advance in the attempt to give into the hands of students larger responsibilities. Though they make mistakes now and then they learn gradually to carry on their own affairs under our supervision and we feel this will give the boys the right kind of preparation for their future life. All the Training school students are required to learn Indian cookery during the course of training. This stands them in good stead when they become village teachers.

Much thought has been put on giving our boys a better balanced diet in the hostels. In trying to supply the most needed animal proteins, fat and vegetable we are immediately faced with the added cost. But we are making progress slowly in those things. There is much prejudice to be overcome in giving up the rice diet that all are accustomed to. But for one meal a day our boys usually have other grains.

Our committees on physical education has given special thought to the supervision and medical inspection of all the hostels. Kitchen sanitation is carefully watched. It is to be regretted that a few of our hostels still have to put up with primitive latrines. All possible efforts are taken to keep our students interested in the social and religious welfare of the villagers. Groups of students and teachers go out during vacations and week ends to the villages around for Rural Uplift work. In village schools our training school students do practice teaching, play games, organize young men's clubs, help to start libraries and reading rooms. We use special charts and directions for teaching illiterate adults; our senior students are trying to help in the removal of illiteracy. Six of the villages in the neighbourhood have been surveyed by our students and teachers this year with a view to doing intensive village work. We have started a day school at Krishnapuram and Night schools in two villages, Palanganathan and Vilachery, where the three R's are taught to adults and children of the backward so-called untouchable classes. Talks are also given to the villagers about improving sanitary, social and economic life of the peoples. Pamphlets and booklets on rural uplift have also been distributed to the villagers. Student volunteers go on Sundays to village congregation to conduct services and hold meetings for the children. During the recent September vacation our students started Sunday schools, Christian Endeavour Societies and Night schools in these villages and also helped the village teachers in various ways.

In December 1934 200 farmers from a dozen neighbouring villages were our guests listening to lectures on improved methods of farming, observing our farms and gardens and stock in Dairy and Poultry yards and participating in the exhibition, ploughing contests and other games. Every effort is thus being made to relate our school activities with rural life and to help the villagers economically, socially and morally.

Pasumalai.

G. P. JAMES.

INDIANS IN ITALIAN SOMALILAND.

The following letter from a merchant trading in Italian Somaliland has been received by the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association—

About a month ago, I had learnt through the newspapers, that you had made enquiries of the Government of India regarding Indians in Somaliland. In reply it was stated that the Government of India was corresponding with London and was giving its serious attention to the question of the safety of Indians in Somaliland. But it is not known what steps have been taken by the Government of India. Though war has begun, efforts are not made to protect Indians. I had recently visited Somaliland in connection with my business there and lived from June to September. I therefore consider it necessary to bring the following facts to your kind notice.

The Indian population in the principal areas is, Magadiscio, 150; Marka, 100; and Kisinayu, 150.

These figures relate to the three places visited by me. Besides these, there are other Indians in the neighbouring localities.

There are many Indians in Eritrea and Massawa. Indians are living there with their families and children. No one hears their complaints as there is no British Consul, nor is there any place to go to for obtaining redress of Indian grievances. As the letters are censored they are unable to send out information about their miseries and troubles. Indian masons, who had gone to Massawa, are not allowed to return back. Arbitrary wages are given. They are made to work under compulsion. If they refuse to work they are imprisoned by the authorities. Nothing is produced there which may be used by Hindus for their food. Therefore, the food-stuffs are sent for from Mombasa and Aden, but merchants at these two ports are not willing to send them, as cash for their goods is not paid immediately.

They are not allowed to take away their own earnings. They are permitted to take 2,000/- liras per head only, which are not accepted in other countries. Though they may be having properties worth lakhs, they cannot take away more than 2,000/- liras. An Indian is allowed to send only 300 liras per month to India. Some of the Indians in Kisinayu and Magadiscio have sent away their children to Aden and Mombasa. Still there are many left behind as they fear that their properties will not be safe in their absence. Before their conditions become more serious, I humbly request you to make an effort to save them.

Congress Formed in London:—A meeting of Indian Nationalists, supporters of the National Congress and Socialist sympathisers formed an Indian National Congress in Britain with the object of supporting the policy of the National Congress. They decided to ban Communists and seek affiliation with the Indian National Congress. Mr. K. D. Kunrie was elected Chairman and Mr. B. B. Raychaudhuri and Mr. S. M. Telkar, Secretaries. The organisation is holding the fifth Indian Political Conference in London in the middle of November.

Rescue of Abducted Girl:—In spite of the demand of Rs. 100 as deposit with a view to restrict the number of applicants desirous of undertaking the rescue of a 15-year-old Hindu girl belonging to a rich family, who had been abducted in Burma, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, through whom the reward of Rs. 20,000 was announced in the Press, has received 4,000 applications from young men from all parts of India offering their services. Out of these seven applicants have been provisionally selected. Security deposits amounting to over three lakhs are being returned to the applicants.

—United Press.



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INDIA BEARING GIFTS.*

(BY PROF. GEORGE P. CONGER.)

In any attempt to appraise India, it is of course easy to look on the dark side. The country is under a foreign domination which, even at its best tends inevitably to impress upon the people foreign ways and policies dictated from outside. The land is beset by grim poverty. Its markets are curtailed, and its native crafts are threatened with extinction. Thousands of its educated young men and women are practically without hope of employment. The defects of other religions are evident enough in other lands, but the defects of Hinduism have been made particularly evident in India; the Hindus have so often failed to preserve their own best traditions and have gravitated so indifferently toward their worst, that utter ignorance, base superstitions, and appalling suffering have been the lot of millions who have had to die before ever they could know the higher life. The Muslims are in some respects in sharp contrast to the Hindus, but they have their own defects and difficulties and in many ways seem to be caught in the same general system. How can such a country have anything to give to the world? It seems at first like one of the old chenar trees of Kashmir, still stately and green to outward view and still carefully protected, but with the trunk inwardly hollow, so rotten at heart that even if it stands a few more years or decades, it must stand only to fall.

The difficulty just now with India's contribution to the world is not altogether with the giving; it is also with the receiving. Just as it takes two to make a quarrel, it takes two to make a gift. The disheartening fact is, that the other nations are just now hardly in the mood or the spirit to profit from what India brings. For some of them, an astonishingly narrow nationalism discolours the international outlook and poisons the springs of goodwill. In others, a stultifying race prejudice, sometimes so superficial that it is merely colour prejudice, parades itself insolently before the dignity and honour of the East. Even Western institutions which are free from these things are so jealous for their own forms of faith that they mistake theologies for religions and preach a superiority which they cannot practise.

But to the eye of faith, these things, in East and West alike, are on the surface. The deeper truth is that culture always is a future; like the world "nature" culture carries a suggestion of that which is about to be. When the world of humanity comes more fully to its human heritage, India among the other nations will come into her own.

What are the gifts which India brings? Let us call them four, and picture India, as in Abanindranath Tagore's painting at Sir J. C. Bose's house at Calcutta, bringing her gifts in her four outstretched hands. Let us be frank to say that these four do not make a complete life for any people; India must not merely give, but also receive. It is what any nation gives to the world that makes her doubly worthy to receive. First, India brings sustained traditions. In spite of accretions and excrescences, and even throughout the course of changes and improvements, there will always be a certain high continuity in Indian life and thought. India will always speak with her immemorial past echoing and amplifying her present words. As the West comes to know India better, part of the reverent attachment which modern Western peoples feel for the cultures of Rome and Greece will be transferred to the cognate, but still more ancient, and through the centuries better sustained, culture of ancient India. India will never be more than

superficially or artificially westernized. She will become like modern China (taking for granted that China will find a way out of present difficulties) than like modern Japan, and will be content with using Western appliances without giving way to the frame of mind which such appliances too often seem to entail.

Second, India seems particularly fitted to express to the world the note of simplicity of living. In spite of profundity of mind and here and there some luxury of material things, India's millions will remain, like her saints and sages, fundamentally simple, unaffected, unencumbered. Untold millions of her people will never earn more than a pittance, and their living must always be the plain bare living of the poor. But those poor will be stronger of body and richer in mind than they now are. Free from Western artificialities, they will be able to cultivate their native arts, to live in their own ways, and much more nearly to achieve the virtues of contentment. And by a kind of human induction, the virtues of contentment, when achieved by one people, will spread from man to man and from nation to nation, imparting their religion to the tangled lines of human thought and effort. In the West, our great Bergson, looking over the world with the eye of a master, tells us that we are living in a frenzy—a frenzy which cannot go on but must give place to calmness and composure. And the Gospel of Luke says that a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.

In the third place, India can exemplify a certain saving detachment. This is close to what we have said about simplicity of living, but even the simplicity of the poor may be too much engrossed in its small and petty details. It is not for naught that a hundred generations of men in India have been trained to ideals of renunciation, and have learned to fix their eyes upon things not seen as yet by those around them. Under varying conditions, detachment may be a negative virtue, or even a vice. But the utter lack of it means loss of vision and where there is no vision men and nations perish.

And finally, India stands for what we may best call comprehension. This is not merely understanding, although understanding is an element within the larger comprehension or comprehensiveness which is essential to Indian life. Indian thought, to us of the West, is often vague, as the ocean is vague when seen from a great height. But Indian life is inclusive, comprehensive, with room for all forms of thought, just as the ocean has room for every current in its all-embracing unity. We of Europe and America see religion and morals through the eyes of the Semites, and we see art, and often economics and politics, too, through the eyes of the Greeks. But beyond the Persian Gulf lies India, with many a broader horizon and less restricted outlook. In some parts of America, one is regarded as anything from liberal and tolerant to dangerously broad when he fraternizes religiously with members of Christian denominations other than his own, to say nothing of Catholic Christians or of Jews. India, at her best, can furnish a gentle but powerful solvent for the narrowness and bigotry which hinder the spread of true and undefiled religion.

Essential for all this is contact, contact, contact. In all these countries, we who love these things must actively promote them. We must preach the word in season and out of season. We must so live as to wear away prejudices which cannot be removed by word or argument. Each of us must stand in his own country for that which is best in the others. And each of us must keep his interest and his courage fresh by maintaining touch with others around the circle of the lands and seas.

*India and the World.



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One word more about India. In Oriental imagery metaphors often shift without warning; let us go back, from the figure of India bearing gifts in her arms to the figure of India as a great tree. We said that at first sight, India seemed like an old and noble tree destined from very age and infirmity at no distant day to fall. But these gifts of India, these leaves of the tree for the healing of the nations, are no legacies from the dead or the dying. The nation which bears them cannot die; it is even kept alive partly by means of them. India, after all, is not like a chenar, but like a banyan—one of her own great banyans, whose branches are putting forth not merely the leaves of a season, but the roots of a new generation, different and yet the same. Some day the soil of the world will be more receptive than it is at present, and new life will come from undying India.

THE ETHIOPIAN CRISIS AND THE RACE ISSUE.*

(By W. E. B. Du Bois.)

No problem of race and colour need ever have arisen had there not been so wide a difference in cultural level between European and colonial peoples. The belief that racial and colour differences made exploitation of colonies necessary and justifiable was too tempting to withstand. As a matter of fact, the opposite was the truth; namely, that the profit from exploitation was the main reason for the belief in race difference. Cutting across these economic arrangements, buttressed by theories of race and colour, ran the effort of the Christian religion to spread its propaganda among the natives. The result is one of the most astonishing and baffling phenomena of modern times, one which because of the contradictory nature of the facts involved makes it almost impossible to argue about race problems. For instance, it is undoubtedly true that Christian missions were a great factor in the civilization of the African and American Negroes, and that they exercised some influence in Asia. On the other hand, there also is no doubt that industry and economic exploitation continually used Christianity as a smoke-screen to reduce the natives to submission and keep them from revolt. Sometimes the Christian workers were entirely unconscious of their role in this respect. At others, they rationalized the whole system and argued that the best thing which could happen to the poor natives was to become docile Christian workers under the profit-makers of Europe.

The War brought about a revolution of thought in regard to race relations. Japan, instead of being regarded as the exception, came to be looked upon as heralding a new distribution of world power. It was no longer considered the destiny of the white race to rule the world, but to share the world with coloured races who more and more would become autonomous. The question was, how thoroughly and how quickly they could assume self-rule. It was, for instance, generally admitted that when China got over the birth-pains of evolving a new order, she was going to be a self-ruling nation freed of white dominance. When the movement for self-rule in India became formidable, a small measure of self-government had to be granted, with the distinct promise that in the long run India would become a dominion within the British Empire. Haiti, after being occupied by the United States for twenty years, gained a nominal political freedom, though at the price of shouldering an enormous debt which will keep her in chains for many generations.

* Foreign Affairs.

Liberia was practically mortgaged to the Firestone Rubber Company after being threatened with absorption by both France and Great Britain.

Ethiopia, on the other hand, had kept comparatively free of debt, had preserved her political autonomy, had begun to reorganize her ancient polity and was in many ways an example and a promise of what a native people untouched by modern exploitation and race prejudice might do. Against the current of the new ideals strikes the programme of Italy—a programme conceived in the worse of the pre-war ideology. It accuses Ethiopia of savagery because she is not an industrialized state and because she still harbours the institution of domestic slavery, forgetting that the slavery which survives in Ethiopia has nothing in common with the exploitation of slaves through the slave trade or modern industrialism. Italy proposes openly to deprive this African people of its land, always the first step toward rendering them economically and politically helpless. This was one of the first measures taken by England, France, Portugal and Belgium to establish their economic power in Africa. In India and in China, it lies at the bottom of economic exploitation. But in most of these cases the process is hidden by legal phrase and chicanery. Seldom has it been so openly and brazenly declared as in the present case where Italy simply says that she needs the land of the Ethiopians for her own peasants.

Italy has now mobilised against Ethiopia, in spite of efforts at conciliation and adjustment. She does not disguise her intention to seize Ethiopian territory. She may not attempt complete subjugation—the inner citadel is very strong. But annexation of the plateau and economic strangulation would accomplish much that direct force cannot do immediately. All this is not pleasant reading for those who pin their faith on European civilization, the Christian religion and the superiority of the white race. Yet these are the bare facts. They might be differently interpreted and variously supplemented, yet under any form they remain a story of selfishness and short-sightedness, of cruelty, deception and theft.

The probabilities are that Italy, by sheer weight of armaments and with the complaisance of Europe, will subdue Ethiopia. If this happens it will be a costly victory, both for Italy and the White world. There will be not only the cost in debt and death, but the whole coloured world—India, China and Japan, Africa in Africa and in America, and all the South Seas and Indian South America—all that vast mass of men who have felt the oppression and insults, the slavery and exploitation of white folk, will say: "I told you so! There is no faith in them even toward each other. They do not believe in Christianity and they will never voluntarily recognize the essential equality of human beings or surrender the idea of dominating the majority of men for their own selfish ends. Japan was right. The only path to freedom and equality is force, and force to the uttermost." Nor will Italy's indefensible aggression prove to the dark peoples their weakness; rather it will point the path to strength; an understanding between Japan and China will close Asia to white aggression; and India need no longer hesitate between passive resistance and open rebellion. Even black men will realize that Europe today holds Africa in leash primarily with African troops, a religion of humility, vague promises and skilfully encouraged jealousies. One of these days the very troops by which Europe holds Africa may cease to play the part assigned them.

Italy has forced the world into a position where whether or not she wins, race hate will increase.



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while if she loses, the prestige of the white world will receive a check comparable to that involved in the defeat of Russia by Japan. Black men and brown men have been indeed aroused as seldom before. Mass meetings and attempts to recruit volunteers have taken place in Harlem. In the West Indies and West Africa, despite the efforts of both France and England, there is widespread and increasing interest. If there were any chance effectively to recruit men, money and machines of war among the one hundred millions of Africans outside of Ethiopia, the result would be enormous. The Union of South Africa is alarmed, and in contradictory ways. She is against Italian aggression not because she is for the black Ethiopians but because she fears the influence of war on her particular section of black Africa. Should the conflict be prolonged, the natives of Kenya, Uganda and the Sudan, standing next to the theatre of war, will have to be kept by force from joining in. The black world knows this is the last great effort of white Europe to secure the subjection of black men. In the long run the effort is vain and black men know it.

Japan is regarded by all coloured peoples as their logical leader, as the one non-white nation which has escaped forever the dominance and exploitation of the white world. No matter what Japan does or how she does it excuse leaps to the lips of coloured thinkers. Has she seized Korea, Formosa and Manchuria? Is she penetrating Mongolia and widening her power in China itself? She has simply done what England has done in Hong Kong and France in Annam, and what Russia, Germany and perhaps even the United States intended to do in China. She has used the same methods that white Europe has used, military power and commercial exploitation. And yet in all her action there has been this vast difference: her programme cannot be one based on race hate for the conquered, since racially these latter are one with the Japanese and are recognized as blood relatives. Their eventual assimilation, the accord of social equality to them, will present no real problem. White dominance under such circumstances would carry an intensification of racial difference. Conquest and exploitation are brute facts of the present era, yet if they must come, is it better that they come from members of your own or other races?

To this question Italy is giving a terrible answer. Though the centre of the Catholic Church and the home of the Renaissance of modern culture she says flatly: "We are going to subdue an inferior people not for their good but for ours. We are going to take Ethiopia just as we took Somaliland and as England took Kenya. We are going to reduce black men to the status of landless serfs. And we are going to do this because we have the power to do it, and because no white nation dare stop us and no coloured nation can."

The moral of this, as Negroes see it, is that if any coloured nation expect to maintain itself against white Europe it need appeal neither to religion nor culture but only to force. Economic exploitation based on the excuse of race prejudice is the programme of the white world. Italy states it openly and plainly.

The results on the minds and actions of great groups and nations of oppressed peoples, peoples with a grievance, real or fancied, whose sorest spot, their most sensitive feelings, is brutally attacked, can only be awaited. The world, or any part of it, seems unable to do anything to prevent the impending blow, the only excuse for which is that other nations have done exactly what Italy is doing.

POLYGAMY IN ISLAM.*

Islam is a religion not confined to personal interests of individuals. It aims at regulating the life of a whole community and even mankind as a whole. All biological researches reveal the fact that the interests of individuals composing a race have to be sacrificed if the race is to continue. In fact, the primary function of an individual is to contribute its share towards the survival of the race even if it has to give away its own life in the performance of that function. An individual who has nothing to contribute towards racial good has no right to live. It is on this basis that the question of Polygamy should be considered.

Marriage among human beings, like sexual relations among all creation, aims at the perpetuation of the race. It is not instituted to provide means of sensual gratification merely. That is why everywhere in the Quran men are advised to enter into marital relations not only to enjoy sexual gratification but also to bring forth children.

We find that all mankind is at war among itself. Each nation is after exploiting its neighbours. Even today, after two thousand years of scientific advancement and cultural uplift of humanity, no weak nation is considered fit to live a life of liberty. It is obvious that a nation which is perpetually faced with war will have to sacrifice members of its male population in the interest of its own life. Unless the male population comprising a nation lays down its life the nation cannot survive a bitter struggle. The consequence will be that a larger number of females will be left alive than that of the males. If it is decreed that one man must have only one wife and, not more than one in any case, a large surplus of women will be left unprovided for. What are those women to do?

Under the circumstances described above there are only three courses left for a community to adopt:—

1. The surplus women should repress their sexual desires indefinitely and produce no children.
2. They should resort to sexual licentiousness without marital ties and become instead of polygamous polyandrous, in which case the responsibility for bringing up the offspring cannot be fixed on any male.
3. Men should be allowed to marry more than one wife.

Can any sane person, considering the interests of the race, justify either of the first two alternatives? In the first case terrible mental and physical torture is surely to be caused to women. Modern psychology has revealed the fact that the major cause of most of the troubles of human beings is the repression of sexual desires and, if no right channel is provided for their reasonable gratification, they are sure to cause grave harm bodily, mentally and morally. In the second case a class of professional or non-professional prostitutes will be produced with all its attendant evils.

In the third case alone will they be able, on the one hand, to satisfy their natural sexual desires and on the other to produce children to make up for the deficiency in numbers caused by warfare. There will be homes in this case where the offspring can be brought up according to the highest social standards. There will be fathers to look after the children and their mothers. There will be family life to provide a healthy environment for the fragile human infants.

Wherever there is a surplus of women, there must be provided the institution of polygamy, or, otherwise, there will spring up the abominable institution of polyandry or prostitution. Deprive women of lawful husbands, as happens in every

* Islam.



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monogamous society, and they at once resort to procure one (or more) unlawfully. Prohibit a woman from entering into legal marital relations with one man and she will if she can, go to a hundred to gratify her passions. In all those societies where monogamy is enforced by law women who cannot enter into legal marital relations enjoy the sexual licentiousness by placing their persons at the disposal of more than one man. The evils of such a life can well be imagined. According to Pitt-Rivers, polygamous institutions are of great sociological importance in their relations to other institutions "in so far as they provide the only normal and healthy means of absorbing the surplusage of women." According to the same writer "under the monogamous organization a large proportion of the polyandrous group remains permanently polyandrous and is never absorbed in marriage."

INDIANS IN TRINIDAD.

"I return to my native country happy and contented," said Mr. Ganga Bisson Maharaj, a colonial-born Indian belonging to San Fernando, in Trinidad (B. W. I.). He is a businessman there and is the fourth traveller to come to visit India from the island.

Mr. Maharaj has no grievance to ventilate against his adopted country where there are, according to his estimate, about 80,000 Indians, enjoying all privileges and rights with other people. There are, he says, Indians in the Legislative Council, and in noble professions like law and medicine, but the majority of them are agricultural people. Comparing the Indian village people with colonial-born Indians, Mr. Maharaj feels sad and says that even the poorest of the poor there has a few suits to put on and does not exist in the 'semi-naked state' as in India.

The inter-communal feeling in the island is absolutely peaceful and, although up till now they are observing social restrictions, more or less, as in India, the younger generation of Indians, according to him, are imbibing more liberal views and in course of time will not style themselves communally, but as members of the same nation. They are all particularly anxious to know all about India and want to keep themselves in touch with Indian thought and aspirations.

"Whenever any Indian traveller passed through the island, invitations come to him from all quarters, whether he happens to be a Hindu, a Muslim or Northern or a Southerner. Whenever an Indian film is shown there," he further says, "repeat shows have to be arranged and there is always unusual rush at the cinemas on the occasion." He was asked before his departure for India to come in touch with Indian film companies for carrying on the business there, but as that is not his line he proposes to do nothing in that direction.

He is happy to visit the country of his grandfather but is personally disappointed because, in spite of his best efforts, he could not locate any relation of his grandfather, his father having emigrated to the island half a century before from a place called Myira in the district of Arrah. He is a Brahman and like his father has married a colonial-born Brahman girl.

When Mr. Maharaj was in London he came in touch with Dr. Sunit Kumar Chatterjee of the Calcutta University and in his company travelled to India. Since his arrival here he has been visiting the sacred and historical places of Northern India. He saw Mr. Gandhi who in the midst of a discussion, asked him whether he knew Hindustani, to which he replied that he could not speak fluently. Mr. Gandhi has given him a message for the colonial-born Indians in the island, namely, that they should speak to their children when at home in Hindustani. Mr. Maharaj is carrying the message home.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Buddhism and Hinduism—In their search for a new religion free from the caste prejudices of current, popular Hinduism, some leaders of the depressed classes are turning to Buddhism as a probable alternative. Some Buddhist monks from Ceylon have come to Malabar at the invitation of Kerala leaders. Buddhism has the great advantage of being Indian in origin, tradition and its most sacred associations. It is not a militant religion. No drop of blood has been shed in its propagation. It is a religion of compassion for all creatures. Buddhism, moreover, has not a central authority, like the Pope of Roman Christianity, to regulate its conduct in all countries. It is a religion which every nation has adapted and can adapt to its own needs. Thus there is a Chinese Buddhism, a Japanese Buddhism, a Tibetan Buddhism. Buddhism was never ousted from India. The religion of the Bhagavad Gita, the sacred book of all Hindu sects, is the adaptation of Buddhism to the genius of the Indian people. It took over from Buddhism the rejection of the Vedic religion but, in consonance with the Indian genius for continuity, relegated it reverently to a niche in antiquity. Like Buddhism, the religion of the Gita threw its doors open to women and Sudras. In the case of women, indeed, it did so less grudgingly than Buddha himself who reluctantly admitted women to the Sangha and ordained that nuns should always receive instruction from monks. The Gita religion has also Karma as its central idea but it both widened and deepened it. Buddha taught that the effects of Karma can be counteracted only by other Karma in an endless succession of lives. The Gita showed that they could be overcome now and here, and that the motive not the act constituted Karma. Above all, it provided for the ample satisfaction of the passion for worship which is the dominant note in Indian mentality. Buddhism itself

realised this defect and in Mahayana it developed a bhakti cult which spread to China, Japan and Northern Asia. What Hinduism needs is now to work out in its social structure the precepts of the religion of the Gita. It is a task which requires the co-operation of all castes including the antyajas. Instead of seeking for a new haven, antyaja leaders should join hands with Hindu social and religious reformers in making Hinduism conform to the precepts of the Gita. Thus they will be doing a great service not only to themselves but to Hinduism and humanity.

The Doon School—The opening of this imitation English Public School at Dehra Dun is typical of the blunders of British rule in this country. India has a long and highly meritorious tradition of teaching and training of youth. This is quietly ignored and set aside and a system peculiar to England and found unsuitable in every other country is sought to be planted here. It is not that it had not been tried before even here. The Chief's Colleges were supposed to impart education on the English Public School plan. These Colleges were at one time much praised by Governors and other high officials at prize distributions. Nowadays, nobody hears of them. Then, there was a school named Newington in Madras intended for the education of the sons of the Zamindars on the English Public School model. That school flourished for some years. One day the English Head-master was found shot in his bed. One of the students was charged with the crime but was acquitted. Newington soon after ceased to exist. In an article in the *Nineteenth Century* for February 1926, Mr. Stephen H. Foot who described himself as "a businessman turned schoolmaster" wrote: "The boy from the public school, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred is not intended or expected to be merely a clerk. He is not going to do book-keeping or short-hand or type-writing for his living. The public school boy—by his own merit if he has been properly trained, or by family influence if he has not—is intended for a managerial position. Even his handwriting is comparatively unimportant, as he will dictate nearly all his correspondence, and the shorthand typist will be responsible that there are no spelling mistakes." This would mean that in India, at least, the shorthand typist will be a more educated man than his Doononian master, a humiliating position for any self-



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respecting superior. Apart from that, how many such managerial positions are open to Indians, who cannot write or spell? Lord Randolph Churchill when he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, did not know what decimals meant. "What do these damned dots mean?" he asked the Permanent Secretary of the department when he submitted the figures for his first Budget. Very probably we may have ministers of this type under the Hoare scheme and the Doon School may be a very good preparation for them. In another article contributed a year later to the same magazine, Mr. Stephen Foot briefly summed up the effect of the English system as compared to the Continental, as being 'games instead of girls.' Will this apply to the Doonians also? Are girls really so much worse than games? Or does Mr. Foot mean girls in any special sense?

Christian and Muslim Imperialism:—In India it is generally assumed that Muslims find foreign rule more acceptable than Hindus. It is no uncommon thing to hear Europeans say that they understand the Mahomedan mind better than the Hindu. Mr. H. Kraemar to whose article on "Imperialism and Self-Expression" we refer in the leading article, points out that there is a similarity of outlook between Islam and Christianity (which he identifies with European Imperialism); but he argues that this may be a cause of antagonism rather than good understanding between the two. "All the religions of the East (Buddhism, Hinduism, Taoism)," he observes, "are focussed on the human yearning for deliverance from evil or from the miseries of life. They are in their essence world-denying. Islam is not so. It is vehemently world-affirming. It is really borne up by a strong theocratic conception. Of this theocracy it unblushingly holds a very secularist conception. In Islam, the absolute surrender of the servant, man, to the Sovereign, God, is inherently included in the vision of a society and a world ruled by the Law of Islam, which excludes any other Law. Islam is a very consistent form of Imperialism. The domination by peoples of a *foreign* religion is not only felt as politically or socially or morally hateful, it is repellent because religiously speaking, monstrous." If Mr. Kraemar looked around instead of allowing himself to be lured on by the phantom of a preconceived idea, he would have found facts which shatter his speculation. Japan, a Buddhist country (and therefore supposed to have her attention focussed on the world beyond) has come to be regarded as one of the imperialistic nations. On the other hand, Turkey, which is still Islam notwithstanding the separation of State from religion, is absorbed in her national problems and has not the least trace of imperialism in her policies. Islam everywhere is fighting for existence. To make it out to be an aggressive imperialist like Christian countries, is to fly in the face of facts. In Christianity world-affirming or world-denying?

What did Christ mean when he said, his kingdom is not of this world? These sharp categories into which the average European loves to divide up and differentiate ideas and affairs, have really no validity outside his fancy. All great religions look beyond this world. Otherwise, they will not be religions but physical sciences. All religions are opposed to imperialism of the exploiting, domineering type. The Imperialist nations have ceased to be Christian though they may continue to cover themselves with it as with a cloak. The quarrel today is not between religions. What conceivable cause of quarrel can Mussolini have with the Ethiopian Emperor on the religious ground?

Provincialism and Communalism:—Sir Mirza Ismail warned the graduates of the Annamalai University against the danger of Provincialism which autonomous provinces are likely to foster. "With the slackening of control from the centre and with the inauguration of Provincial autonomy," he said in his Convocation address, "the tendency for each province to discriminate against the inhabitants of other provinces will become more and more pronounced unless firm action is taken to discourage it from now onwards. Provincialism carried to its extreme can only spell disaster to the country at large." The duty of the graduates to inculcate a sense of unity among the inhabitants of different provinces is rendered more difficult than ever by the provisions of the Government of India Act. The same may be said of Communalism which Sir Mirza said is the other great danger that confronts the country. In this matter also the Act has accorded statutory recognition to race, caste and communal differences which had so long been kept out of Indian legislation. The position today is really much worse than it was at any time during the past. The Home Member of the Government of India, Sir Henry Craik, said in the Legislative Assembly the other day that communal antagonism was more acute now than he had known it to be during his experience of thirty-five years in India. Both as regards Provincialism and Communalism, therefore, the country is deprived of the help of the new Constitution in promoting a sense of unity and solidarity. The Universities have an almost impossible task set to them when they are required to counteract the centrifugal forces set in motion by the Hoare Reforms.

Social Legislation and the Reforms:—Mr. K. M. Panikkar contributes an article to the current *Twentieth Century* on "Hindu Community and the New State." He writes "whatever may be the political, economic and other shortcomings of the Government of India Act, it is clear that in the matter of social legislation, it has full and absolute power." It is surprising that Mr. Panikkar should think that the political and economic spheres are divided sharply from social life. The political and economic shortcomings of the Government of India Act will



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surely have the effect of making social legislation more difficult than it is under the present regime. Hindu orthodoxy making common cause with Moslem opposition to social legislation and the inertia of the States will effectually bar the way. Further, as Mr. Wedgwood Benn has pointed out in an article in the *Political Quarterly*, the most immediate object of politically-minded India will be to get the new constitution changed. It is extravagant to speak of the Government of India Act creating a new State. What it really does is to dissolve what was in the way of becoming a State into a number of units without any principle of coherence. Such social legislation as we have been able to secure during the last fifteen or sixteen years was mainly due to the co-operation of progressive forces throughout the country. It would be much more difficult to get social legislation passed under the new constitution. We may add that the dissolution by legislation of the joint family which to Mr. Pannikar seems to be the most urgently needed reform, unless preceded or accompanied by social legislation for relief of the poor and the aged at the cost of State as is now in force in most countries, will lead to widespread distress, misery and disorder.

America's Indian Policy:—*The New Republic* has an interesting article on American policy towards Red Indians. In the eighteen sixties and seventies they were settled on 155,000,000 acres of land which they were to hold for ever. Today they have only 45,000,000 acres left. The policy by which they were deprived of more than a hundred million acres of land is vividly described. Of the instruments by whom this policy of expropriation was carried out, the *New Republic* bluntly says: "From 40 to 60 per cent. of those who dealt with Indians were their social and intellectual inferiors." Since President Hoover's time there has been a change of policy. The process of stripping the Indians of the means of self-support, while training them to be paupers has been checked. *The New Republic* describes the new policy as follows: "An under-privileged but innately superior people, partly warped by long mishandling, is to enter our machine civilization as contributors, able to enjoy life, and bringing with it gifts from its own civilization and special facilities. The problem is one of education, in the sense that it includes learning self-government, management of herds, farms, minerals, forests; eventually even such services as health and direct education must be sustained by local effort and initiative, not received as blanket charities. Education must begin at home, in relation to tribal problems and needs, it must have direction, lead to responsibility and initiative, and start from the base of the Indians' own tradition, culture and pride."

American Negroes and the Ethiopian Struggle:—We published last week an extract from a striking article in *Foreign Affairs* by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, the most prominent Negro leader of the day in the United States. Dr. Du Bois for twenty-four

years conducted *The Crisis* and is now Professor of Sociology in Atlanta University. His interest in all movements for the advancement of coloured races lends peculiar value to his analysis of their reactions to the Ethiopian War.

The Ethiopian Situation:—The news during the week regarding developments in the Italo-Ethiopian conflict has been bewildering by its contrariety. The League has been leisurely perfecting its scheme of economic sanctions against Italy and Italian troops all the time have been operating in Ethiopia supremely indifferent to the proceedings in Geneva. Side by side Great Britain which for all practical purposes is the League of Nations just at present, has put her relations with the Fascist Government on a friendly footing, Italy has accepted an invitation to the next Naval Conference in London and has nominated her delegates. The Emperor Haile Selassie has appealed to the League of Nations for a loan. The League has no money of its own and unless Britain, and France are prepared to advance it on its behalf, the Emperor's appeal must remain a formality. The Emperor seems to realise that the League of Nations on which he relied so much, is not likely to go beyond what the two predominant partners decide on considerations which concern themselves. His appeal to the United States on the radio station which American engineers have erected for direct touch between Ethiopia and the States, breathes a note of resignation. He says he does not want any one to draw the sword against Mussolini because violence and force are ancient and useless weapons for settling national differences. Does this mean that Ethiopia will allow Italy to overrun her territory without armed resistance trusting to passive resistance later to make occupation untenable?

Back to Monarchy:—The result of the plebiscite in Greece on the issue whether the country should have a monarchical or republican constitution, is over-whelmingly in favour of monarchy. This is not surprising. The Greeks voted similarly in favour of King Constantine during the War but the Allies backed Venizelos who was determined to have a republic out of compliment perhaps to President Wilson whose support was very valuable in the Peace negotiations. Greece could not, however, keep what she got through the Versailles Treaty and, when the Ataturk resisted the concessions, the Allies did not support Greece and she was obliged to make a humiliating peace. Venizelos was banished but so long as he continued to command a following the Dictators who ruled in Greece were unable to declare themselves in favour of the restoration of monarchy. Venizelos' last attempt to capture the Government ignominiously collapsed and the way was clear for the return to the form of Government which the people were accustomed to.



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IS IMPERIALISM PLAYED OUT?

Foreign Affairs, the American quarterly, publishes in its October number an article headed "A critique of Imperialism," by Professor William L. Langer of Harvard University. The Professor's theme is that capitalism and commercialism are not, as is often alleged, the inspiring forces of Imperialism, which are biological and not economic in their origin. Professor J. A. Hobson in his "Imperialism: a Study" published in 1902, argued that modern imperialism had for its main object an outlet for accumulated capital. Professor Langer admits that, since the middle of the last century, certain countries, first England, then France, Germany, and the United States, have exported large amounts of capital and that the financial returns from these investments in many instances came to overshadow completely the income derived by the lending countries from foreign trade. He recognizes also that, as a general rule, the return on reinvestments in home industry was distinctly below the return from investments abroad. But he points out that export of capital had little direct relation to territorial expansion. France lent much more money to Russia, Rumania, Spain, Egypt and the Ottoman Empire. Britain had more money invested in the United States than in her colonies. Less than half of her export of capital was to other parts of the Empire. The United States put more money in the development of Canada than did England. Germany before the war had only 3 per cent of her capital placed abroad, invested in Asia and Africa and of that only a small part in her own colonies. More significant still is that Russia which was a great Imperialist Power before the war, had no capital of her own to export and had to borrow from France the money needed for her Far Eastern projects. In our own day, Professor Langer adds, two of the most outspoken Imperialist Powers, Japan and Italy, are both nations poor in capital. Whatever the urge that drives them to expansion, it can not be the need for the export of capital. Nor does the allurements of Empire arise from the commercial value of colonies as markets or plantations for the sale of goods or production of raw materials. ~~done come to be~~ ^{on the whole} ~~few colonies have~~ ^{imperialistic} ~~trading with the mother-~~ ^{even have} ~~country and many have done less.~~ ^{imperialistic} ~~The colonial~~ ^{trading with the mother-} ~~trade has always played a relatively unimportant~~ ^{country and many have done less.} ~~part in the total foreign commerce of the great~~ ^{imperialistic} ~~industrial nations.~~ ^{trading with the mother-} ~~The backward, coloured~~ ^{country and many have done less.} ~~tropical colonies, which could be more easily~~ ^{imperialistic} ~~exploited, proved difficult to develop because of~~ ^{trading with the mother-} ~~the low purchasing power of the native.~~ ^{country and many have done less.} ~~"Economically," concludes Professor Langer,~~ ^{imperialistic} ~~"we have been disillusioned about imperialism.~~ ^{trading with the mother-} ~~We have learned that colonies do not pay." Asia~~ ^{country and many have done less.} ~~and Africa are in revolt against white domination,~~ ^{imperialistic}

which makes the position more difficult for the imperialist powers. They are tired of the White Man's burden and are anxious to lay it down. "Who is there in England for example," he asks, "who puts much store by the mandates?" Since the War England has allowed Ireland to cut loose and she is trying, as best as she can, to put India on her own. Ireland was not allowed to cut herself loose until the most vigorous attempts to prevent her doing so had hopelessly failed. As for India, Professor Langer's well-intentioned belief that by the new Government of India Act Britain is trying, as best as she can, to put India on her own, is, to use his own phrase, "merely wishful thinking."

Imperialism and the attitude which Christian Missions to non-European peoples should adopt towards it, is the subject of a rather laboured article by Mr. H. Kraemar in the *Student World*, the organ of the World's Student Christian Federation for October. It is headed "Imperialism and Self-Expression." Mr. Kraemar is not concerned with Imperialism, if it can be called such, as it finds expression in the self-governing British Dominions. To him Imperialism is synonymous with "colonial policy" which, as described by Andre Siegfried in his *Amerique Latine*, expresses in the first place a certain economic state of things. "A country the greatest part of whose economic activity is foreign, stimulated and nourished by foreign capital, conducted by foreign personnel, inspired by foreign enterprise, aiming at foreign interests, must be called colonial. A colonial country is in the first place a country that is in the state of imperialistic economic servitude." Political dependence upon a foreign power is generally associated with this state but, according to this definition, it is not essential to it. India under the Reforms, Egypt which has been given her independence, and Iraq whose mandate has been abandoned, are still colonial countries and, not as Professor Langer imagines, countries outside the orbit of British Imperialism. The changes in the relation to the dominant country intensify their economic servitude under the guise of greater political freedom. In fact, Professor Langer's differentiation between economic and biological motives to Imperialism has no substance in it. If France retains her colonies for the sake of the soldiers which they furnish to her Army, it is still an economic motive as, but for the coloured troops, she would have to hire them from other countries or enter into entangling alliances with the New World to avoid being submerged by a neighbouring, powerful, and growing population. Japan and Italy do not conceal the fact that it is the economic urge which is at the bottom of their imperialist expansion. The safeguards with which the new Government of India Act is loaded, show that Britain does not think that the Indian Empire is a burden to her, which it never was. War as a profession for soldiers and territorial expansion as a field for more jobs for officials, are economic motives at bottom as



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much as a market for manufactured goods or a plantation for supplying raw materials to industrialised and imperialist nations. Christian Missions run a grave risk of being but an aspect of Imperialism. Mr. Kraemar allows that Imperialism need not always be associated with repression. But this is only by accident and it is not the essence of Imperialism, as it should be of religious missions, to foster self-expression in backward peoples. Mr. Kraemar's observations on the philanthropic activities of Missions, are worthy of attention. Quoting Pestalozzi's saying that 'philanthropy is to cover misery with the dung of mercy,' he writes: "No human being, whosoever he may be, can show, or has the right to show, mercy to his neighbour, at least according to the Gospel. Help, service and co-operation as a means to vindicate the superiority of Christianity over all other religions, is another form of spiritual imperialism."

PLAGUE RELIEF IN BORSAD.

The end of the plague epidemic in Borsad was commemorated by a controversy between Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel who had acted with commendable promptitude in dealing with the Borsad situation, and Government officials. Each party claimed superiority for the methods put into force by its men and accused the other group of relief workers of neglecting the sufferers and of inadequate attempts at rendering help. Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, after a couple of exchanges with the Secretary of the General Department, Bombay Government, despaired of securing an inquiry from the Government into the plague relief work at Borsad. He requested some independent friends to form a committee of inquiry. A Committee of four was accordingly formed with Mr. D. N. Bahadurji as Chairman and Mr. Vaikunth L. Mehta, Secretary, and two Doctors, M. D. D. Gilder and P. C. Bharucha, members. As a council of arbitration between the Government and a popular organisation, the Bahadurji Committee is a noteworthy appointment and Mr. Vallabhbhai could scarcely have improved on the personnel. The inquiry Committee was to report, first, whether Government charges against relief workers had any foundation, second, whether Congress complaints against official relief were sound, and, thirdly, the value of the measures adopted by relief workers in Borsad. The medical members were further requested by Mr. V. J. Patel to suggest measures preventive and curative for the guidance of volunteers. The committee was formed on August 23rd. The Bombay Government non-co-operated, consistently with their refusal to institute the inquiry. The Committee, however, conclusively show that this abstention on the official side does not render their report one-sided. The main evidence in the inquiry, says the Report, has been that of public records, from the beginning of 1932 to May 1935 which consist of all the official communications between all the Departments of Government, on the one hand, and, on the other, the District Local Board on whom mainly, according to the reviews of Administration in the Bombay Presidency, 1933, rests the responsibility for dealing with epidemics. The only issue on which the opinion of the Committee might possibly have been adversely affected by official non-co-operation, was whether Congress relief workers or officials in Borsad obstructed coordination

of assistance to the distressed in the stricken area. It was also the only issue on which oral evidence was taken and, unless one is prepared to regard the entire Borsad relief work of the Congress as having been undertaken with the Bahadurji Inquiry in view, it is difficult to exonerate the officials in the district.

The experience of Quetta is still fresh in Indian minds. There is no reason for believing that had they been able to adopt a similar policy of excluding voluntary help in Borsad, Government would not have done so. On the contrary, Borsad officials refused all help from or to Congressmen in the district. Dr. Bhaskar Patel who was in charge of the Congress Plague Hospital throughout the epidemic records that the Assistant Director of Public Health, one Dr. Shiveshwarkar, refused to see plague patients in Pandoli village. Worse still Dr. Shiveshwarkar seems to have ignored Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel's offer of placing his workers at the disposal of the Health Department of the Government. But worst was the Bocharan incident when fifteen days after the outbreak of plague, the Collector of Kaira asked the President of the District Local Board what measures had been taken. We extract the following from the President's reply:—"The outbreak of plague at Bocharan was first noticed by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and Dr. Bhaskar Patel as early as 29th March when they visited the village and examined two patients in a locality which was found to be infected. ...The Police Patel was present but he made no report about it. Two days after...there had been two deaths and some more attacks. This outbreak was not reported even then. It was published in the daily bulletin of the (Congress) Relief Camp. No notice was taken of it although Bocharan is a pilgrim centre and prompt measures for checking further spread of the epidemic were necessary....It is to be regretted that on the 12th April the Mamlatdar took a statement from the Patel and other people to the effect that there was no plague in the village and nothing was required to be done. On the 14th April the Mamlatdar reported the outbreak to the President of the District Local Board for the first time.....The Mamlatdar thought fit to discredit the information published in the Congress Bulletin with the result that the outbreak was not reported to the authorities concerned till a fortnight after it was first noticed." The Collector of Kaira District paid a flying visit to Borsad Taluka five months after the outbreak commenced, on March 31st, and left the same day without visiting the affected areas.

The Report reveals the double failure of Government officials in Borsad: First, in coping with the epidemic and, secondly, in their relations with other workers in the field. To have rejected an offer of help from Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, one of our ablest organisers and a man of considerable experience in municipal administration and public health, was a mistake brought on probably by an over-estimation of official capacity to cope with the epidemic. We can well understand, moreover, that officials, particularly in the districts—this seems to have been peculiarly the case in Borsad—would find difficulty in appreciating the sudden conversion to co-operation of men who were in the front rank of the civil disobedience movement. But then this difficulty should be frankly admitted by the Government and, we are sure, the public would appreciate it. The fears of the district official cannot be shared by the provincial or central governments which are armed to the teeth with emergency powers even to meet the remotest possibility. The Report of the Borsad Plague Relief Inquiry Committee is a vindication of the Congress work in Borsad. The medical members



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have appended a valuable note embodying their suggestions for plague relief. The thoroughness with which the workers under Sardar Vallabhbhai set about their relief operations is shown by the fact that Dr. Bhaskar Patel was in constant communication with the Director of the Haffkine Institute. It also proves the anxiety of Congressmen to sink political differences in the common effort to put down the epidemic. Valuable experience has been gained at Borsad and its fruits are made available to the public through this Report.

WHAT IS SOCIALISM ?

The suspension of the personal struggle for economic freedom is a common feature of all forms of Socialism; but it is a condition which cannot stand by itself. A theory that advocates some sort of economic equality or equal distribution of wealth must necessarily insist on an equal contribution of individuals to the commonwealth of the society. This implies the equality of ability to contribute or intellectual equality. Those who emphatically believed in the Marxian economic relationship of society, are realising through experience that human life cannot be divided into watertight compartments of economics and politics. There will always be a dissatisfaction which might one day take a serious turn, if intellectual and physical labourers are huddled under one scale. Physical labour is a necessity but it does not mean that a class of people should be reserved separately for that purpose and then looked down upon. The theory that proclaims that a barber and an artist are equals in profession is a theory that stands on sentiment and not on reason; and to say that they equally contribute to the wealth of society is an utter lie. Inequalities in a society can be removed only by true equalisation and not by mere sentimental coercion. It may be temporarily possible in a *Communist* state to have a poet and a barber on equal pay, where intellectuals are crushed, or to suppose they are equals in an inspired Gandhian world; but to presume that such a condition in human life can be tolerated for long is to live under an illusion. If physical labour is a necessary evil let all hands share it. If intellectual growth is a possible virtue there also let all minds share. But to divide men between superior and inferior labour is to create an irreparable cleavage and to destroy harmony in social life.

Therefore, if Socialism does attempt at an equality, it can never have it permanently by the process of coercive regimentation but by intellectual equalisation, so that all members might be able to contribute equally to the growth of social life. This can be done by dividing the working hours of every member between these two types of labour according to social necessity with due regard to individual inclinations. But this condition demands a system of education which facilitates every mind to develop its peculiar gift and through it add to the treasures of the society and an organisation which absorbs the contributions of all individual minds. Thus intellectual equality and economic equality are conditions which are inseparable. They always go hand in hand.

Then only all the members of the society will have entered the rivalry of life with equal equipment and equal opportunity, the impetus being not an artificial greed for possessions but a natural desire to grow which is bound to be awakened in every individual when there is proper intellectual training from the very beginning. The greatest factor that counts in that new competition conducted on a footing of equality, is the factor of personality which when stirred can grow by itself, amidst the free play of the released talents. And only then will society

have reached the highest state of efficiency. Economic equality and intellectual training are only a means to release the dormant 'person' and on that depends the further prosperity of the society and the success of the movement of social equality.

Thus Socialism must include the release of individual talent and to achieve that end it should create in every individual a personal interest of the growth of his inner being, promising him complete intellectual and spiritual freedom. Here it includes philosophic anarchism which spoken absolutely, means complete individual freedom but spoken in terms of actual life should mean complete individual freedom within the society. For, the individual has become free simply because the society as a whole has taken upon itself all the social responsibilities which belonged to him. But it has done so only with the hope that he will allow the society to share his dreams and discoveries and that he will make proper use of the freedom given to him. It is this spiritual personal interest that is creating an emotion for Socialism in every young heart which came into contact with the truth of its possibility. No movement of society can exist by itself, moving exclusively in its interest, without any regard for the personal longings and aspirations of the individual. Nor can there be a movement for the individual as such. There can be no exclusive individual interest as long as he lives in a society. When Socialism speaks of equality, it is not the equality that exists among beggars but an equality that connotes efficiency. And to keep up the efficiency without harming the social equality it will have achieved, it should inspire the individual for personal freedom and help him in his pursuit after truth.

The chief administrator being an equal to every citizen in a socialist society, much of the responsibility of good behaviour falls on the individuals themselves. And this is another reason why intellectual training is necessary if a true socialist society should be established. An idiot cannot be a good citizen. And to share the moral responsibilities of the social state, the citizen should be highly qualified. If Socialism is introduced in a society by force, without the intelligent assent on the part of the members of that society and maintained by force, it is ever an uncertainty and the fate of the society will be changed the moment the dictator changed his mind. Marxism was a victim of an illusion when it imagined that the party of the proletariat would not have any selfish motive of class reservation. As long as it is circumstantially permissible that the ignorant members of that party might be deceived by their clever leaders, so long there is no truth in any form their movement takes. And no country can be convinced to take that risk although it may be driven to that state in conditions which yield nothing but despair.

It is only building a socialist society on false foundations, if we should base it on the class consciousness of the ignorant labouring class. It should be based on the consciousness of the society itself. And to raise that consciousness politics or dictatorship is not the method but sincere constructive work, conducted steadily, peacefully and courageously. Politics is the method of governing by that abstract body by name polity which always lives separately from the society and on the revenue supplied by it. When a socialist society aims at common proprietorship there is no possibility of gathering revenue, no place for abstract life.

A movement is one that includes both the end and the means. And unfortunately most forms of our socialist movements exclude or ignore one of the



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other. For a practical minded reformer it is a movement which guarantees the necessities of life and for an idealist it is a movement which promises intellectual and spiritual freedom to all members. But true socialism includes both, it is a movement of human life as a whole. The spiritual freedom of the individual is the culminating stage of the movement.

The beginning of this movement of Socialism is the beginning of the society itself. The moment the clever and physically, mighty man had begun to demand his exclusive rights, there grew the reaction and the weaker men have begun to grumble for their common social rights. Gradually the dissatisfaction gathered strength, found its leaders and found its workers. It is this dissatisfaction and spirit of rebellion that tamed the tyrant and made absolute monarchy impossible. Social improvements are gradually being made at the expense of the richer classes. Has the nobleman the same privileges he had centuries ago? At every age and throughout the human life the cause of the oppressed is being fought and there was never a suspension. Knowledge by various means has been spreading everywhere, however slow it might be, and people have begun to feel for themselves the degrading condition in which they are locked up. Every one must have felt at least once in his life, as even that porter at Sindbad's mansion, that it was unjust and even cruel that he was deprived of his legitimate rights to eat and live and think, and that it was his own slavish behaviour that was responsible for his miserable plight. On the other hand the exploiter also must have been feeling against his own actions of unjust oppression and for this, the very fact that most of the reformers come from his own class stands as evidence.

As is the case with the individual so is the case with nations. Imperialism has reached its limit. Nations like England which have enjoyed a false prestige in extensive possessions are still fighting to maintain their spirit of conservatism only to keep up that prestige. Invasions now are not so easy as in the days of past and sense of morality has grown stronger. All exploiters are found out and superficial garb of morality and messages of civilisation can not hide the motive behind. People have developed their consciousness and cannot be deceived.

So the movement of Socialism is not the invention of a revolutionary mind but it is as old as exploitation itself. Its philosophy grew not from the human mind but from life itself. Rebels and rebellions are but the external signs of that extensively growing movement and those who desire to crush it will ultimately be swept off. It is a movement of nature whose gift of intellect has been grossly abused so long. It is a movement that sprung from the heart, when the bitter oppressions and sufferings of want have stirred it until it came out and openly rebelled. Nature, numbers and time, all being in its favour, there is no power on earth that can suppress it.

And this its cosmic nature, is mostly ignored among the socialist actors of various nations. Socialism fundamentally is an international movement. And in a world where the natural resources are unequally distributed among various nations Socialism cannot be anything but that. No nation can claim the credit of having achieved socialism as long as it is not prepared to share its wealth with poorer nations and live an equal life with them. Socialism in countries which are economically independent is a mockery as long as dependent countries by their side are left to their own fate. Socialism includes and must include this international

equality if it means anything to humanity.

The aim of Socialism therefore should be to cross the limitations of a nation, utilise all the natural resources distributed by nature without any regard for the artificial political boundaries of nations, for the good of humanity as a whole. If environment is made common, there will be nothing to prevent unity between peoples. If poverty will cease to exist in the realisation of economic equality, ignorance in intellectual equality, imperialism will only cease to exist in international equality. National selfishness is much more dangerous than individual selfishness. If true freedom is desired, all national rights must necessarily be relinquished in the common rights of humanity as a whole. Then only true Socialism will have been achieved.

Allahabad.

M. N. RAO.

WORKING FOR THE UNTOUCHABLES.

It is now more than three years since the Harijan Sangh for the removal of untouchability was started, but one is in the dark about the line of work it does and the progress it has made. Much money from the Tilak Swaraj Fund has been, we are told, spent on the cause of the Harijans. Much money has been recently collected for the same purpose. The phrase 'the cause of the Harijan' is a wide one but what its exact scope is, one is at a loss to know. Several Harijan Students have complained to me that though they applied to the proper authorities through the proper channel, for scholarships and monetary help for the last three years, they have not only received no help but their applications have not been even acknowledged. To be sure, lack of money which very often paralyses the efforts of many a charitable institution is not the reason why deserving students get no help. The great defect of the present-day efforts for the removal of untouchability is that they are not made in the spirit of service and that they are made by men who do not believe in the cause they profess to serve. In the days of the non-co-operation movement some wells in Gujarat were thrown open to the Depressed Classes. As soon as the movement ceased the privilege of drawing water from these wells was withdrawn. When asked why this was so, a Gujarati gentleman told me that throwing open the wells was a war measure and now that the war was over the privilege could not be continued. The fact of the matter is that the depressed classes are being made so many pawns in the political game and so long as this continues the exigencies of the political situation will continue to govern the course of action of the touchable classes. The question has to be solved on its own merits. Justice has to be done for its own sake. The Depressed Classes have naturally become impatient as all the talk of removing untouchability has so far ended in smoke. They have lost all faith in the professions of the higher classes. This faith has to be restored immediately if the Depressed Classes are not to leave the Hindu fold. All our hope in this respect lies in the younger generation who imbued as they are with the high notions of equality and brotherhood, ought to come forward to strike a decisive blow at this age-long tyranny. In the words of Lamennais "when each of you, loving all men as brothers shall act to each other as brothers; when each of you seeking your own well-being and the well-being of all, shall identify his life with the life of all, and his interest with the interest of all; when each shall be ever ready to sacrifice himself for all the members of the common family, who are equally ready to sacrifice themselves for him—most of the evils which now weigh on the human



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race will disappear, as the gathering mists of the horizon fly at sunrise, and the will of God will be fulfilled. For it is His will that love shall unite the shattered numbers of humanity and organise them into a single whole, so that humanity may be one, even as He is one." Nelson's exhortation "England expects every man to do his duty" may be repeated with a little alteration with a hundred-fold emphasis—"India expects every man to do his duty." Since the above was written I have perused with great interest an article by Mr. Savarkar in the *Kirtaskar* for November on "How the town of Ratnagiri succeeded in removing the fetters of untouchability and interdining." Although it is difficult to swallow the whole stuff without a pinch of salt, there is no doubt whatever that Ratnagiri has worked wonders in these respects. And it is all due to the fact that the work is carried on in a spirit of love and as a matter of duty. What Ratnagiri has done others can certainly do, at least attempt.

V. S. SOHONI.

TOWARD UNDERSTANDING INDIA. *

(BY PROF. GEORGE P. CONGER.)

Last year I had the privilege of spending eight months in India, studying the philosophies and religions of that country and learning as much as I could about its life. Perhaps it may be of some value if, as one who is not much more than a beginner, I set down a few elementary points which seem to me to mark the way of understanding. They represent choices rather than discoveries, but in a situation obscured by so many conflicting interpretations, a wise choice of points of approach is of great importance.

The first point is geographical. In this respect, India is, in rather striking fashion, comparable to Europe. If we take Asia and Europe together as the continent of Eurasia, Europe is a peninsula at its western end, and India is a peninsula at its southern end. Each peninsula is a subcontinent, with a mixture of races, languages, governments, and religions. Each peninsula has records and remains of ancient cultures, among them in each case one culture which extended over the boundary lines of many present-day divisions and is still widely influential. The influence of that which we may call Sanskrit culture in India is certainly comparable with that of its cognate Latin, or Greek and Latin, culture in Europe; it would be a profound and richly rewarding study to pursue this comparison in detail. Each of the two peninsulas affords a home to more than one of the world's principal religions, although the Muslims in Europe are less important in their peninsula than are the Indian Muslims in theirs. Consciousness of racial and political unity and community, if not actually further advanced in India than in Europe, is at any rate a more living ideal.

My second point concerns morals and social conditions. If we of America would understand India, we need to remind ourselves pointedly of the obvious fact that every social system has its evils as well as its excellences. It scarcely befits an American to expose or deplore the evils of India, unless he thinks also of gangland in Chicago, the divorce merry-go-round at Reno, the false glamour of Hollywood, the long story of injustice to the Negro, and the growing bitterness of American economic conflicts. A just comparison of evils of India and America is hindered by a characteristic almost ingrained in each of the two peoples. The Indian, coming from the East, is naturally sensitive to the finer things of life, and sensitive to any failure to achieve

* *The Aryan Path*.

them and to any criticism because of such failure. On the other hand, the American, coming from the West, is temperamentally less sensitive, and has often been reared to regard the essential soundness, and even the superiority, of his own civilization as beyond question. Each man in this respect needs to meet the other halfway.

It is disagreeable to think of the third point, but since none of us is to blame for it, and since sometimes it seems to lurk in the background of some awkward situations, it is better to drag it out into the light. If we of America would understand India, we must get rid not merely of the notion—this is not so difficult—but also of any lingering attitudes which here and there accompany the notion—that differences of skin pigmentation give any man cultural or spiritual prestige as compared with any other man. In the present unworthy state of the world, both within and outside India, economic, social, and political prestige is often correlated with differences of colour; one great thing which India can teach the West is the hollowness and wickedness of such distinctions. When I think of the things which really do matter in life, my heart is filled with love and reverence for the great souls, the dear friends whom I came to know in India.

Once more, if we of America would understand India, we must get away from missionary situations and missionary problems. This is not denying that if we wish to help India, the missionary point of view may be valuable; still less is it denying that there are in India many missionaries who understand Indian life with real insight and appreciation. With all this granted, I think it is of primary importance that if we wish to understand India, we should learn about it from the Indians themselves. With contacts and possibilities of contacts multiplying every day, this is becoming easier all the time. As the adherents of all the great religions come to know one another better, they find that each of the great religions has all the great ideas (and also, alas, most of the small ideas!) of the others. The differences between the great religions are differences of emphasis, and their function when they meet is that each shall help to bring out the best in the others. The Hindu's practice of the presence of God, the Muslim's flaming sense of brotherhood, the Buddhist's composed self-control, the Christian's self-sacrificing service—all these are needed in the ideal man. As the great religions meet more often and more understandingly, we must expect that there will be modifications in them and adjustments between them. There will always be border-line cases of marked attraction and conversion; converts ought to be like valence electrons, bonds between the nuclei to which they belong.

This leads to mention of another point, in which I depart somewhat from widely accepted views. I doubt if "the man in the street" in India is any more religious, or any better example of his religion, than is the man in the street in America. Practically any man in any street in either country can, if asked, state some of the essentials of his ancestral faith, and, if his conduct is examined, will be found to exemplify some of its principles. The Indian sometimes seems more religious to us, when the difference is that he is merely more Oriental. The lines of religious differences can easily be overdrawn with respect to any country; I think it is clear that they are actually sharper in India than in America, although America's treatment of the Negro, if not of the Jew, would have to be reckoned into any fair comparison. A marked difference between the religious thinking of the Indians and the Americans is that the impact of the newer scientific



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discoveries has been felt more sharply in America, and has led to widespread and influential liberal movements. In India, it looks as if the problems of science and religion had not arisen, but this is in part due to the fact that Hinduism is on the whole more flexible and has more quiet absorptive power than orthodox Protestant Christianity.

Almost as controversial as problems of religion are problems of politics. If we of America would understand India, we must think of the presence of Britain in India as of long standing. The British started their work in India before the days of the League of Nations and the Lytton Report, and when the international conscience was much below even its present low level. Only the most extreme partisan, I think, can deny that England has afforded India substantial and lasting benefits. But beneath all the detail of current questions and controversies, one great basic fact or set of facts seems to be fundamental and unshakable: England and India are basically and naturally incommensurable. The English liberals themselves see this. It is as if it might have been if the island empire off the east coast of Eurasia had for the past three centuries dominated the western peninsula—as if Japan had dominated Europe, Japan might have conferred great benefits upon Europe. It might have given the European Babel a common language, and might even have prevented the "first European war," or the racial conflicts in Germany. But in spite of all these things the hard fact would remain that Japan is of the East and Europe is of the West. More and more clearly, it seems to be a mistake to attempt to Westernise India.

Finally, if we would understand India, we must think of India as increasingly helping herself out of her own difficulties. Notable achievements are beginning to show—witness the brilliant administration of affairs in some of the native states, the developing solidarity and sense of brotherhood within, if not as yet altogether between, various communal groups, and the work of the beloved Gandhiji in the villages. Everyone sees that there are still formidable obstacles. We of America cannot yet see how India can help herself effectively so long as the caste system is allowed to stifle ability or cramp a person's choice of occupation, nor how agriculture can hope to prosper without sterner measures against animal pests. But the heartening fact in the whole situation is the number of Indians who, in their own ways if not in ours, are devoting themselves with utter consecration to the problems of their people. In the course of some passing to and fro in the world, I have become rather accustomed to scenes of embarkation. When we left India, our departing steamer sailed out of Bombay harbour just at midday. The passengers were the usually mixed group of all sorts and conditions of men. Most of those near me had one thing at least in common; they obeyed promptly the call to the luncheon table, which came just as we were getting under way.

It occurred to me that as I was now leaving India, in a few moments the shores of that land which had been so rich for me would be out of sight in the mist; so I made my way to the deck, to look again at the fast receding city. As I stepped out I saw something which I think I have never seen in leaving any other country. A dozen or a score of European passengers stood one by one, as if each had come by himself, without reference to the others. Each gazing at the shore, was standing quietly and seriously, somewhat as a worshipper might stand in a temple.

Homage and love and gratitude to India!

THE SPIRIT OF HINDU SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.*

In an article on the "Caste system of the Hindus" appearing in the July number of the *Hindustan Review*, Prof. Gulshan Rai unravels some of the important principles involved in the system. He points out that we can gain a real insight into the system by understanding the significance of the two words 'Varna' and 'Jati.' Varna, according to him, was not a division based on colour at all, it was purely an occupational classification, and the four well-known Varnas of Brahmana, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra indicated only the professions followed by the different groups. As distinguished from this was the Jati which was based solely on birth, and reflected the dislike of Indians to mix their blood with foreign elements. Prof. Rai maintains that according to the Indian social system it was the Jati that was unchangeable, not the Varna. A Jati or ethnic group classed in one Varna on the basis of profession used however to change the Varna by the change of profession; but in ancient India where the family or the community, and not the individual, was the social unit, such changes used to be effected not by an individual's passing from one Varna to another but of the whole family or community doing so. Thus while the Jati of a group remained fixed, it rose or fell in the social scale in accordance with the change in the occupation of the people belonging to it.

Prof. Rai points out that it was through the institutions of Jati and Varna that all the pre-Muslim invaders of India were absorbed by the Hindu society. The foreigners for sometime after their invasion used to be soldiers and administrators, and thus occupied the rank or Varna of Kshatriyas, although they might not be recognised as such by the indigenous Kshatriyas. But when they lost political powers, they were compelled to adopt other professions, and according to the professions they adopted, they became sub-divisions of different Varnas, these sub-divisions of each Varna having marriage relations only among themselves and not with other sub-sects of the same Varna. Thus the foreigner gradually and imperceptibly got absorbed in the indigenous social organisation, but at the same time through the institution of Jati which is often identified now-a-days with sub-sect, the conservative elements safeguarded themselves from intermixture of blood with foreigners.

From these observations regarding Jati and Varna and the manner in which they helped the indigenous population to absorb foreign invaders, Prof. Rai proceeds to consider how Hindu society can in future absorb Muslims and Christians who have till now stood outside Hindu social system. He says: "If in olden times our culture was adopted by other races, it was not adopted by individuals, but by families and groups of families. This group of families formed an endogamous unit of its own. It constituted a separate Jati, which after a few generations formed a sub-section of an Aryan Varna. The present-day method of individual conversion or Suddhi is therefore repugnant to Hindu way of thought. If we failed in modern times to absorb foreign races, it is due to two reasons. So long as the Muslims ruled the country, they held a kind of political importance which prevented them from sinking to the level of other peoples in the land. This Muslim political supremacy was not overthrown till about 200 years back which barely constitutes six or seven genera-

* *Vedantia Kesari*.

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During these two centuries, India was overtaken by dark ages, and she passed through a period of civil wars, bloodshed and disturbances. Peace and tranquillity have been established only during the last one hundred years, which means hardly three or four generations. We have had no time during this period to study our social problems and find a solution for them. But one thing is clear. Western method of conversion will not do. The one most important lesson that was learnt in connection with the Suddhi movement of the Malkana Rajputs, was that you could not re-convert them unless you assured them that they could be taken by their caste *biradaries*. This is a clear verdict against individual conversion. If we are to reabsorb those whom we have lost and absorb amongst us fresh foreign elements, which are not very numerous, we should reject the Muslim and Christian missionary methods, and revert to our ancient well-tried national methods. That method consisted in distributing the alien elements in one population into our pre-existing economic groups in accordance with the natural affinity of each foreign ethnic unit. This task has to a very great extent been already accomplished. The next step would be taken when the Hindu religious leaders take up the work of studying foreign non-Aryan religions, and then after a comparative study of these different faiths and methods of worship, come to find out how these different principles could be reconciled, and a synthetic whole created out of them. This process was started by men like Kabir, Nanak and others, but it was stopped by the disturbed period that intervened. This work should be re-started. The old Hindu religion sticking to its old fundamental principles, has from time to time assumed new shapes. We have absorbed the culture and religion of the Pre-Aryans. We have absorbed the most important principles of Jainism and Buddhism. We have probably absorbed the cults of the Central Asian invaders. I am sure we will also absorb those principles of Islam and Christianity, which are best suited for Indian conditions. When we have done that, it would be time to absorb even culturally the foreign elements we now have amongst us. But it will take a few generations more, if we begin the task in right earnest now. How all this is to be done must be left not to the bigoted Pandits and Mullahs of to-day but to the intelligent students of comparative theology."

Prof. Rai's suggestions are no doubt very profound and thought-provoking, and deserve the serious consideration of all well-wishers of Indian culture. We however feel that Prof. Rai overlooks one important fact. Muslims and Christians are not like the Yuchis, Huns and other hordes from Central Asia. The latter had no culture of their own and the religions they professed were very primitive with no universal appeal in them. It is comparatively easy for a higher culture like that of the Hindus to absorb such people. But the case of Muslims and Christians is quite different. They, especially the Muslims, have a long-standing and historic culture of their own, and the religions they both profess have a deep spiritual appeal and are buttressed by powerful organisations. Moreover they are religiously self-conscious, jealous and aggressive, and are out to swallow what they call the unbelieving population in this country. Would it not be necessary to make radical changes in the old methods in order to meet the entirely new situation? We for our part believe that no attempt at absorption can succeed unless the social outlook of the modern Hindu broadens and his allegiance to the essential principles of religion becomes deeper.

SYNCRETISTIC TENDENCIES TODAY.*

(BY THE REV. L. P. LARSEN)

For the last forty years a type of Indian religious teaching has been spreading in the West. In the beginning it was generally spoken of as Neo-Hinduism; and the work of spreading these ideas was for some time limited to America. Now these activities are better known by the name of the Ramkrishna Mission, and are not confined to the New World only. A report was recently published of the promising work done within the last year in several countries on the continent of Europe.

The basis of all the work of the Ramkrishna Mission is the conviction that all religions are fundamentally one, this statement being primarily applied to Hinduism and Buddhism, Islam and Christianity. When men come close enough to each other to get behind the words and forms which at first are felt to be barriers and causes of conflict, the underlying unity of longing and striving, of need and of aim, becomes increasingly clear. Those who have never been intimately acquainted with the people of any other religion or Church than their own are not troubled by questions of this kind. It is only when different religionists come close enough together, and begin to know each other more intimately, that syncretistic ways of thinking begin to suggest themselves. And they are not prompted merely by growing acquaintance and better understanding. There is also behind them a stronger consciousness of the harm that has been caused in human lives by religious conflicts.

One does not necessarily agree with syncretistic teaching because of the fact that one realises what forces have been at work in it. But it continues to be true that error lives only by the element of truth that is in it. And syncretism, as we meet it so strikingly in the work of the Ramkrishna Mission, has in it elements of truth which we cannot afford to ignore. We must come to understand one another better where disturbing and harmful differences are felt. Ignorance is a poor foundation for friendliness; but it is also a very regrettable ground for conflict and strife. Those who have come to know at close quarters some of the activities of the Ramkrishna Mission in India cannot fail to think of them with respect and admiration, even if it is not possible to answer satisfactorily all the questions one is thereby forced to consider.

Among the Hindus, such elastic and comprehensive attitudes in religious questions have from very old times been common phenomena; and one can see, in a measure, why it has been so. But it is not from Hinduism alone that syncretistic activities are at present proceeding. The Bahai Movement has grown up within the world of Islam. Its followers may not be regarded by orthodox Muslims as real followers of Islam, just as some strictly orthodox Hindus would doubtless shake their heads at the Ramkrishna Mission type of Hinduism. But the Bahai Movement in its own way, just like the Ramkrishna Mission in its way, is trying to offer to torn and distracted humanity a religious way which all may follow, a way where differences are not felt to be a source of sufferings and loss. And there are men in many parts of the world who listen to the Bahai teaching because they are tired of quarrelling with others over their religious differences.

Recently word has come from India of an address given by a great representative of Burmese Buddhism to representatives of orthodox Hinduism on the essential unity of Buddhism and Hinduism. The close connection between these two systems

*The Student World.

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is a plain historical fact. And the question of the connection between them recently became more prominent, when the place that is associated with the memory of Gautama's enlightenment, after being managed for many years by the Hindus, was given back again to the Buddhists. The presence of Rev. Ottama from Burma as president at the meeting of the Hindu Mahasabha had doubtless more of political than of religious motives behind it. And it has not by any means been approved by all Hindus. Yet it is characteristic of the strong present-day tendency to overlook religious differences.

But is not this tendency something that we all have reason to respect and to rejoice at? Do we not need to strengthen all the forces that make for friendliness and co-operation among men? If it is such things as these that are meant by syncretism, will it then not be a serious matter if Christianity in all its missionary activities thinks of it only as an error and a danger? That is what some people are seriously feeling.

And is not the Apostle Paul, they may add, pointing us in the same direction when he speaks of his being "a Jew to the Jews and a Greek to the Greeks" as a necessary condition of his being able to do aright the work he has been sent to do?

When we know the man who said this, there is no room for doubt that he did not thereby wish to describe a shapeless and wobbly life, that had no character of its own, and could be entirely different things in different places. That was not the kind of man the apostle Paul was or strove to be. It is plain that what he is describing in these words, as a necessary qualification of a messenger of Christ's Gospel, is the mind that is anxious not to be an outsider or a stranger among the people to whom he wants to commend the Gospel. He realised that the work which Christ's servants are sent to do can succeed only if the hearers look upon them with such confidence and openness of mind as are nowhere shown toward those who are regarded as foreigners.

It was a desire of the same kind that made the Saviour use the name, "the Son of Man," about Himself. It is very striking that His disciples never used it about Him, though He called Himself constantly by that name. There were many things that made Him different from those around Him. It was not the kind of differences which separates the white foreigner from the people of India. But the differences were not less real; and they were not less liable to put a distance between Him and those around Him. But unless men came to Him with free and open and confident mind which only among our own people, He knew not get the truth of God commended hearts and consciences. Therefore He uses this term, and when the apostle says, "I am one of you, the Son of Man," a Jew to the Jews and a Greek to the Greeks, it is a matter that has nothing to do with the words refer to a very important. But it is a question, not of the method, but of the way by which alone we can reach "the conscience of every man."

And on this side the work of Christian missions has had such great defects that it is not strange if some are inclined to give all their attention to avoiding the danger on that side of the path. And all the fear of syncretism—which we do not wish to minimise—must not be allowed to lessen our desire to get so close to the people among whom we are to work, in mutual understanding and frankness and confidence, that the way is open from heart to heart. For then only does it become possible to commend the truth

to every man's conscience.

It is a serious matter that the work of evangelism has been done by "foreign" missions. As long as we are foreigners in the eyes of the people, we are not fully qualified to prepare the way of the Lord. The messengers of the Gospel must be so near to the people to whom they wish to proclaim it that the feeling of foreignness disappears. For that calls for, if not definite opposition, at least cautious reserve, and where that prevails the way to the conscience is blocked. To be a Jew to the Jews and a Greek to the Greeks is everywhere a vital question to the evangelist.

"MOTHER OF GOD".

To,
The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Dear Sir,

In your issue of October 19th you suggest that the attitude that Jesus took toward His mother jars on the Indian reader more than any thing else. I wonder if you have really looked at the matter fairly.

The treatment Jesus accorded to women was of the highest. He built a basic equality into the very social structure when He said that one man and one woman should be true to each other in the marriage relation till death parted them. This basic equality of man and woman was announced at a time when in East and West polygamy was the general rule and practice. This was symptomatic of his general attitudes towards women. If therefore He treated His mother harshly it would have cut across this whole tenor. Did He?

The accusation is that He used the word "woman" when addressing his mother. But in accusing Him at that point we only accuse ourselves and reveal our class-filled thought. We have made a distinction between "woman" and "lady," and between a "man" and a "gentleman." This we have done because of our class-filled minds. Then when Jesus uses the word which we have emptied of respect we accuse him of rudeness. But suppose He never emptied that word, suppose He knew nothing higher to call a man than just a man, and no higher term to call a woman than just a woman. When we see the infinite respect He put into human personality of even the lowest we can understand that he filled the term man and woman with such respect that to call one by these names, with His content in them, was to compliment them and not be rude to them. He was cleansing society from the insincerities of high-sounding complimentary terms. We are slowly coming round to His point of view, for the highest complimentary we can say of any one is, He *is* a man, or, She *is* a woman. We Christians are not offended whom Pilate says, Behold the man! We think it is a compliment.

It is true that the second part of the sentence which He uses to His mother at the marriage feast, "Woman, what have I to do with thee, mine hour is not yet come" does seem harsh. But only when viewed out of its context. He was beginning His ministry. He had been true to the family obligation for thirty years. He must have been used to following the directions of His mother. But when she undertook now, when He had come before the world in a new role, to tell Him what to do, He must be decisive that the Kingdom claim had transcended the family claim, and that He was to be directed by His Heavenly Father and not by his earthly mother. She tried to force Him to use His power. She touched a tender spot. That power could only be used under Divine direction. Satan had suggested the use of it and was turned down. Herod the king did the same.



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and was met with a terrible silence, and when His mother tried to do the same she was rebuked and rightly so. This power would be used in behalf of human head under the direction of the Divine and could not be at the beck and call of human pressures. That the mother felt the justice of the rebuke and that she did not take offense can be seen from her answer, "Whatsoever He saith unto you do it." In this answer she as much as said, "My Son is right, you listen to Him, and do what He says."

The other incident when He used the term "Woman" was at the cross, when He said to His mother, "Woman, behold thy Son" and, "Son, behold thy mother." In these words He commended His mother to the care of His disciple John. It is unthinkable that He could have meant disrespect to His mother at an hour like this when He was tendering to her His greatest concern and affection. The use of the word "woman" here must have been in line with the exposition we have been giving, namely, that He knew nothing higher to say to His mother than this beautiful word woman, this word which He had filled with a glorious and tender content.

Had Jesus been disrespectful to His mother and to His family would she and they have been in that company of His disciples, waiting, in compliance with His command for the gift of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost? The end of the whole thing is that she and they were in that line of obedience alongside of the rest of the disciples. The account says: "All of these with one mind continued earnest in prayer, together with some women, and Mary the mother of Jesus, and His brothers." Had they found in His treatment of the mother and of them what His critics profess to find would they have been there as full-fledged, committed disciples of His, waiting for the Holy Spirit in obedience to His command? To ask such a question is to answer it.

There is one other incident which seems harsh on the surface. It is when His mother and His brethren came to speak to Him when the multitudes were about Him. He replied, pointing to the multitude around him, "Who is my mother and who are my brethren? Behold my mother and brethren. He that doeth the will of my Father in heaven the same is my mother, and my brother." Here again is the same asserting of the family claim against this larger claim of the Kingdom. For they came to make not merely a friendly call on Him, but to take Him away, to take him away from the career of healing and saying and finally dying for the cause which he had launched. It was therefore a really critical moment. And he had to assert this universal family claim over against the smaller and more exclusive one. This same clash comes to anyone who would be brother to the sons of the earth. Very often the exclusive family claims try to stop one and make one fit into the blood-family claim and its narrow notions. That had to be broken in His own interest and in the interests of others. We are grateful that He did it.

To sum up: Because He was compelled to adjust in right relationships the claim of the blood-family and this universal family of the Kingdom of God, and because He had to keep back His mother from a managerial capacity in relationship to His use of Divine power, and because He used the word "woman," is no reason why we should judge Him adversely at this point, for in every point He was right. The Kingdom claim is supreme over the family claim, the family interest must not decide the use of Divine power, and the term "woman" and "man" which He used are the highest terms which can be used of any woman or man. Humanity is

slowly but surely coming to His idea of what constitutes a compliment—the highest compliment is to say that a man is a *man*, and a woman is a *woman*. In all these things He was right—as always.

Yours etc.

T. A. L.

[This letter comes to us without the usual authentication with the writer's name and address. We nevertheless publish it as it concerns a question of interpretation of an ancient document. Eva Gore Booth in her 'Psychological and Poetic Approach to the Fourth Gospel' tried to explain this 'stumbling block' away by suggesting that the original admitted of a more acceptable meaning. Montefiore's remark which we quoted from the *Hibbert Journal* disposes of this explanation. As a scholar to whom the Hebrew idiom is a heritage, and as a warm admirer of Jesus as the greatest man of his own race, his authority on a question of this kind is unique. Our correspondent's theory that the mother and brothers (or cousins) of Jesus were his disciples, is totally opposed to the evidence of the Gospels themselves. See also Mrs. Borden's study of this question in her story 'Mary of Nazareth.'—Ed., *I. S. R.*]

MRS. PITT OF CAMBRIDGE.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT).

Penukonda gave a quiet though a hearty welcome to Mrs. Pitt at the railway station when she arrived by the Bangalore passenger on the morning of Saturday, the 2nd. November. It is 8 years since she came here on a short visit. Her heart always linked to Penukonda, she had to stay away at Cambridge all along to attend on her aged mother to the end of her life which event occurred 10 months ago. Being thus freed from the duty of love, she now returns to India for good to live and die, as she is fond of saying.

Mrs. Pitt's connection with South India began more than half a century ago when she came out as Miss Isobel Poole with her uncle the late Mr. Buyers, Ry. Construction Engineer, then stationed at Penukonda (1836) in charge of laying out of what is now Guntakal-Bangalore chord line of the M. S. M. Railway. Handsome in appearance, cultured in mind and gentle in nature she attracted the attention of late Mr. Pitt, a young civilian, then working as Head Assistant Collector of Penukonda about the early nineties whom she married. The happiest period of her life was spent here which to her is full of sweet and enduring memories and which she continues to cherish even to this day. That accounts for her yearning to come away leaving those near and dear to her yet left in her mother country to pass the rest of her life here.

During these 40 years and more she has steadily striven to enter into the spirit of the country and its people with a sympathetic understanding which few could evince. The first item of discipline to which she submitted herself was to learn the Telugu language of which she had acquired a fair working knowledge using it largely for her correspondence with a host of women friends she made to keep in touch with them. She was perhaps the pioneer in this out-of-the-way place 40 years ago to endeavour to create a mutual understanding by social intercourse between the two races.

She has always been a believer in the social reform movement, the beginning of which in South India may be said to have synchronised with her setting in life. Varied are the achievements in this field to her credit. She has been instrumental in inducing many a young widow to choose the teacher's vocation for a living. Many a poor school boy has received help from her hands. A great lover of children she used to gather them and impart instruction combined with entertainment by noval devices. In befriending the poor and the needy, in attending upon the sick and the suffering and in her kindness to animals, her activities have been for long an object lesson to those among whom she has chosen to live.



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and work. Her earnestness to understand the people set her to examine and get a discriminating insight into their spiritual basis for which she has an undisguised appreciation. Many a Hindu recluse has found his element in coming into contact with her to the advantage of both. What is more, she misses no chance to interpret what is best in Indian culture as she sees it to those of her own race by writings and talks. She has had the advantage of coming into contact with eminent Indians like Messrs. Candeth, Gokhale, Natarajan, Sree Sreenivasa Shastry, Kesava Pillay, S. V. Kamamurthy and Sir Sankaran Nair. Indian students of the early generation who went for higher studies to Cambridge always found in her a friend in need and instances have not been few when she played the guardian to many such at the request of their parents. To go in quest of sorrow and distress and to relieve it has been almost a second nature with her.

An ardent conservative in politics, she belongs to the type which intensely feels proud of the country's achievement in the direction of Indian uplift but that the work is not complete. It is the impatience and anger at the growing radical school of thought which is steadily awakening to the belief, right or wrong, that behind all this apparent beneficence, there is a strong under-current of economic exploitation which the new constitution aims at perpetuating and which has to be arrested if the country is to be saved from grinding poverty. Most innocently oblivious to this view-point, Mrs. Pitt's love for India has deeper foundations making her weep sometimes in bitterness at the scaffolding being pulled down by profane hands thoughtlessly before the task is done revealing the political edifice of her vision in all its glory.

CHILD MARRIAGE—THE EXTENT OF THE EVIL.

The evil of child marriage is often said to be quantitatively small and the custom not universal; but even if the number of child widows revealed in these figures is one-hundredth of the actual figures, no humanitarian public or Government will wait a moment before preventing the source of this misery. In this connection let us also remember that for most of these children re-marriage is impossible.

Another consequence of child marriage is the number of young mothers who die in child-birth. 2,00,000 deaths in child-birth is the yearly average for India. This works up to 20 deaths per hour, and a vast number of these deaths occur to girls in their teens. According to Sir John Megaw, "of every 1,000 young mothers 100 are destined to die in child-birth before they cease having babies." We have no accurate figures for maternal mortality. It is estimated at 24.5 per thousand for India whereas it is only 4.5 for England.

Lastly, child marriage affects not merely the mother but the child and therefore the race. In India out of every 1,000 children born, 181 die. This is the average; there are places in India where the average goes up to 400 per 1,000. The very backward condition of India in this respect is evident by a comparison of figures for infant mortality in England and Japan which are 60 and 124 per mille respectively. The horror is indeed great when we remember that the evil is a preventable one and it is the lack of an educated social conscience which has allowed the evil to flourish unchecked.

Lucknow.

LAKSHMI N. MENON,

Secretary, Anti-Child-Marriage Committee.

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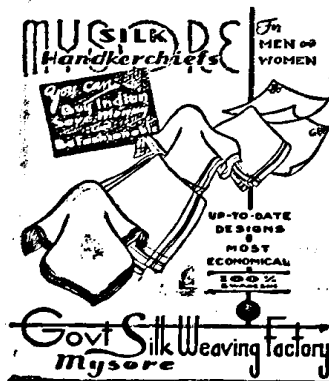
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Inadequacy of Dominion Status:—The *Reformer* has consistently pointed out the unsuitability and inadequacy of Dominion Status as the goal of Indian Swaraj. The reasons for which Ireland feels she can not be a Dominion apply to India. And there are other reasons. Dominions are daughters of the mother country. India by reason of age alone would be her grandmother. But there is some thing more than age. By reason of her history extending over many centuries before the establishment of British rule, she has inherited affinities and sympathies to which as a British Dominion she can not give expression. The whole country feels keenly for the present plight of Ethiopia. A contributor to the *Hindu* of Madras quotes from Western writers to the effect that Ethiopia was colonised from the mouths of the Indus, in pre-historic times. Behind the sympathy felt in this country, there may be the buried memory of ancient kinship. However that may be, the fact is that, notwithstanding the intense feeling among us, we are utterly powerless to express it by any little act which may be within our means in our own name and as of our own right. Take again, the present deplorable relations between Japan and China. Two eminent scholars from these lands, now or recently in India, have declared that India is held in high esteem in their countries for the spiritual and cultural benefits derived in ancient times. India, China and Japan constituted a single cultural unit and was known as San Goku. In our own time, Dr. Hu Shih, father of Chinese Nationalism, has founded and is directing the Crescent Moon Society and the Crescent Moon Magazine dedicated to the memory of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore's visit to China. Professor Tan Yun-Shan, in his eloquent and learned lecture delivered at Shantiniketan and published in the current *Modern Review*, said: "As for the Poet's ideal and hope to unite Asiatic cultures and to revive the Indian and Chinese cultural

relationship, all of our Chinese scholars have the sincerest sympathy with him; and our leading scholars and leaders have also cherished for long the same idea and are willing to co-strive for the common goal with joint endeavours. Now is the time for India and China to resume and strengthen their cultural relationship." Professor Yone Noguchi, the famed Japanese Poet, who arrived in Calcutta on Sunday spoke of Japan's friendship for India through Buddhism. India is thus historically cast for the part of mediator between these two great countries but she can not fill that role except as an Asiatic nation acting on her own impulses and instincts. Indian Swaraj will be a poor thing if it does not leave her full freedom to serve the world as peacemaker which her genius and history mark her out to be.

The Depressed Classes and Hinduism:—We publish on another page a striking statement by Mr. M. C. Rajah who represents the depressed classes in the Legislative Assembly, on the suggestion thrown out by Dr. Ambedkar at Yeola that these classes should quit Hinduism as a protest against the disabilities to which they are subject. Mr. Rajah's attitude on the relation of Hinduism to untouchability has been consistent. He has refused to associate the Hindu religion with the caste prejudice against untouchables and has persistently urged that it is the duty of the latter as of caste Hindus to work to abolish this institution. He has by his attitude won over many indifferent caste people who have been touched by his loyalty to their religion. His suggestion is the same as what we made last week that the leaders of the antyajas should make common efforts with Hindu reformers—they are themselves such—to remove this and other customs which hamper national progress. We are glad that, according to last reports, Dr. Ambedkar himself has somewhat resiled from his peremptory position as defined at Yeola. He rightly thinks that untouchability is an incident of the caste system. Where there are castes there will be outcastes. Even among antyajas there are castes which will have no intercourse with each other. The abolition of this system which has its roots deep down in the Indian mentality, is a work requiring time and infinite patience. Its complete extinction will come only when the average educational and economic condition of all castes, is raised



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to an approximately uniform level; and when the spirit of nationalism overpowers all sectarian differences and distinctions in the intense pursuit of a common goal. Meanwhile, caste prejudices are being reduced. The change during the last ten or fifteen years has been amazing. Men like Dr. Ambedkar, Mr. Rajah and others are regarded by Hindus as their own leaders in all matters except the narrow circle of those which concern the intimate relations of family life. The temple entry question was exaggerated out of all proportion to its intrinsic importance. Temple worship is not essential to Hinduism. Nobody loses caste by not going to temples. Even those who were opposed to the Temple Entry Bill, realise that access to public places and institutions should be made free to all castes. The Kavitha incident came upon us as a complete surprise. Dr. Ambedkar's impatience has also served a good purpose. We trust that the controversy will now end and that the temporary rift may be the means of drawing caste Hindus and the scheduled castes closer together. They need each other.

India's Contribution to Civilisation:—Mr. M. S. Aney, leader of the Democratic Swaraj Party which was formed two years ago to fight the Communal Award, presided at a conference of the Party at Chalisgaon last Sunday. In a vigorous presidential address, he insisted that the Party must continue to function in order to keep the Congress leaders from slipping into acceptance of the Award which he denounced as anti-national and unjust. He criticised the inconsistency of inviting Indian States' subjects to join the Congress and to participate in its activities in British India, and then disowning any obligation to help them to achieve reforms in their own administrations. He condemned the fantastic new constitution adopted last year for the Congress and urged its amendment immediately with a view to unite all persons and parties in opposition to the Hoare Constitution "whether they believed in the efficacy of the use of khadi or not." The khadi qualification for serving the country, keeps many people who have no differences with the Congress from identifying themselves with it. Nothing but vested interests stands in the way of its repeal. Swadeshism has taken root in the public mind but, even though khadi propaganda has been carried on most vigorously for the past several years, there has not grown up the same feeling in regard to the use of hand-spun, hand-woven cloth. In fact, the experience so far gained confirms the conclusion reached by students of the cotton industry that hand spinning can not become a permanent feature of Indian industries, unless the manufacture and import of mill yarn is prohibited by law, which is impracticable. In one respect, an important one, too, Mr. Aney showed himself to be a nationalist of the narrow, self-regarding type. He went out of his way to attack Babu Rajendra Prasad for declaring in a recent speech that the attainment of Swaraj for India through non-

violent methods would be India's contribution to world civilization. He criticised this statement as placing undue stress on the means as distinguished from the end as leading one to suspect that the Congress was engaged not in an anti-British fight but in making an experiment, with the good of humanity all over the world, as its objective. Does Mr. Aney want India to become a nation like the nations of Europe with one hand on the throats and the other in the pockets of one another? What good will that do to India? How would it profit us if Britain leaves only to have Italy or Japan pounce on the country, as they are sure to do in their frantic search for colonies and raw materials? Attainment of Swaraj by non-violent means would mean its attainment for ever, not against any other nation but for the good of all. This is perfectly plain to our mind. The measure of India's worth even to herself is exactly the extent of her worth to the world.

Nationalism and Islam:—In an article published in the current number of the *Modern Review*, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru asks, with reference to Sir Mahomed Iqbal's theory of the solidarity of Islam, how it is affected by the growth of nationalism in Turkey, Egypt, Persia, Afghanistan, Iraq, and, probably also, Arabia. The question, he observes, is relevant even for a non-Muslim. For on the answer to it depends the political, social and economic orientation of Indian Muslims and their reactions to modern ideas and thought currents. He adds: "Islam being a world community, its policy must also be a world policy, if it is to preserve that sense of solidarity." The report of the proceedings of the first Conference of European Muslims held in Geneva of which we reproduce a part from *Islam* of Lahore, is even more suggestive of the weakening of pan-Islamism which bulked so largely in Indian and European politics before the War. It is not generally known that there is a considerable Muslim population in the Balkan States who do not enjoy any special rights as a community. The Geneva Conference passed a special resolution thanking the Czechoslovakian Government for the specially favourable treatment accorded to its Muslim subjects. The French delegate complained of the treatment of its Muslim subjects by France. French policy is one of assimilation. It does not recognise race, colour or creed. The eminent Negro publicist, Du Bois, from whose comprehensive review of the position of coloured races in *Foreign Affairs* we quoted a part in the *Reformer* (November 2), thus described the policy in French colonies: "The French put forth every effort to make it possible for educated and ambitious natives to be absorbed in the French nation. Contrary to the British custom, the French schools are not blind alleys which prevent natives from going too far in education, but are articulated with the French University system.....At most this liberty means a chance for the few that can take



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advantage of it; but they are very few, and the result is mainly to drain off and Frenchify the native leadership of the blacks. This class of educated natives becomes a part of the ruling French caste." European Muslims who are acquiring a continental outlook, naturally dislike this. The Conference passed a resolution appealing to the League of Nations to secure for European Muslims protection of their cultural interests. From nationalism to continentalism may mean a reaction against the former and towards universalism as a first step, or it may mean a severance of European Islam from the Continent of its birth.

The Deccan Education Society:—Professor P. M. Limaye of the Fergusson College, Poona, has brought out a history of the famous Deccan Education Society of which the College is the eldest child. The period covered is fifty-five years from 1880 to 1935. They are most eventful years in Indian history. The Indian National Congress was founded in 1885 and the National Social Conference in 1887. Lord Ripon had appointed an Education Commission to report on the state of education and it had reported on the desirability of affording free scope for non-official enterprise in higher education. The Deccan Education Society was the first body in this country which applied the principle of renunciation to solve the problem of educational expansion. The middle classes of India are keen on receiving higher education but their means are limited and they can not afford the high fees charged in Government institutions. Some young graduates in Poona conceived the idea of dedicating themselves to the service of their people in the sphere of education. They banded themselves together in the Deccan Education Society, undertaking for a small remuneration to work as teachers and professors in the Society's institutions for a period of twenty years. The determination and self-sacrifice of these young men attracted public sympathy and brought public support. But it always was, and still is, not the least arduous of the duties of Life Members to tour the country during college vacations for the collection of funds to meet the growing needs of expansion. Two of the Professors attained all India fame as political leaders; Bal Gangadhar Tilak and Gopal Krishna Gokhale. Another devoted himself to the cause of Women's Education, founded the Hindu Widow's Home which he developed later into the Indian Women's University. Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, now Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, won distinction for himself and his *alma mater* as the first Indian to wrest the Senior Wranglership at Cambridge, and become Principal of the College. He too attained a high position in the political field, becoming Minister of Education in the Bombay Government and later a Member of the Secretary of State's council in London. The Society conducts some excellent High Schools in Poona and other towns. It conducts a second College at Sangli, which bears the name of the present

Viceroy, Lord Willingdon. The Servants of India Society founded by Gokhale near his College, on the same self-denying principle as the Society, has become famous as the headquarters of what may be called the intellectual centre of Indian politics. The Seva Sadan Society for educating young women and to train them to useful careers as teachers, nurses and social workers, is also an offshoot of the same movement.

Italy and Ethiopia:—If, as Rome messages claim, Ethiopians have been welcoming the Italian Army everywhere and there is no opposition offered by Ethiopian forces, the surrender of the Emperor and the settlement of the terms of peace will be a matter of a few days or weeks at the most. The relations between Britain and Italy have been fluctuating from day to day. One day the Italian Press is furiously hostile, the next day it pleads for friendship and co-operation between the two nations. It may be that the Ethiopians are waiting for the supply of arms and ammunition which, now that the ban has been lifted, are reaching the country in large quantities. The Italian Government has protested to the League of Nations and the countries concerned against the imposition of economic sanctions. The news that Austria which is at present under a Fascist Government patronised by Italy, has joined other nations and placed a ban on the export of arms to Italy may mean either that Italy is losing ground in its conflict with the League or that German influence in Austria is growing as a consequence of Mussolini's pre-occupation in Ethiopia.

Buddhism and Conversion:—The Buddhists have sent a cautious message to Dr. Ambedkar, with reference to his speech at Yeola. At a meeting of Calcutta Buddhists the following resolution was passed: "That Dr. Ambedkar be requested to reconsider the step announced by him at the Conference of Harijans recently held at Nasik in view of the larger interests of the Indian Society as a whole and that if after such reconsideration he still finds no reason to alter his decision, he is invited to embrace Buddhism as his religion which guarantees perfect equality of status both social and religious to all those who profess it and which grown out of the soil of this country represents its highest achievement in toleration, universality and justice and is least calculated to disturb the constructive forces in the social regeneration of India." It may be hoped, writes the journal of the Mahabodhi Society, that Dr. Ambedkar will give due consideration to the request made by the Buddhists before taking any decisive step. "There is no doubt that he will find in Buddhism a complete satisfaction for the rationalist temper which an educated man develops almost unconsciously and for the religious, civic, social and educational equality whose absence is felt so keenly by a large section of the Hindu society." But it is not this subjective achievement that Dr. Ambedkar is after. Will Buddhism lead to social equality which is what he wants? Civic and educational equality, he already has.



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LEAGUE MANDATES.

The Report of the work of the Permanent Mandates Commission at its twenty-seventh session held in June, was received last week. It is made to the Council of the League of Nations and consists of brief comments on the report of each of the mandatories on the administration of the territory entrusted to it. All the mandatories except Japan were represented at the sittings. The Commission had before it the commercial agreement between Great Britain and France which declared that preferences in force exclusively between territories under the sovereignty, suzerainty, protection or mandate of either Power shall not be subject to the most-favoured nation clause of the agreement. The Commission took exception to the inclusion of territories under mandate of the League of Nations and requested the Council to call the attention of the two Governments to the condition laid down in the mandates for Palestine, Syria, the Cameroons and Togoland and Tanganyika, against establishing a preferential system. In regard to the Reports on Palestine and Syria, the Commission asked for the reasons for which the imports of products of a State (Japan and Germany) which has ceased to be a Member of the League of Nations, are admitted on an equal footing with the products of States, members of the League. The Commission noted that the political institutions of Syria were still suspended and hoped that circumstances will shortly make it possible for the mandatory Power "to pursue a policy likely to facilitate the progressive development of Syria." The Commission wanted to know in the next Report from Tanganyika why the Mandatory Power regards the issue of a common postal stamp for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika compatible with the fiscal interests of the last-named territory which is administered under a mandate. The amalgamation of the postal services of the three territories of which the common stamp is a symbol, was carried out as part of a scheme for closer union between them. The Permanent Mandates Commission evidently regards the amalgamation with suspicion. The Commission has asked for more information about some other points in Tanganyika administration, among others of the number and influence of the native educated classes and the part taken by them in the administration of native affairs. The Commission emphasised the responsibility of the Australian Government for the education of the people of the mandated territory of New Guinea in connection with the proposal of that Government to entrust it wholly to Missions. With one or two doubtful exceptions, all the petitions from aggrieved persons in the mandated territories were rejected. One of the few which escaped this summary fate was a petition

from the Indian Association of Tanganyika regarding the railway system in that territory. The Association was referred to the remarks of the Commission on the report of the Mandatory Power, expressing the hope that the decisions on the complex questions of the railways of Tanganyika and Kenya will prove advantageous to Tanganyika and requesting complementary information in the next report. The Indian population in East Africa view with great anxiety the extension of the Kenya anti-Indian policy to the affairs of Tanganyika.

The League of Nations has no agency, neither has it the power, to enforce observance by mandatories of the conditions of their mandates and to prevent or punish their violation. The sessions of the Permanent League Commission are not open to the public though the report of the proceedings is published and is debated in the League Assembly. It can ask for information which the Mandatory Power can give or refuse as it likes. Or worse still, it can, and often does, give evasive answers to questions, which are more amusing than instructive. Even the asking of questions is resented sometimes. Japan has left the League but she has kept her mandated areas and does not even send a report of their administration to the Permanent Commission. France rules Syria as a French colony. It is uncertain how much longer the British Government will resist the pressure on it from Kenya and South Africa to assimilate the administration of Tanganyika to theirs. Nevertheless, the mandate method is an advance on annexation. Mussolini, if he cared, can have a mandate for practically the whole of Ethiopia but his refusal to accept it shows that there is a difference between administration by mandate and annexation. If nothing else, a mandate involves the right of other nations and of world opinion to sit in judgment on the mandatory, if it should violate the terms of the mandate. This view of the mandate idea has led to a plea for its application to all colonies. The *New Statesman* has made the startling suggestion that, as the only way of avoiding a world war, Great Britain should voluntarily accept a mandate from the League of Nations for her own colonies. Sir Samuel Hoare in his great speech at the League of Nations spoke of the possibility of a fairer distribution of the world's colonial products. The *New Statesman* points out that this means nothing. Every nation can buy all she wants now if it has the money. But they have no assurance of supplies in case of war, when they would most need supplies. "Even if we could make large economic concessions," it observes, "they would not meet the case. No policy of economic concessions on the part of the British Empire will suffice to stop the Italians from wanting Abyssinia, or the Germans from watching for a favourable chance to demand the return of their lost colonies." The first and immediate need is to stop Italian aggression by applying rigorously the economic sanctions against it. That will strengthen the League's



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position and make it a political reality without involving it in war. When that happens the *New Statesman* boldly suggests, though it fully realises that the suggestion will be strenuously opposed, that Britain might place her colonial administration under League supervision, and virtually hold her colonial empire under mandate from the League. The only way of removing the grievance of Italy and Germany is for the nations which have colonies, Great Britain and France, to place them under League control. "The fact must be faced," writes the journal, "that the sense of grievance exists, not because those countries lack what they ought to have, but because Great Britain and France have what they had never the right to acquire. Imperialism itself is evil; and the evil can not be remedied either by extending it to such territories as are still unannexed or by sharing out "possessions" which do not rightly belong to any European Power. How precisely it is to be remedied, without a series of world convulsions that may wreck civilisation, no one can yet foresee." The *New Statesman's* suggestion was influentially supported at a Conference on "Peace and the Colonial Problem" held a fortnight back under the auspices of the National Peace Council. Dr. Gooch presided and among those who spoke in support of the suggestion were Sir Arthur Salter, and Lord Lothian. India will heartily co-operate in any measure calculated to rid the world of imperialism even if she has to leave the League of Nations in order to give Britain the status of a League mandatory charged with the duty of rendering administrative advice and assistance until such time as she is able to stand alone.

THE ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOL.

Mr. Stephen Foot's article in the *Nineteenth Century* for January 1927, from which we quoted passages last week, is really an apology for the English Public School. He pleaded that it was really not so bad as it was when he went to one as a clever Lower Fifth boy and his presence was resented by a boy in the same class, three years his senior, by kicking him down the passage with appropriate epithets and fearful threats of what would have happened to him if he went above his senior next week. Such an incident does not occur today, he added. In the old days a studious boy was called "a swot" and subjected to sundry humiliations. Mr. Foot declared that this was no longer the case. But the most significant passage in the article was Mr. Foot's observation that the way in which the Public School had grown up showed that "it is probably the best suited to us as a nation. More particularly the system seems to produce the type of man who is prepared to shoulder responsibilities, and this is essential to a nation which has to administer a vast Colonial Empire." We know what "shouldering responsibilities" in connection with colonial empires means. It means, acting before you know the facts and, indeed, without caring to know the facts. Jallianwala was an exaggerated illustration of this quality fostered by the Public School. But where is the colonial empire where the Doononian can find scope for the exhibition of this quality? Colonialism has been shown up in its true colours by Signor Mussolini and the cry now

is, let us share our colonial products with others. Also, secondary schools (day schools) are producing just as a good type of men in England as the Public Schools and, according to a well-known Head Master of one of them (quoted in the same magazine), if every Public School in the country were closed, the secondary schools would immediately shoulder the responsibility they laid down and would not be found wanting in any respect. The Public School tradition is wearing thin in its own home land.

The English Public School owes a good deal of its reputation to the legend that Waterloo was won in the playing fields of Eton. Have these fields lost their virtue? Mr. Lloyd George's War Memoirs tell a story of ineptitude on the part of high Army commanders, which would be incredible were they not the testimony of a man who was Prime Minister and had to bear the burden of their mistakes. Here is a passage from the terrible chapters on Passchendaele, the Battle of the Mud: "The price paid in this war for immunity to Generals was prodigious. No one suggests that it is the duty of Generals to lead their men up to the barbed wire, through the mud, while machine guns are playing upon them. But, had men high up in military rank, ordering or continuing an offensive, been obliged by the exigencies of duty to view for themselves something of the character of the terrain of attack and the nature of the operations they were ordering their officers and men to undertake, the famous assaults of the Somme, Monchy, Bullecourt, Chemin des Dames and Passchendaele would never have occurred." All these high officers were no doubt Public School men, trained to give orders and take responsibilities. The Commander-in-Chief in India regretted recently that the right type of Indian candidate was not coming up for training as officers in the Indian Army and recommended a Public School education for them! As regards the competence of Public School men in diplomacy, here is a quotation from Harold Nicholson who has had opportunities of observation enjoyed by few, "A British politician, unaccustomed to negotiation with foreign statesmen, is prone to disturbance of vanity. The fact that his general culture, as his knowledge of foreign languages, is generally below the level of that possessed by those with whom he is negotiating, gives him a sense of inferiority, to which he reacts in unfortunate ways. Either he will air his school-boy French to the distress of his audience and the confusion of business, or else he will be truculently insular." The only sphere where the English Public School man can claim decided superiority, is in dealing with backward communities who take him at his own valuation and allow him to boss the show. The qualities acquired in the foot-ball field, have been no doubt of value here. The Doononian being of the coloured race himself, will not have the opportunity of exhibiting this talent. Mr. Foot's comparison between English Public School boys and boys of corresponding age in Continental schools, is crystallised in the phrase which we quoted last week: "Games instead of girls." By way of explanation, he added: "Looked at broadly, the effect of the English system as compared with the Continental is that during the years of growth boys think (and talk) about games instead of the charms of the other sex." He deprecates the tendency among boys even in English Public Schools to take less interest in games, because, in his opinion, "if boys have little interest in games they will turn to girls." "Intellectual pursuits will not provide much of an outlet for the hunting instinct and spirit of adventure in a growing boy." In other words, if English boys do not run after a ball they will run after girls.



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The Public School aims at making the English boy derive the sensual, æsthetic, and spiritual satisfaction which the continental boy derives from playing with girls, from playing with an inanimate round substance called a ball. So far as this aim is successful, the Freudian will explain that the ball has a symbolic significance for the English young man. It is also probable that the love of games instilled in early youth tends to make all life a game without any purpose other than that of amusement for an idle hour. This idea, fostered by the Public School, of girls as the prey of boys from which the latter can be diverted by being given a ball to be knocked about with a bat or kicked about with the foot, is responsible for a trait in the English character akin to sadism traceable in the brutalities of the forcible feeding of suffragettes. It is also responsible for the bitter anti-male animus of English feminists unknown in any other part of the world. The co-education movement which is based on a more natural and civilised view of the relations between boys and girls, than of hunter and hunted, has established itself in England as in other countries, and in India too there is a growing volume of opinion in its favour. We do not want "flannelled fools and muddled oafs" to form a ruling caste in India.

THE MAKING OF A CONSPIRATOR.

In spite of the succession of conferences, committees, commissions and private publications on India; the ignorance of the British on things Indian is colossal. It is only natural, therefore, that the new arrival depends greatly on friends here for a working knowledge of the country and its customs. As usually these are resident Englishmen, either in Government service or trade, the views imbibed are as a matter of course appreciative of the benefits and benevolence of British rule and of the utility of maintaining racial prestige in this country. Mr. Lester Hutchinson differed in no way from other Englishmen visiting India. He did not, at any rate according to his "Conspiracy at Meerut" (Messrs. George Allan and Unwin, 5s.), go searching for trouble. He knew next to nothing about India. So far is he from Communism that even the Meerut prosecution failed to make him one. And he has too keen a sense of humour to succeed as a politician. The picture of himself which he presents to the reader of this entertaining book is rather that of one of Mr. P. G. Wodehouse's young men—Bertie Wooster, but alas, unattended by Jeeves. But the friends waiting for him in India were connected with the Left Wing of the Labour movement and so this young man of twenty-three who had set out with £10 in his pocket and "the prospect of a fairly good position on an Indian newspaper," was caught in a wild current of conflicting forces and was thrown into Meerut Jail as an under-trial prisoner in the famous Communist Conspiracy Case. Mr. Hutchinson seems to have suffered for his friends right through his five years' stay in India and, when he expresses his gratitude for the kindness he received at their hands, more than one reader will smile at the simplicity of this young Englishman. A shrewder writer would have assessed the kindnesses as compensation for his friends for having foolishly even if unwittingly, been involved in the biggest and longest political prosecution launched by any state. It is obvious that from the first the Government of India acted on the saw that a man is known by the company he keeps. "My clothes," writes Mr. Hutchinson, "attributing this special attention to the general vigilance of Indian Customs officials, "were examined minutely, con-

siderable interest being shown in my socks, which I was forced to unroll to convince the official who seemed to regard me as a desperate criminal, that there was nothing concealed in them.....Luggage is ransacked with a zeal and disregard for convenience which most other countries would consider excessive." Even Mr. Hutchinson who reveals a startling lack of sophistication in his book, must surely be aware that customs officials cannot apply the same minute inspection they gave him and his neighbour, an Englishwoman who possessed a rusty revolver, to every one who comes to India.

Mr. Hutchinson narrates a strange story. Even the insects seem to have started plaguing this young visitor on his arrival in India. He describes his brief stay with a theosophist host at Chowpathy. "Hardly had I removed my coat," he writes, "when I saw on the wall near the head of my bed, an enormous and hairy spider nearly as big as my hand." When he goes to bed he suddenly becomes aware of things crawling over his body—bed bugs. When he gets out of this living inferno, the mosquitoes feast on him. He goes to friends in Khar—which, by the way, is *not*, as Mr. Hutchinson believes, land reclaimed from the sea under the governorship of Lord Lloyd but a dumping ground for Bandra refuse developed under a town planning scheme—to suffer persecution at the hands of a typical suburban bore (an importer of sewing machines), who follows him with greater persistence than the mosquitoes do. Mr. Hutchinson found that while he was accustomed himself to these trials, the magnate who controlled the newspaper which was to be his oyster, grew unstable financially. It was time that he did something to earn a livelihood. What Mr. Hutchinson did was quite different and rather calculated to arouse suspicion even in the minds of the Indian police—who are ordinarily very careful to avoid offending a white man—since unattached young men with no "visible means of subsistence" are most inclined to mischief. He acted in a play by Tagore called "Red Oleanders," which he now regards as meaningless but which his friends apparently thought was good enough to act. He naively asks us to believe that the police regarded it with suspicion merely on account of the word 'red'. That it was not all gibberish, as Mr. Hutchinson maintains, is proved by even a casual reference to the play itself. *Red Oleanders* has been described as the dramatisation of the struggle between personality and the machine, (cf. *The Golden Book of Tagore*, pages 141-5). It is quite possible that the Government, and even the Indian public to some extent, might have mistaken this histrionic venture as propaganda for Gandhiji. This would account for the official black mark on this count, though it would be most objectionable to Mr. Hutchinson. For he detests the Mahatma more than he does any imperialist or capitalist. He even quarrels with him for his looks but his main grievance seems to arise from the fact that Gandhiji in his negotiations with Lord Irwin for the release of political prisoners, did not insist on the freeing of the Meerut accused. Mr. Hutchinson does not care to disguise his contempt for the nationalist movement which he considers to be a bourgeois rising. Yet by a strange logic he is annoyed that its leaders do not pull his chestnuts out of the fire for him. A serious obsession which Mr. Hutchinson shares with other Englishmen is a strong belief that every Indian public worker is playing a selfish game. He refers contemptuously to "unemployed lawyers who honoured the labour movement with their patronage" as if an unemployed journalist had any better claims to direct a class war. He condemns

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nationalists on the ground that they want to substitute the exploiter in Gandhi cap for the exploiter in the topee rejecting their argument that the Indian capitalist can be better controlled by Indian opinion than the white trader. As the achievement of communist ideals is very far off for India, Mr. Hutchinson figures in Indian political life as just another factor working towards Indian disunity.

Mr. Hutchinson's career in India after *Red Oleaners* illustrates the saying about idle hands perfectly. His newspaper job had not materialised but he still considered himself a journalist and attended meetings of workers during a mill-strike in Bombay. Naturally he suffered the disadvantage of a free-lance journalist in no one taking his journalism seriously. His sympathies with the workers grew. He at the same time developed other activities in connection with Youth Leagues. And here again he showed singular want of tact or even political commonsense. He formed a study circle to study Communism from "the purely academic point of view" and he writes of it, "Minutes were carefully kept and in case these minutes should fall into the hands of mischievous persons, the members were referred to by pseudonyms; for it is dangerous in India to allow the knowledge that you are studying progressive political literature to become public property." Alas, this was wisdom half-digested. It was infinitely more dangerous to use pseudonyms. Then he somehow became Vice-President of the two leading trade unions in Bombay and editor of a paper. And before Mr. Hutchinson could master his politics he was hauled up by the Government in the Meerut Conspiracy Case, an ill-advised and meaningless prosecution which brought fame and popularity and ruin to several harmless and ineffectual gentlemen. Mr. Hutchinson spent, it must be remembered, nearly three out of his five years of India in jail and was compelled for at least another six months to hang round Meerut. His information on jail life is more accurate than his impressions of life outside. For example, his description of the orthodox Hindu "smearing himself with streaks of ash-coloured paint, so that he leaves his house in the morning bearing on his forehead, breast and paunch a choice collection of the phallic symbols of Shiva" sounds clever but is just nonsense. The three horizontal stripes which the orthodox Shaivite wears on his body, arms and forehead is ash and not paint. And it is no more phallic than the sickle or the hammer. Then again, his assessment of the Anglo-Indian community might easily have been more charitable. "Aping the European on the salary of the Indian," he writes, "they have the racial virtues of neither. They are despised by Indian and European alike and are employed chiefly on the railways and in the police. Acutely suffering from an inferiority complex, they are loud and superficial, arrogant to the Indian whenever they dare and servile to the European. Their attempts to preserve their status as a section of the ruling race in spite of poverty are often pathetic; in those attempts the girls of the community take their share... They are an unfortunate community without position, intelligence or integrity. For the most part products of the casual lusts of the sex-starved Europeans they live a precarious existence, riding without anchor in turbulent seas; an artificial community in danger of being abandoned by their contemptuous progenitors and protectors." We have omitted a statement about Anglo-Indian women which is on the face of it too sweeping to be true. We are surprised that an Englishman of Mr. Hutchinson's education and culture should have permitted himself to indulge in it.

Mr. Hutchinson is at his best in writing of the Meerut Case and his jail experiences. His pictures

of his colleagues, the prosecution lawyers and the judges, magistrates and other officers with whom he came in contact are delightful and entirely free from prejudice. Only in writing of his defence lawyers on whom he is very hard, does he allow his feelings to run away with him. Two sketches—his portrayal of Mr. S. H. Jhabvala at the inquiry by the magistrate at Meerut and his description of the affair of Mr. B. F. Bharucha at the Appeal before the Allahabad High Court—are too good to be lost. "Most of us refused," writes Mr. Hutchinson, "to make any statement at that stage; but one or two of the accused elected to explain away their conduct. Of these the most entertaining was Mr. S. H. Jhabvala, the only representative of the Parsi community among the accused. Mr. Jhabvala showed that he understood the value of dramatic effect: he entered the witness stand with his defence in one hand and a Bible in the other, because the magistrate being a European, he rightly supposed him to be a Christian, and therefore more likely to be favourably impressed by the Bible than by the Koran, the Mahabharata (*sic*) or the teachings of Zoroaster. He cut a very eccentric figure as he stood there in his strange white outfit, lanky grey hair floating in the breeze from the fan, spectacles adjusted on the very point of his thin elongated nose, the comic effect of the whole being emphasised by his air of moral indignation. And if his figure was comic, his statement was more so. Declaring himself to be the father of fifty trade unions, which in itself was a striking example of the need for birth control, he proceeded to describe himself as a seeker after Truth, striving to acquire the "true Christ-like spirit." He declaimed his statement over a period of two or three days, during which he kept all present in a state of continuous hilarity. The evidence he explained away more amusingly than convincingly, and he concluded with a pious hope that the magistrate, whose 'poor little fingers,' he hoped were not tired, would be included in the New Year (or) Birthday Honours... The speech did not save Mr. Jhabvala from being committed." Mr. Hutchinson has surpassed himself in this account and all who know the Parsi Labour leader will appreciate the sketch. The Bharucha incident was in vindication of the Gandhi cap. "There is a rule of the High Court," says the writer, "that everyone attending the Court must either be bare-headed or wear a turban. Mr. Bharucha, delegate to the Appeal from the Bombay Defence Committee, arrived and sat in Court wearing a mis-shapen Gandhi cap, to which the Chief Justice took exception, and wrote to Mr. Bharucha asking him in future to observe the rule." Mr. Bharucha maintained that the head-wear was sacred to the Parsi community—most of whom, by the way, detest it—and could not be removed without disrespect to the Court. He prepared a reply and showed it to Mr. Hutchinson. "I asked him why he had spelt 'bare' bear," and he replied that he knew it was wrong but that the Chief Justice in his letter had spelt it "bear" and he thought that it would be discourteous on his part if in his reply he appeared to correct the Chief Justice." Mr. Bharucha's representation only resulted in his staying away from the Court. Both the courtesy and the non-co-operation are typical of Mr. B. F. Bharucha.

Mr. Gauba in Egypt:—"Mahatma Gandhi has a very great position in Egypt as well as in Europe. Gandhi is the idol of Egypt. The Egyptians name various things after him. To them Gandhi is the symbol of awakening in the East," said Mr. K. L. Gauba, M. L. A., in the course of his lecture at the Y. M. C. A. Hall, Lahore.



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THE DEPRESSED CLASSES AND HINDUISM.

I have received letters from all over the country asking me to express my views on the recent controversy as regards the Depressed Classes renouncing Hinduism.

First of all I should like to make my position very clear. I have regard and reverence for all religions. I have been educated in Christian Institutions—Wesley College and the Christian College, Madras. I served for many years in Christian Institutions namely—Voorhees College and Wesley College. I have never changed my religion, though I have imbibed many of the Christian ideals. People are at liberty to seek and embrace whatever religion they wish in the interests of their spiritual welfare.

I have not read the full speech of the President of the Depressed Classes Conference held at Yeola on the 13th October, for nowhere have I seen it published in full. It is said that a resolution was passed at this Conference asking the community to sever itself from Hinduism and embrace any other religion which would guarantee them equal status with other members of that faith. It should be noted that this Conference is only a District Conference and it is very significant that the President who made this bold suggestion to his admiring audience did not recommend any particular religion for them to adopt.

So far Mr. Balu, the famous cricketer, who is the leader of a large section of the Depressed Classes of the Bombay presidency, has clean bowled out the President of this Conference with his well weighed and weighty statement. Other leading members of the community all over India, Rao Bahadur R. Srinivasan, M.L.C., Rao Saheb V. I. Munuswami, M.C.C., Rao Saheb L. C. Guruswami, ex-M.L.C., Dr. Ram Prasad, Dr. Solonki, M.L.C., Messrs. R. L. Biswas, P. K. Rajbhoj, N. S. Kajrolker and Sawmi A. S. Sakajanandhan, M.L.C., and others have rightly expressed strong disapproval of this Resolution.

While I fully share in the resentment which many of our men feel at the treatment meted out to our people in many parts of the country by the so-called High Caste Hindus, I would at the same time request them to compare conditions existing now with what they were, say, 15 years ago. Conditions have improved considerably to-day. A large section of educated Hindu India has come to condemn the practice of untouchability and has thrown its weight on the side of reform. I venture to say that in view of the awakening of the Hindu conscience that has been noticed in regard to our condition and status, the days of Untouchability as practised towards our community are now numbered. It should be remembered that in the course of a decade things have changed considerably in favour of the Depressed Classes and there is also a very strong awakening among the Depressed Classes themselves.

The Congress under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi has taken up the question of removal of untouchability and the Hindu Maha Sabha has followed suit. It is our duty to help them in their endeavour and not to throw obstacles in their way.

In the last Legislative Assembly two Bills were introduced and discussed. The Temple Entry Bill and the Untouchability Abolition Bill. Both these Bills were intended to give equal status to the Depressed Classes with the other Hindus and to remove obstacles in the way of such equality. What part did the organisers of this Yeola Conference play then in regard to these measures? Did not some of them, help the opponents to these measures to strangle the Bills? Did not the chief opposer to these Bills and the stout champion of the Sanatana Dharma,

Raja Bahadur G. Krishnamacharriar, call to his aid the President of this Conference and say that he did not want Temple Entry and quote him as saying that the dispute was not between the Caste Hindus and the Depressed Classes but between the Caste Hindus and Mr. Gandhi? The Depressed Classes have every right to ask him when he ever set any value on religion as a means of social uplift? Is it not a fact that he opposed Mahatma Gandhi when he placed the religious reforms before the economic? There is Mr. C. F. Andrews testifying to this fact in an interview granted to the *Manchester Guardian*.

The Depressed Classes have every right to ask him whether he had ever before taken any interest in their religious life and given any hint that Hinduism as a whole was to blame for the social and economic depression of these classes? Did he ever take any part in social and religious reform movements in Hindu Society before coming to the conclusion that Hinduism is un-reformable, before taking upon himself the responsibility of advising 70 millions of people to change their religion?

It is to be noted that while he gives the negative counsel that they should renounce Hinduism, as if it could be done in a moment—the moment the word is spoken by a single man—he does not say in what direction they should move and what religion they should embrace in place of the one they are called on to renounce. What is the use of such destructive advice without a constructive proposal? Whither does he want to lead the people? Does he want to play the part of Moses in the Bible or of Zebek Dorshi in De Quincey's *Revolt of the Tartars*? Moses was a religious as well as a national leader and had some vague Promised Land in view when he called the Israelites out of Egypt; but Zebek Dorshi—the less said about him, the better. One has only to read De Quincey's classical story to realise the untold miseries resulting in extinction to which he subjected his people and all for giving vent to his spirit of ambition and vengeance.

Even now it is not too late for the President of the Nasik Conference to say what religion he has in view—Christianity, Zoroastrianism or Islam.

The immediate remedy that suggests itself to me is the total withdrawal of the legal and administrative recognition to the superstition of pollution. The laws as they are administered to-day uphold these superstitions under the guise of preserving peace and punish the untouchables who attempt to enforce their civic rights. On the 26th of September last I introduced in the Legislative Assembly a Bill called the Removal of Social Disabilities among certain classes of Hindus. Bills like this, if passed into Act, will go a long way to remove civic and secular disabilities from which the Depressed Classes are suffering under the existing Laws. This Bill will also remove the obstacles created by the British India Courts giving legal recognition to certain social customs and usages which enlightened public opinion regard as unjust, anti-social and irreligious.

If we do not achieve social and religious equality in Hindu Society it is no doubt the fault of the Caste Hindus, but it is also our fault. Are we united? It must be acknowledged that the lack of unity among those who speak in the name of the community has had adverse effects on the rise of the community and has seriously jeopardised the work on its behalf; and without unity amongst ourselves the interests of the people are bound to suffer. I appeal to my people to consolidate the community and stand united and work with patience and determination. If this is done our success is assured.

I now appeal to my people not to be led away by the speeches of people who do not really understand the inwardness of things.

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I now appeal to them not to lend their support to men who for reasons of their own seek to undermine the solidarity of the community and to defeat the endeavours towards uplift by setting up rival organisations and thus becoming rival leaders, whose only business now-a-days seems to be to sow seeds of dissatisfaction, distrust and class hatred in the hearts of our poor innocent people. I am not at all perturbed by the speeches of such impulsive and vehement politicians.

Those who are in actual touch with the Depressed Classes will see that they are now passing through a stage in their history, when they begin to adopt and adapt such Hindu customs, ceremonies and worship as are suited to their social and religious needs, and that every Cheri, Mohalla and Basti has a temple; where hitherto there have been no temples and all worship was neglected, there is a tendency for religious revival. People bathe, dress cleanly and wear marks of religious devotion and this is due to the influence of a reformed Hinduism.

Hinduism is our religion and it is sacred to us. It is our duty to preserve it and purify it. We do not want to cut away from the Hindu fold. We want a better recognition. A recognition of the fact that we are men equally with themselves, the Caste Hindus. Our goal is the removal of untouchability and our aim is to become an unquestioned part of Hindu Society.

Madras.

M. C. RAJAH.

CAN HINDUISM SAVE ITSELF?

Religion like a golden jewel can be completely remoulded but cannot be repaired part by part. Its content is spiritual gold but its form always tried to please the eye of the age. Although born on poetic heights, every religion had to come down to the level where the average man stood and its success lay in how far he was able to assimilate its principles. Christianity is not what exactly Jesus conceived of it but it is what people understood about it. His teachings are still there, the golden content, but its form is but a corollary to the main social organisation which received those teachings. So is the case with all religions, the fundamental principles, the original teachings are common among them all. But their shapes vary according to the different environmental conditions to which they had to be adapted. If we have to study religion, it is not, therefore, merely the philosophic side that we have to study, but the social or organic side, the system of society with which that philosophy is associated. Comparative religion may convince us of the affinity of the fundamental teachings of all religions. But that is not enough. Comparative study of the social life to which religion is a part, is necessary. We must see whether any religion exists at all in that society or it is living merely on its name. When we extol our ancestral greatness, the high philosophy implied in our Vedas, we do not care to know how far we are able to utilise them in our actual life. Omission of this social or organic side of religion is a dangerous folly of almost all of our philosophers and reformers.

When in the ancient days the Hindu sages saw the necessity of reorganising the whole society according to the high truths they discovered, certainly they assembled together, discussed the problem, divided the people according to their functions and fixed regular duties for them with a stamp of religious sanction on them. The class of intellectuals, the Brahmins, the fittest class by virtue of their training, had to live a life of poverty and the King, the most powerful element in the society, had to bend to the exhortations of that beggar-sage, the Brahmin.

Religion was the only legislature, the supreme authority and the King was only the executive head. The term that is used for the legal term "crime" which dealt with the irregularities of superficial life is the term "sin" which permeates into the very being of man. It covers also the world of thought and prevents a person from even thinking anything evil. The Hindu religio-legal code dealt with every detail of a person's activity. And Religion in the Hindu society was the only dominating force. There are draw-backs and very dangerous drawbacks too but in those days long before Plato and Pericles appeared on the scene the creation of such a compact and self-sufficient social order was a marvel, it was a miracle.

But the time factor was least considered. No one foresaw that in the long run life would reveal new economic situations, new necessities and problems and that a stereotyped formula for social or individual life for all time would be more a hindrance than a use. The sins of the past are not the sins of today. Education to a 'sudra' or a peasant was a sin and he was severely punished if he ever tried to have any; but as the democratic spirit was slowly introduced into life, ignorance of the peasant has become the greatest sin today. For behind all the conflicting conceptions of evil which time forced on the society, there always prevailed the true religious aspiration for the ultimate happiness of its life as a whole, no member excepting. In the Hindu society all social and even economic laws being associated with the name of religion, they have become a matter of faith to every one of its members. Change is abhorred and no room is left for the modifications that the time is bent upon bringing about in all things it governs. Duties were not divided among men but men were divided among duties, and in doing so no individual inclination or talent was taken into account. That is why natural talent was always inclined to rebel against the society and seek the shelter of that power or that organisation which offered free scope for its development.

Between ethics and politics there was always a keen rivalry. The one was jealous of the other and the one's failure is the other's opportunity. Ethics demand enlightenment and fitness for moral growth from the average man while politics lives on public ignorance. It was Shelley that said that without imagination there cannot be any virtue; if one has to be good he must first have the capability to place himself in another's position. Morality can exist only in such a society which is well-trained or well-educated. And politics is afraid of such a condition for in such a society it has to act as a mere slave. In a developed society law and legislatures are but mere formalities. People do not need diplomacy to keep themselves in order, when they know their mind and responsibilities of life. Social duties would become social traits and morality a general habit. But politics does not want all this. It desires to appear omnipotent and overrule all other claims. In order that people should believe in its indispensability it puts them in ignorance as far as possible.

Morality is the social side of religion. It comes into existence when religion interferes with life and prescribes social duties to the individual members so that they might be able to utilise their social opportunities for their true individual freedom. And religion is a failure when the social duties it prescribes bind the individual and block his freedom. There, in that failure of religion lies the success of politics. Hindu society burnt its widows; there politics stepped in and there was legislation that burning of widows amounts to homicide. It married its children and infants, there was the anti-child-



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marriage bill. It suppressed the lower classes and called them untouchables, then they are politically divided from the main Hindu fold and are given separate political recognition. Thus the greatest of our Vedic philosophies proved to be of no use to us; they could not regulate our lives for we all along remained ignorant and opaque.

But is religion a necessity? Why not we satisfy ourselves with our politician and his all powerful laws? But the limitations of politics would be the limits of life. The function of the politician is always negative. He can prevent evil but he cannot inspire goodness. Politics aims at mere regimentation. Its business is finished when the safety of the people is kept up. It cannot bring them to freedom. Politics is the work of the brain. It cannot lead us very far. Life wants positive growth, complete emancipation. Here religion alone can give a lead, the poetic heights of inspired *Vedanta*, the full play of the human heart. But it should be a true religion, working efficiently on both the sides, social and individual. "Myself and my Creator" is an attractive philosophy. But it should not go to the extent of neglecting the social duties which connote complete social emancipation.

If Hinduism has to save itself it has to reorganise itself; its old institutions must be adapted to new wants. The priest is in retreat as even the political tyrant. The immoralised ignorant and the ill-fed poor are refusing to be utilised any longer for the happiness of the oppressing few. They are demanding education and necessities of life. They want to be good, at the same time they want to be happy. Slavery and virtue can never go together. The whole Hindu society must be reshuffled; it has to be reorganised. Let the ancient teachings be still maintained. But let the leaders of Hindu society reorganise it in such a way that every one of its members might be able to utilise those teachings for his own good and for the good of those with whom he comes into contact.

It is the pessimistic attitude of the too-practical minded people that sees greatness only in the past, despair in the present and chaos in the future. While the real fact is that the past which could provide schemes for individual emancipation has yielded a present where signs can be seen of the beginnings of complete social emancipation. Life is the truest of truths; and it will toss any scheme away, any organisation, or any institution into oblivion if it seeks to prevent its growth. It does not accept pretensions or favours. It exists not for the sake of scriptures but scriptures exist for its sake. Hinduism must re-organise itself; it has to prepare a fresh code of morals in accordance to the times and true to the democratic spirit of the day. In fact that is the task now before our Tagores, Arabindos, Radhakrishnans and Malaviyas. That is the only way of saving Hinduism or it will perish into the enclosing political power.

Allahabad,

M. N. RAO.

Mr. Elwin :- Mr. Verrier Elwin, of the Gond Seva Mandal, at Karanjia in the Mandla district, has written to the Metropolitan formally to announce his decision to be no longer a member of the Church of England, on the grounds that during the past five years he has gradually developed an outlook on life and an estimate of the actual nature of Christianity which is not compatible with membership of that Church. He has made it clear that he is not at present thinking of joining any other Church, nor of adopting any other religion and that he has left the Church of his baptism without any bitterness or hostility, with nothing but love and reverence for the great tradition in which he has grown up. But it would be dishonest for him to stay longer. Mr. Elwin should not, of course, be any longer addressed as "Father" or the "Reverend."—H. T.

THE GONDS AND HINDUISM.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

With the greater part of your leading article on "Hinduism and Aboriginal Tribes" (November 2) I have no quarrel. I have never denied that some Gonds have adopted many elements of Hindu culture and belief, and that the most natural path of development for all Gonds is along broadly Hindu lines. You do not, however, consider the very interesting question of how far Hinduism itself has adopted aboriginal ideas. Today in our villages, we see not only Hinduised Gonds, but aboriginalised Hindus and even Mussalmans.

Where I part company with you is on this point:—I have a very high regard for the Gond culture, expressed as it is mainly in song, legend and the dance. This seems to me to be quite distinctive and to contain values which should be conserved. I believe also that the "primitive," in his freedom of spirit and his simplicity, has a real message for our sophisticated modern world. In our villages, the Gond stands out, in dignity, simplicity and freedom, far above the other villagers. When, therefore, a Gond adopts the unreformed and decadent Hinduism of the backwards, I cannot regard this as a step forward in the evolutionary process. Do forgive me for stressing this—the form of Hinduism into which the Gond normally evolves is that very complex of social inhibitions and economically-harmful practices against which the *Indian Social Reformer* wages so courageous a battle. The 'tribal' Gond does not believe in untouchability: the 'Hindu' Gond does. The 'tribal' Gond does not put his women in purdah or marry off his children: the 'Hindu' Gond does. The 'tribal' Gond is free as the hills and forest: the 'Hindu' Gond is set about with all the inhibitions of "Touch not, taste not, handle not." The very last thing that I or my Indian colleagues (the majority of whom are Hindus) would do is to hamper the natural evolution of the Gonds. What we object to is the forcing upon them by outsiders of customs and beliefs which do not mark an advance, but a retreat.

Nor can I agree that "the Gonds can never be raised in the social and spiritual scale except through the ancient door of Hinduism." That seems to me to be an extraordinary statement as if I were to say that the Gonds could not get to heaven unless they were baptised in the name of the Holy Trinity. But if you had said, "The most natural line of advance for Gond culture would be through the door of a liberalised and modern Hinduism, the Hinduism of a Vivekananda, a Tagore, a Gandhi," then I think that is probably true. A liberal form of Hinduism is more likely to conserve the Gond cultural values than any other, because, as you say, it is racy of the soil, and whether the Gonds are Hindus at root or no, they come of that same soil. The educational policy of the Gond Seva Mandal is in fact based on this, and you entirely misunderstand me if you think our work is inspired by any idea of separateness from Hindu society.

But if the Gonds and other aboriginals are to be claimed as Hindus, that claim constitutes a great challenge to educated Hindus. They must take them the best that Hinduism can give, and not leave them to appropriate just those very elements which they themselves have discarded. I am sorry you think that the contact of a "White" Man like myself with the Gonds is likely to be disastrous.



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If any Hindu will come and take my place, I will gladly yield it to him.

Gond Seva Mandal,
Karanjia,
November 7, 1935.

Yours etc.,
VERRIER ELWIN.

[We do not by any means underrate the valuable elements in Gond culture. As a matter of fact we hold, and said as much in our leading article to which Mr. Verrier Elwin refers, that Hinduism grew out of aboriginal culture as much as, if not more than, from what is called Aryan culture. The Vedas themselves afford long vistas which disclose their own ancestry to have been aboriginal. As regards the inhibitions to which Mr. Verrier Elwin refers, experience and reflection lead us to think that these can and should be discarded, so far as they can be, without affecting others which are wholesome and necessary. Few people, said Renan, have the right to disbelieve Christianity, though he himself had outgrown it. That was said of persons who had grown up in a Christian environment but it applies to all societies which have grown up under the inspiration of religion. Mr. Elwin knows that he has our personal regard and affection and we do not certainly wish him to give up his work. But it is the fact that the White man or woman with the best of intentions are beset in their work for India and Indians by peculiar difficulties because of their race and colour. Even Mrs. Besant who went farther than any European in identifying herself with Indians, felt this, and a few days before her death, said she hoped to be born again in an Indian body to work for India. Our object was to warn Mr. Elwin of the difficulties of the task he has taken upon himself. The last thing we intended was to discourage him in it. He has our complete confidence in him and in his whole-hearted zeal for the uplift of the people whom he has adopted as his own.—Ed., I. S. R.]

BRITISH RULE IN THE BALANCE.*

(BY H. N. BRAILSFORD.)

India has gained immeasurably from familiarity with European thought alike in the realms of sociology and natural science. She has gained no less from European medicine and technology, and while I should be the first to argue that Europe has not yet learned how to draw from machinery its latent blessings of leisure and wealth for all, I am an impenitent Westerner who counts as gain the annihilation of distance and the raising of the standard of life that power-machinery makes possible. Everything here was brought by English hands—every thing from the printing-press to the wireless. The new thinking, the scientific attitude, came equally through the English language. That is indisputable and Englishmen may justly feel proud that it fell to them to carry these gains to India. They had, however, no necessary connection with conquest or sovereignty. If no European soldier, British or French, had ever landed with arms on India's coasts, it is certain that all those benefits would none the less, have arrived, would, none the less have penetrated the whole Peninsula. It is probable that they might have come rather more slowly. It is possible that in the early period they might have encountered resistance from Indian conservatism. None the less, they would have come, and made their way irresistibly, as they have done in other Asiatic States that have preserved their independence. India, if she had escaped European conquest, would doubtless have passed through a long period of confusion and misery before some new Indian Power or Powers—here perhaps the Sikhs and there the Mahrattas—had built a solid political structure on the ruins of the Mogul Empire. India could have derived from the West the major part of the benefits she has received, without the episode of conquest.

To this argument the Imperialist has a possible answer. "Was it no gain, then to be spared the period of confusion, misery and internecine strife, which the coming of the British abridged? The other Asiatic States in question are by comparison homogeneous. Are you sure that the profound communal division in Indian society could ever have been healed? But your view of

—The Aryan Path.

Western civilization is superficial. One cannot import it in crates with motor-car parts. It is something organic. It demands a new social organisation, the scientific mind, the engineer's outlook: nay, one may say that it demands a new system of law, even a new morality, that will train men to work in teams. Railway and electric power are comparatively useless without a political structure of the Western type. The great service of England to India was that she brought this political fabric and with it the reign of law. Anyone can learn to drive a tractor or a locomotive, but generations must pass before a nation thinks its way into *Blackstone's Commentaries* and the *Wealth of Nations*. The case of China is rather less simple than you assume. The Chinese learn readily enough to lay rails and drive locomotives, but their railways are soon bankrupt, because the management is riddled with despotism and craft. The Chinese make first-rate medical doctors, but they lack the first social requisite of civilisation; they have no honest and impartial courts of law."

This is, at first sight, an impressive and plausible answer, but the reader who examines it closely will perceive that it idealises out of all recognition the process of conquest. The last thing that the conquerors thought of doing was to stimulate the growth of an organic political structure congenial to the new civilisation. On the contrary, they imposed their own rigid bureaucratic system, which has remained alien and external. Four generations elapsed before they risked the first cautious attempt to initiate Indians into the art of government, with the Morley-Minto reforms. If we must speak of railways, the Chinese at least are learning (with some bad failures) the art of management, whereas even to-day Indians are wholly excluded from executive control. Plainly the system of education was not devised to give Indians this "Engineer's outlook." It was not based on science, it was literary and philological, and was designed to train clerks for the illpaid, routine work of commerce and administration. It left the masses untouched and to this day has failed to make any impression whatever on the minds of the villagers.

What in fact the conquerors availed not at all was to acclimatise the new civilisation; they were content to sell its products. Exploiting India as their market, they deliberately destroyed her fine handicrafts. Decade by decade, as their railways penetrated the interior, carrying the cheap output of machinery, they robbed the potter, the smith and the weaver of his livelihood, and drove him to gain a bare subsistence from the soil. As this process went on, the area of the average holding diminished; the average agricultural worker was less fully employed, and to-day a vast potential labour force crowds the village unused and burdens the hungry soil, representing the most colossal waste of human energy existent on this earth. "The British," the reader may say, "are not to blame. This has happened everywhere: it is the inevitable result of the machine age." No it is not: nor has it happened everywhere. On the contrary, when machinery in England ruined the handicrafts men, their children found work in the mills. They were not driven on to the overcrowded soil. In Europe, moreover, with the sedulous assistance of governments, the mechanisation of agriculture was parallel with the mechanisation of industry.

It is then not a fact that conquest and foreign sovereignty quickened the process of adaptation. They delayed it. The policy of free imports postponed the growth of an Indian industrial system till the latter end of the nineteenth century. Every free, national government in the world had, through the



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greater part of that century, used all its resources of policy to foster and protect the productive capacities of its population. Only after the Great War, and then only on a small scale, was policy turned in India to this end. The shock of the new way of life, the shattering revolutionary impact of the new power-machinery fell on a people powerless to adapt itself, or to use policy to modify its own social structure. It could not react. It could not choose. It could not, as a self-moved community, assimilate or reject. An inexperienced national government facing the merchants, teachers and capitalists of this approaching civilisation would doubtless have made many mistakes, as the Chinese did. But never would it have thought of India as the passive market of the West. That India has been governed for a century and a half by an alien government which started from this conception of her place among the nations is the root explanation of her present poverty. All the rest—the drain of pensions, the annual tribute to the foreign investor, the high cost of a white administration—is incidental, however important it may be.

This is the material side of the conquest. On this view alone it is probable that India has received, as the passive subject of the process, grave and lasting injuries from the impact of Western civilisation that outbalance the benefits. But conquest and alien rule brought also in their train psychological mischiefs that are no less real because they are difficult to measure. The will of this people was paralysed. It lost all sense that it was responsible for its own destiny. Europeans marvel at the "fatalism" of Asiatics, forgetting that they have usurped over this Peninsula the role of Providence. No people in this situation could escape apathy and humiliation. These effects have been enhanced by the bad manners of conquerors (though doubtless there were exceptions among them) who were at pains to claim for their white skins some innate superiority. This arrogance of colour, backed by a real superiority in arms, inflicted on the conquered a deep moral injury. No gain in order, no immunity from war, no courts however incorruptible can outweigh the wrong of a relationship that lames a people's will, insults its self-respect and dooms it to passivity.

ANCIENT INDIA AND ABYSSINIA.

Mr. M. Krishnamachariar writes in the *Hindu* dated November 9:—On the ethnological and historical relations between Ancient India and Abyssinia, the following passages will be of interest:

1. "Ethiopia and Hindustan were possessed or colonised by the same extraordinary race."—Sir W. Jones, "Asiatic Researches" I. p. 426.
2. The Abyssinians (Abussinians) originally migrated to Africa from the banks of Abuisin, a classical name for the Indus.—Heeren's "Historical Researches" II. p. 310.
3. Ethiopians emigrating from the River Indus settled in the vicinity of Egypt.—Eusebius, "Meroe."
4. Cuvier assigns the reign of Amenophis as the epoch of the colonization of Ethiopia from India.—"Discours" p. 18.
5. "At the mouths of the Indus dwell a seafaring people active, ingenious, and enterprising as when, ages subsequent to this great movement, they themselves, with warlike denizens of the Punjab, were driven from their native land to seek the far distant climes of Greece. The commercial people dwelling along the coast that stretches from the mouth of the Indus to the Corea, are embarking on that emigration whose magnificent results to civilisa-

tion, and whose gigantic monuments of art, fill the mind with mingled emotions of admiration and awe. These people coast along the shores of Mekran, traverse the mouth of the Persian Gulf, and again adhering to the sea-board of Oman, Hadramant, and Yeman (Eastern Arabia), they sail up the Red Sea; and again ascending the mighty stream that fertilises a land of wonders, found the kingdoms of Egypt, Nubia and Abyssinia. These are the same stock that, centuries subsequently to this colonization, spread the blessings of civilisation over Hellas and her islands."—Pococke's "India in Greece". p. 42.

6. The ancient geographers called by the name of Ethiopia all that part of Africa which now constitutes Nubia, Abyssinia, Sanaor, Darfur and Dongola.—Count Bjornstjern's "Theogony of the Hindus." p. 168.

7. "Philostratus introduces the Brahman Iarchus by stating to his auditor that the Ethiopians were originally an 'Indian race' compelled to leave India for the impurity contracted by slaying a certain monarch to whom they owed allegiance."—Pococke's "India in Greece," p. 200.

8. "The Ethiopians, a colony of the Indians, preserved the wisdom and usage of their forefathers and acknowledged their ancient origin."—"Ibid" p. 205.

9. Colonel Tod in "Rajasthan" (II. p. 309) says:—"A writer in the 'Asiatic Journal' (Vol. IV, p. 325) gives a curious list of the names of places in the interior of Africa, mentioned in Parks's 'Second Journey,' which are shown to be all Sanskrit, and most of them actually current in India at the present day."

For further information the reader is referred to H. Sarda's "Hindu Superiority" and Heeren's "Asiatic Nations."

THE FIRST EUROPEAN MOSLEM CONFERENCE.*

The opening ceremony of the joint European Moslem conference held at Geneva took place on September 12. The Moslems of Europe were well represented by 70 delegates from Moslem communities, groups, and Societies in Europe.

The organizers were the Emir Chekib Arslan, Ishan Bey el Djabri, Dr. Zaki Aly, Mr. Ali El-Ghaiaty.

Among the prominent representatives present may be mentioned:—Salem Effendi Mufti, President of the Ulemas Council, Sarajevo, Yugoslavia. Waisal Alishan, Chief Mufti to Uskub, Bosnia. Dr. Jacob Szykiewicz, Chief Mufti of the Moslems of Poland. Sir Omar Hubert Stewart Rankin and Lady Rankin, of Great Britain. Abdulhamid Houramovitch, President of the Moslem Association of Warsaw, Poland. Count Seif-ul-Islam Barbiellini Amidei, Moslem Orientalist and President of the Oriental Royal Academy at Naples, Italy. Madame Laura Vaglieri, Italian Orientalist. Abdel-Baki El-Omary Bey, Famous Egyptian Lawyer, and Member of the Congress Executive. Messali Hadj, President of the Moslem Organization, "L'Etoile Nord-Africaine" of Paris. Dr. Dervich Korkut, Chief Editor of the Moslem Review "Glasnik" of Belgrade. Professor Muhammad Kantardjitch, Secretary of the Council of Ulemas of Sarajevo. Mehdi Kassem, Honorary Secretary of the Islamic Culture Association of Vienna, Austria. Professor Ahmed Zeki Validi, of the "Islamischer Kulturbund" of Vienna. Sirdar Iqbal Ali Shah, Afghan author. Aly Mohyeddin de Meyerburg, President of the Dutch Moslem Association. J. L. Van Beethem Mohammed Ali, President of the Dutch Moslem Association, La Haye Holland. Mahmoud Bey

*Islam, Lahore.



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Salem Al Arafati, Ex-Judge of the Mixed Tribunals of Egypt, Editor of the Moslem periodical "Arafat" and Honorary Vice-President of the Western Islamic Association, and the "Islamischer Kulturbund" of Vienna. Dr. Zaki Aly, Founder and President of the Islamic Cultural Association of Austria, Founding Member of the Spanish Islamic Society, also Honorary Vice-President of the Western Islamic Association. Muhammed Rassulovic, Secretary of the Hungarian Moslem Association.

The Emir Chekib Arslan delivered the Presidential Address of welcome. The European countries, represented in the Congress were: France, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Poland, Austria, Germany, Spain, Italy, Albania, Switzerland, Holland and Hungary. The Oriental countries represented by individuals but not in an official quality, were Egypt, Turkey, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Irak, India and the countries of North Africa. The Imam of the Paris Mosque recited several verses from the Holy Quran, and then the Emir Chekib Arslan reviewed the general situation in the Moslem world before and after the abolition of the Caliphate, and urged the Moslems to unite their efforts for the solidarity of Islam. The Congress then discussed a project regarding building a mosque in Varsovia, the capital of Poland. A subscription for the purpose was opened. The grand Mufti of Poland, Dr. Jacob Szykiewicz described the liberal and kind attitude of the Polish Government towards her Moslems. Dr. Zaki Ali proposed that the Congress officially thank the Government of Poland for its broadmindedness and sympathy for the Polish Moslems. This resolution was carried unanimously. Dr. Zaki Aly delivered an important speech on the relations between Europe and Islam. He spoke of the urgent need of organizing Moslem efforts and propaganda in the West, and of presenting true Islam in the most impressive way to the peoples of Europe. He further dealt with Islamic tolerance, morals, the social system, and of the significance of Islam to humanity. The opening ceremony concluded with a banquet attended by all the members of the Congress.

During the second session of the Congress, Mr. Van Beethem Mohammed Ali of Holland, spoke on Islam in Holland and in the Dutch Colonies. He appealed to the Congress for assistance in building a Mosque and Islamic School in the Dutch capital, La Haye. Holland has, the speaker stated, more than 55 millions of Moslem subjects. The notable Italian Orientalist, Count Bernard Barbiellini Amidei, Member of the Italian Parliament, declared at the Congress his conversion to Islam, which appealed to his heart as the true ideal religion. He adopted among cordial congratulations of the Congress the name of "Seif-ul-Islam."

On September 15th, the Congress passed the following among other resolutions: An Address of thanks to the Yugoslavian Government for its kindness to the Moslems of that land. To request the Dutch Government to attend in a more kindly manner to the welfare of the many millions of Muslims in the Dutch Empire. The question of reconciliation between Sunnis and Shias, and eliminating all differences. To send an appeal to the League of Nations to intervene to stop the disastrous Jewish immigration into Palestine. A similar appeal was sent to the British Government and the various Moslem States. The defence of the interests of the European Moslems and the safeguarding of their rights. The Congress passed a resolution regarding the formation of "A Permanent Committee of the Moslem Congress of Europe." This Committee was unanimously elected.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

GOPAL KRISHNA DEVADHAR.

After a protracted illness, which entailed much suffering borne with characteristic fortitude, G. K. Devadhar passed away at Bhajekar's private hospital to which he had been removed three weeks ago from Poona. His daughters assisted by women workers of the Seva Sadan were assiduous in their attention to his comfort till the last moment. To his friends, the thought that they will not see his genial face again recurs as a reminder of the dire reality of death. At the funeral pyre, fervent tributes were paid to Devadhar's work and worthy speakers representing all communities. The Bombay Municipal Corporation by a unanimous vote adjourned on Monday out of respect to Devadhar's memory. Devadhar joined the Servants of India Society soon after it was formed by Gokhale. He was its President when he died. The conception of politics to which Gokhale sought to give expression through his Society, was a comprehensive one. Primarily concerned with the attainment of rights of self-government, it left scope and freedom to members to devote themselves to any branch of activity which would enhance the strength and health of the Indian people. Devadhar from the first turned his attention to the task of making the women of India an effective factor in the vast, uncharted realm of social service. He saw that there was going to waste an immense mass of valuable human material for want of training and opportunity to serve themselves and their sisters.

Devadhar had a philosophy of life and a principle and policy in all that he undertook. But he seldom gave expression to them. He laid down no conditions, exacted no qualifications. He gladly admitted whoever sought admission and succeeded, in the cases of most, in sending them out as competent and self-

reliant workers in various fields of service to women. All castes and creeds were welcome. No difference was made or allowed to be made between caste Hindus and untouchables. This writer remembers an occasion when a smart young woman, indistinguishable, except for a slight over-emphasis of tone and manner, from any caste woman, walked into his room at the Servants of India Society's Home in Sandhurst Road. Devadhar pointing to her said: "Look here, this girl is one of our Seva Sadan products trained as a teacher. She is now drawing Rs. 70 in a Municipal School and she has come to ask me to have her niece trained in the same way." He added as an after-thought that she was a member of the depressed class. One who was with him some two or three years ago when he visited a village near Ambarnath, which had been burnt down, noted the easy way in which Devadhar made himself at home with the villagers. He and his party had their breakfast in one of the few huts which had escaped the fire. They were served with home-made things which some of the party showed some hesitation before taking. Devadhar, however, at once began eating with evident relish, called for more, and before leaving asked the host for the recipes in order, he told him, that he might have them prepared in his own house, as he liked them much. He was sincerely unconscious of the great contribution he was making to the cause of national regeneration by his work in the Seva Sadan.

Devadhar was naturally sensitive but he never showed it, having disciplined himself to take whatever came in the course of his frequent collection tours for his great institution, as all in the day's work. Whenever work had to be done, he quietly set himself to do it and was never known to plead that he had no time or that he had his hands full, though they were always over-full. Owing to this characteristic, it was sometimes trying to friends who had engagements with him. No one was less concerned about his personal convenience or comfort. With a little more care in this respect, he would perhaps have lived longer for he had a tough constitution. Few people with the complication of ailments to which he was a victim for the last two or three years, would have felt fit to carry on a tenth of the work he had on his hands all the time. From Travancore in the extreme South



where he was conducting an enquiry on the co-operative movement, to Simla or Delhi to attend a meeting of the Agricultural Research Association of which he was a member from the first, and back to Travancore within a week, was more than once traversed by the sick man with one or two nurses to attend to his wants. He was sure that Indian women would acquit themselves worthily in every contingency. He took a contingent of women volunteers for relief work in Malabar soon after the Mapla riots and the good work done then laid the foundation of the cordial relations with the people there of which the Devadhar Reconstruction Scheme is the permanent monument. In addition to the several institutions directly affiliated to or administered from the Poona Seva Sadan, it was the model of some others in other provinces. Devadhar with his devoted co-adjutor, Mrs. Janakibai Bhatt, helped to establish them and lent the services of trained workers from Poona till they were able to stand on their own feet. Reference was made above to Devadhar's religion. It was the religion of the Gita, verses from which were often on his lips during the last few days. The country has lost the greatest social worker of our time by his death.

Gandhiji on Social Reform :—Gandhiji comments in the current *Harijan* on Sir Govindrao Madgavkar's open letter to him and other leaders regarding the need of accelerating the consolidation of Hindu society by abolishing distinctions of caste and sect particularly by the repeal of restrictions on intermarriage and inter-dining. We print Sir Govindrao's letter and Gandhiji's comments thereon. Gandhiji's views now expressed on Varnashrama are certainly more definite than those expressed in his earlier writings. His general observations about the methods of social reform are also clearer and more mature. There has recently been a little too much of twisting the tail of Hindu orthodoxy; and Gandhiji's advice against reviling orthodox Hindus is very opportune. If orthodox Hindus were really as pig-headed as their impatient critics allege, then, there is nothing else, for those who dissent from old customs, to do but to remove themselves bag and baggage out of it as Dr. Ambedkar and others of his way of thinking desire to do. But a dispassionate review of the progress of social ideas during the last half a century, shows that the Hindu community is not so entrenched in the old ways as to be impervious to reason in favour of making necessary adaptations. Naturally, it demands that those who advocate innovations, should test and prove that they do not endanger the sound and healthy parts of the social organism—for society is an organism and not a machine—and that they will add to its strength and vigour. Personal example, as Gandhiji says, is, therefore, the first duty of a reformer. We would add that the reformer, in setting a personal example,

should scrupulously, and even over-scrupulously, respect susceptibilities and even prejudices of his society, that are harmless even though not quite rational. The greatest asset of the religious, social and national movement in this or any other country, is the personal character of its leaders. In fact, social reform or national progress, in the last analysis, is nothing but the elevation of the character of the individuals who constitute society. India has been most fortunate in the leadership of men of high intellectual and moral calibre. The Shastras do not prevent successive generations from changing social customs to suit the times. Society would not have endured if it had been a cast-iron system. Those who plead the Shastras against reforms really ask to be convinced that they are needed and are sure to strengthen society in dealing with new conditions.

Interdining and Intermarriage:—Interdining, as Gandhiji says, is best left to the tastes, inclinations or interests of individuals and there should be no compulsion. There is no law prohibiting interdining between members of different castes or creeds but except at hotels, restaurants, railway carriages and jails, it is not very common. The fact is, dining among Indians is regarded as a private and personal necessity of no importance as a means of promoting social intercourse. Many intimate friends seldom find it necessary to cement their friendship by taking their food in each other's company. On the whole, inter-dining would seem to be rather over-rated as a factor of social unity. However, as we said, there is no law to prevent a Brahmin from eating with a Pariah; and nowadays, when occasion needs, educated people make no difficulty about dining in the company of other castes. As for intermarriage, there should be no legal bar to a person of one caste marrying one of another caste. Actually at present, Gour's Act enables this to be done, and Babu Bhagwandas's Bill will, if passed, do away with the difficulties needlessly raised by the succession sections of that Act. But we are not sure it will be any good making intermarriages a plank in the national platform. Married happiness largely depends on how much wife and husband can take for granted in each other without having to thresh out every little question as it arises. As Gandhiji observes, while there should be no legal bar or social odium attaching to intermarriages between persons of different castes and sects, most marriages will continue to be celebrated between persons of analogous upbringing. To make out that a man or woman who marries out of the customary group, does more to advance the national interests than another who is content to choose a partner in his or her own class, is to look at the question from a wrong perspective. There is no demerit attaching to intermarriages nor is there any special merit either. The growth of a common standard of life, of education and social conduct, as Sir Govindrao observes, will naturally lead to the falling off



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of social distinctions. This is a slow process and "more haste, less speed" is a wise maxim to follow in such matters.

Society and the State:—We reprint in this issue the larger part of an interesting article in *World's Youth*, the quarterly review of the World's Alliance of Young Men's Christian Associations, published from Geneva, by Mr. Soichi Saito, National Secretary of the Y. M. C. A., in Japan. Mr. Saito's object in describing present day tendencies in Japanese family life, is to suggest how Christianity may be made acceptable to the people of Japan without affronting their deep-rooted family sentiment which he himself shares to a considerable extent. He recommends the stressing of such passages, mostly in the Epistles, which bear upon family life, with this object. Mr. Saito even interprets the passages in the Bible which have given rise to the controversy in these columns about Jesus's attitude to his mother, as proof of his considerateness to her and recommends that they should be taught as such in Christian propaganda in his country. Apart from this limited object, the article has a wider interest. For nearly a century we have had it impressed on us that India's political subjection is due to her social and family system, and many of us have unquestioningly adopted this view. It will be seen from Mr. Saito's account of the Japanese family that there is much in common between it and the Indian system. Even the joint family, which Mr. Pannikar regards as the main source of India's national weakness, is there. In spite of it, Japan today is one of the great world Powers whose competition in trade is as much feared as her strength in armaments. Surely, this should make us reflect whether the social or family system of a country is the chief determining factor of her political solidarity or her international status. Japan is not the only instance. Germany under the Empire was ruled by a caste and the strength behind Hitler, it has been noted by observers, is still derived from the same source. England itself has the reputation in Europe of being a caste-ridden country. The remarkable stability of France, a by-word for the instability of her Governments, rests on a family system not less rigid than that of Japan or China or India. Social reforms should be adopted for their own sake to render the movement of light and air and ideas free through the corridors of a nation's life, but, as a means to political or economic advancement, their influence would seem to be mostly derivative and indirect.

Trouble in Egypt:—The anti-British demonstrations in Egypt reported this week were not portended by any previous information about the causes leading to them, published in this country. No doubt, the developments in Ethiopia have stirred Egyptian nationalism both into sympathy with Ethiopia and into an acute consciousness of its own rights. The advantage

of being a member of the League of Nations, has also become more attractive as a result of the world importance which the Italo-Ethiopian conflict has acquired owing to Ethiopia's membership of the League. It is also not improbable that Italian influence has something to do with the nationalist demonstrations against Britain. The application of the Wafdists, that Egypt should be admitted to the League, can not be taken official notice of as it does not emanate from a Government. But this technicality can be overcome if the Irish Free State, for instance, sponsors the application. Even Italy may do it as she continues to be a member. The Italian position has throughout been that she is following closely in the footsteps of Great Britain in her imperialistic ambitions; and Signor Mussolini must be enjoying the anti-British demonstrations in Egypt. To outsiders, Britain's opposition to the entry of Egypt into the League seems unaccountable. Surely Egypt is not less competent to govern herself than Iraq which Britain released from her mandate and got admitted to the League.

Tamarind:—Dr. McKroyd who has succeeded Dr. McCarrison as Director of Nutrition Research at the Coonoor Institute, in an interesting letter to Gandhiji on the food values of—neem (margosa) leaves and—the tamarind, remarks, "I can offer nothing in support of the popular belief that it induces fever and rheumatism." Gandhiji commenting in the current *Harjan* adds that in no case has he found it to have induced cold or rheumatism or boils as is believed by many. Richard Burton who lived in Sind like a native some fifty years ago, relates a prevalent belief in Sind that the tamarind tree, and not the fruit, brings on fever if one sleeps under it. After stating in the third volume of his monumental *Arabian Nights*, that the juice of the tamarind is taken with water as a drink, he adds, "Tamar-al-Hindi (Arabic), the Indian date, hence our tamarind. The traveller is advised not to sleep under the Tamarind's shade which is infamous for causing ague and fever. In Sind I derided the 'native superstition', passed the night under an Indian date-tree and awoke with a fine specimen of ague which lasted me a week."—Benares Edition, page 297, footnote. The fruit itself cannot be harmful because so many, in the South everyone as Gandhiji says, use it without any evil effect. In fact we have known some doctors recommending it to persons peculiarly susceptible to malaria.

Catholics and the War:—The halting diplomatic declarations of the Pope had given rise to an unfortunate impression that Catholics are inclined to take a neutral, non-committal attitude towards the Italian aggression on Ethiopia. This is, perhaps, true of the hierarchy, but popular opinion among Catholics as among all nations is dead against the action of the Italian Dictator. We reprint today a short and reasoned article from the *Catholic Worker* of New York which makes this clear.

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BOMBAY, November 23, 1935.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

The League of Nations issued two years ago a bulky volume containing the Report of its Commission of Enquiry into Traffic in Women and Children in the East. It has decided to convene a Conference at Singapore next year to consider and deal with the recommendations of the Commission. A regional Conference to prepare the ground for the forthcoming Singapore Conference was held in Madras last week with the Bishop of Madras in the Chair. The Conference was opened by His Excellency the Governor of Madras. The Bishop pointed out that punitive measures of themselves can not cope with commercialised vice and that rescue work must be undertaken and carried out to a much larger extent than at present. The question arises, where are the workers to be found? The Bishop said, rescue work is a difficult and delicate problem and it requires very specially trained women. "That women who are willing to devote themselves to this difficult work are here in India," he added, "our initial endeavours have abundantly proved." Immediately, however, he went on to suggest that a worker should be engaged from Europe with the help of Government, to establish work on right lines and "to save us from the slow and wasteful process of learning by trial and error." The importation of experts from abroad to save ourselves the trouble of learning by trial and error, has led to enormous waste and loss without the benefit of it accruing to Indian workers. In Bombay we have merely to look around to see that this has been the case. Waste and error can not be avoided whether you employ a foreigner from Europe who has to learn Indian conditions by making mistakes or Indians whose mistakes become valuable experience which thereafter becomes indigenous. If, as the Bishop said, there are women in India who are willing to devote themselves to the work, it should not be difficult to get one of them to organise the work without extraneous assistance. Rescue work is not reclamation work. We have to deal with human beings and not with sand and cement. An Indian woman without proselytising proclivities, even if she is a novice, will start in this field with a great initial advantage over the trained European who does not understand India. We shall be told that it is better that an erring girl should become a convert than that she should continue in sin. But does conversion always ensure redemption? As Lord Erskine said in his opening remarks the evil is not confined to any one country or people. The brothel is the creation of an economic system having private profit for its principal incentive. This is the root factor and we are surprised that the good Bishop deprecated blaming those who make a profit by the trade. We

agree if he meant it is not the individuals but the system that is to blame. The real remedy, it follows, is to change the system. The only country where the problem has been effectively dealt with so far, is Soviet Russia, where the very word prostitute is forbidden.

The Bishop further said, "It has to be recognised that very many of them (inmates of brothels) are engaged in it for economic reasons: for want of some other method of earning a livelihood, they have drifted or been forced into it. To deprive them of even this means of keeping body and soul together and to provide no outlet for them, is futile and cruel." The remedies His Lordship suggested was, first, a Central Home to which the rescued women can be sent in which they can learn to live useful lives, and be trained to earn their living in some respectable work. He asked the Municipalities and Government to provide funds for the Home as being more economical than providing more doctors, hospitals and nurses and at the same time to lose the potential earnings (and taxes) of a healthy population! The Bishop is making the same mistake as the Prohibitionists of the States who made much of the prosperity of the boom period, which followed the War, as proof of its value. When the inevitable depression came, the ground was cut from under their feet and the country reverted to its old policy in liquor. Why the Bishop should have preferred to insist on the economic value instead of on the essential injustice and immorality of the brothel system, we can not understand. Some future Minister may twist the Bishop's argument into a justification for taxing the earnings of brothels. Once this step is taken, the system will become entrenched in the fiscal system even like the liquor policy of "maximum revenue and minimum consumption." The analogy is not fanciful. The liquor traffic is intimately associated with the brothel system, so much so that it has been authoritatively stated that the one can not exist without the other. The ground lost by the Prohibition movement in this country, since the Ordinances were promulgated against peaceful picketing of liquor shops, is ground lost by the social purity movement. We trust that some one from India will urge this important aspect of the question before the Singapore Conference. The League of Nations has fought shy, so far, of grappling with the liquor traffic. Two years ago at Geneva this writer pressed this on the attention of the head of an organization close to the League of Nations, which was interested in counteracting the trade in drugs. He was assured that the suggestion would be considered, but nothing further has been heard about it. So far as International Traffic is concerned we have a comparatively clean slate. Chinese and Japanese women are the most important groups concerned in it. "Outside India," the Commission reported, "the Commission has found Indian prostitutes only in one of



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the territories revisited namely, in British Malaya." And even there the numbers were so small that it may be fairly stated that, generally speaking, Indian women are not victims of international traffic. Those few prostitutes of Indian origin who are in Malaya have reached there in the current of the existing considerable Indian emigration to that country.

JESUS AND MARY.

Much of the difficulty in understanding Jesus' attitude towards his mother disappears when it is realised that Jesus was an Oriental, to whom the mother aspect of woman overshadowed all others. His speech at the wedding-feast at Cana and his performance are in conflict, exactly as with the son in the parable who, after saying 'I will not' to his father, repented and worked in his vineyard. His rhetorical question, "Who is my mother? And who are my brothers?" seems to be a sorrowful recognition of the rejection of his message by those nearest to him. Jesus is, as 'T. A. L.' (*Reformer*, November 9th) remarks, asserting his individuality against family claims. But "T. A. L.'s" emphasis on the comparatively unimportant use of the word "Woman", whilst slurring over the more reprehensible "What have I got to do with thee," is an excellent example of straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. Even so, I wonder whether 'T. A. L.' would feel exactly complimented if *her* son—if, as I take it, that writer is a woman—answered her in this manner. But is unnecessary to say, that many good Christians of today would be horrified if anyone in their society acted as Jesus did in Jewish society. Luther took a common sense view of life when he remarked that the Cleansing of the Temple ought not to be taken as an example. Nor is that the only incident in the life of Jesus to show that he was a man as well as a prophet. And it is surely too much to claim that "for thirty years he was true to his family obligations." I wonder has 'T. A. L.' forgotten the child who tarried in Jerusalem and rebuked his parents for sorrowing for him on the grounds of a higher tie? The apocryphal gospels which might be considered to throw some light at least on the life and teachings of Jesus, narrate an interesting episode in the early life of Jesus which apparently was not a tranquil period for his parents. Alarmed at the sudden deaths which overtook his young companions who crossed him in the village sports, the neighbours went in deputation, runs the story, to Joseph, saying, "If thou wouldst live with us, teach thy child to bless and not to curse." Joseph, worried by constant complaints, caught the young Jesus angrily by the ear and was solemnly rebuked by his son for doing so. "It is enough for you to see me," said Jesus according to the Apostle Thomas, the realist disciple who could not believe in the resurrection till he touched Jesus (John, XX, 25); "not to touch me. For you know not who I am; but if thou didst know, thou wouldst not make me angry. And although just now I am with you, yet was I made before you." (A. Walker's "Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations" page 79; M. R. James' "The Apocryphal New Testament" page 60.) There can be no denying the fact that throughout his life Jesus was fighting against the family system. "For I am come," said Jesus in instructing his apostles (Mathew, X, 35), "to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law," and went on to add, "A man's foes shall be they of his own household." The struggle with himself, however, was greater than the difficulty of breaking with his relatives.

And this was rendered all the more intense because his mother, Mary, in spite of his almost studied attempts to shake her off, persisted in watching over him, even though she, as a devout Jew, must have felt spiritually hurt at some of his preachings. On the Cross, Jesus realises the great mistake of his life. Forsaken by his disciples, betrayed by one of them and denied by another, he must have been strengthened in his own faith in the parental love of God by the sight of his mother who was steadfast in her devotion to him. The flight of those whom he had elevated to the position of 'brothers' must have completely disillusioned him.—Their weak faith needed the seal of the Resurrection. How were they better than the scribes and Pharisees whom Jesus had denounced for seeking a sign?—In his admonition to John, Jesus both entrusts a charge and repudiates his past conduct to his mother. And he goes back to a human tie the strength of which he had underestimated before. "When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, "Woman, behold thy Son!" Then he saith to the disciple, "Behold thy Mother!" And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own home." Thus John the beloved disciple describing the spiritual reunion of Jesus and his Mother.

V. A.

JESUS AND HIS MOTHER.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

With reference to the discussion now going on in connection with Jesus' way of addressing his mother, I beg to write the following with your kind permission.

The matter is very simple if it is looked at from the Hindu point of view. In other words, Jesus had become a Sannyasi *i. e.* a man who had given up the world including all his relatives by blood etc., and hence he would not recognise his mother and brothers as such. This has been the case in India for ages, and some teachers have gone to the length of calling it a sin to have any recognition of such relationships. Such Sadhus and Sannyasis bury their past entirely and they are forbidden even to speak of it. Jesus did the same and so was done by Paul. Both of them changed their names, *e. g.*, Jesus called himself Son of Man and Saul become Paul. Both of them were civilly and socially dead. Now a thing like this was so new to both the Jews and the Gentiles that they naturally overlooked it. It is no wonder then that such an outstanding Jewish teacher as Dr. Montefiore should blame Jesus for this apparent lack of courtesy to his mother, and Jesus is blameable unless we remember that he belonged to a different order of life by his Sannyas. Your correspondent T. A. L. has forgotten the fact that however high the idea of "woman" may be in the mind of Jesus, the idea of "Mother" is the crown of womanhood. But Jesus as a Sadhu had neither mother nor father, and he did not want to be recognised any more as the son of Mary or Joseph. If we look at it from this point of view, there is no harshness whatsoever. However, the fundamental objection on the part of the Jews to the recognition of Jesus lies deeper, and this was made clear to me by a Jew whom I met in America. He said to me that Jesus was different from Moses and Abraham inasmuch as he did not marry and live in the world, and so he could not be an exemplar. In other words Jesus denies the world and Judaism affirms it. Now there is no denying the fact that Jesus does deny the world, and very definitely too. Herein he is more like Mahavir and Buddha and the Christianity of both Jesus and Paul comes very near



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in this matter to Jainism and Buddhism, and it is very different from Judaism and Islam. I have always felt that Jainism, Buddhism and Christianity are the three most spiritual and universal religions of the world, but this is true of these religions at their best. Of these Christianity has become very worldly and carnal and Mr. H. Kraemhar from whose article you quote in your issue of the 9th instant is quite right in saying that the present day Christianity is European Imperialism. I defined it as Europeanism several years ago, and I am thankful that this is being realised more and more.

Whether the denial of the world is better than its affirmation is a much bigger question than can be discussed here, and all that I would say is that it is this denial which has given to the world its two greatest men—Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ.

Rajkot, Yours etc.,
12th November 1933. } MANILAL C. PAREKH.

[The Sannyas explanation is surely rather forced. Except in the case of his mother Jesus moved freely with women. Hindu monasticism, on the other hand, allowed a departure from the strict rule of dis-association with women in the case only of the mother.—Ed., I. S. R.]

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE.

It is generally believed that youth everywhere is in revolt. And the less known objects against which they revolt, have been a fertile field for the thesis writer. European and American research writers, and even some of our advanced Asiatic nations, have learnt that their young men are dissatisfied with the family and even with marriage. It was to be expected that Indians would follow this lead. Mr. K. T. Merchant's 'Changing Views on Marriage and Family (Hindu Youth)' which is his thesis for the M. A. degree of Bombay University revised, and published by B. G. Paul & Co., (price Rs 3-8-0), is pioneer work in this sphere. Like all pioneers he is inclined to go a little too fast. Mr. Merchant set about his work by distributing a questionnaire among the students. The response was so poor—only 676 replied of the 3,800 approached and of these 78 were rejected as of a 'doubtful nature'—that one is likely to conclude that Mr. Merchant was not taken very seriously by university students in this presidency. That it would be unwarranted is conclusively proved by the list of professors and others whom Mr. Merchant thanks in his preface for distributing the questionnaire. The only possible conclusion is that the 85 per cent who were silent were satisfied with things as they are and did not feel the disadvantages to be so irksome as to justify a demand for drastic change. The reason for this is not difficult to conjecture. The university student is, in India at any rate, generally of a class which requires protection for its young till the 21st year at the least. You cannot gather in university degrees if you have to support a family at the same time or even earn your own living. There are no doubt exceptions but Mr. Merchant sought not the exceptional but the average among students. If it is true that many leaders in Indian life were able to devote themselves to public work because of the joint family, it is even more so with our scholars. It is Mr. Ginsberg's ignorance of this fundamental fact of Indian social life that has led him to commend this book as a careful study which does not go beyond the evidence. On the strength of the 3,000 odd who did not send in their returns, the conclusion that Hindu youth are against the joint family system and desire an urgent reform of the marriage custom, seems out of place. There is nothing to show that Hindu youth today, any more than in the past, are actively interested in bringing

on the changes indicated by Mr. Merchant in the book. On the contrary there is everything to indicate that the vast mass of them will, after protests in varying degrees of intensity, accommodate themselves to existing conditions, whatever they may be. If Mr. Merchant succeeds in introducing the Utopia which he sketches out in the last chapter, the three thousand silent ones will still be as indifferent as they are today. There are some interesting facts which Mr. Merchant's figures for Bombay, Gujarat and Poona, reveal about the university students so far as one can conclude anything from these meagre statistics. Sixty-eight per cent of Poona university men are neither married nor betrothed as against 44·8 in Bombay and 33·9 in Gujarat. This may mean either that the Poona young man postpones marriage till after graduation more frequently than the Bombay or Gujarat under-graduate, or that the wives of Bombay and Gujarat university students allow their husbands more liberty in answering questionnaires than they do in Poona. Bombay leads in the matter of betrothals which possibly means that the custom is more prevalent in this city. But these facts do not prove or disprove Mr. Merchant's theory. Mr. Merchant's quotations from modern writers at the conclusion show the reader that he has definitely set out to expound his ideas of what should be done to reform Hindu society and has utilised the few who answered his questionnaire as a peg to hang his views on. Even if no one had responded, this thesis would still have been written. As an exposition of Mr. Merchant's views it is interesting. But as a study of what middle-class, higher caste, Hindu youth think it is of little value.

S.

THE PRESENT TENDENCIES IN THE JAPANESE FAMILY.*

(BY SOICHI SAITO.)

In the summer of 1933, when I had the pleasure at a luncheon given by Senator Quezon of sitting next to him, I ventured to ask what would be the basic principle of education of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands when it came to enjoy complete independence. To my surprise his immediate reply was, "It would be based upon the family system."

Last July in Moscow I was much interested in the remark made by one of the authorities on contemporary Soviet Russia to the effect that Stalin has lately been paying a great deal of attention to the family problem in Russia, following on a particular experiment which was carried on for a decade or so in that country.

A friend of mine in England, upon learning that I was engaged in a study of the Japanese family system, advised me to make a comparative study of family systems such as the Greek, Roman, Indian, and our own. Such a comprehensive study needs more time and further research. Let me, however, take up the subject which has been assigned to me as above and discuss it under the following three headings:

- I. Characteristics of the Japanese Family System.
- II. Present Tendencies in the Japanese Family.
- III. Their Bearing on our Christian Work and Message.

In order to understand our family system two things must be kept in mind. First, the New Japan emerged out of her feudal system only sixty-seven years ago. The year 1868 was the first year of the Meiji Era, a first page of the history of New Japan. In the second place, Japan has had to go through

*World's Youth, Geneva.

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in less than three-quarters of a century almost all the processes which took more than two or even three centuries in other parts of the world; take, for instance, change from the feudal system to a constitutional monarchy, industrial revolution, westernization, and the world economic crisis. In such a short space of time Japan, after having had periods of testing, has joined the family of nations.

Now, the basic idea of the Japanese family is the relationship between parents and children, not between man and wife. Our respect for "the name of family," which means the permanency of the family line, is of primary importance. Consequently this creates the family spirit. In the West the central consideration of the family may be the question of marriage or divorce, while in Japan it is the problem of inheritance. In other words, the western family is constructed by the horizontal relation of husband and wife, while the Japanese system is centralized in the vertical relationship of ancestor, father and son.

In order to realize the permanent succession of the family line, transmission of the family tradition becomes another important matter. For example, in some conservative traditional families the same personal name is carried on generation after generation. Furthermore, in the days gone by, the Samurai, or military family, was always succeeded by the Samurai, merchant by merchant, and farmer by farmer, which shows the transmission of the family tradition by means of profession. Of course, this has undergone a great modification in our day on account of changing economic and social conditions. However, in certain families the succession of family professions is observed even now. Therefore in the Japanese family a revolt against family tradition has been considered one of the most disgraceful things. In the majority of divorce cases, for instance, the reason put forward is that a wife does not conform to her husband's family tradition, or that an adopted son has failed to adjust himself to a particular family tradition.

The permanency of the family line and its name necessitates the first son being the most important person among the children. According to the usual custom the eldest son inherits the entire property of his ancestor upon the death of the head of the family. Special privileges are given to the eldest son in the matter of education and treatment at home. But, on the other hand, he is always under obligation to observe the principle of the family tradition, and oftentimes he has to inherit not only the property but also the profession or business of his forefathers. He has not only to look after his own children, but, if necessary, his brothers' or sisters' children also.

As such duties are required of the head of the family, either in the father and son or husband and wife relationships, so great authority is given to him. In respect of marriage or choice of profession the voice of the head of the family is final.

Another characteristic of the Japanese family system may be found in the intimate relationship between the relatives. Not only has the head of the family the obligation to look after his parents, his wife, and his own children, but by Japanese law he is obliged to help his distant relatives up to the consanguinity of the sixth degree; that is, up to the second cousin.

According to a survey which has been carried out in the northern part of Japan, there still exist many traditional large families. For example, in one family, fifty-seven individuals are living together, including seven sons with their wives and children and also a few distant relatives. They live

in separate rooms or in smaller units. At dinner time all the members of the family gather in a large dining room, which is usually situated in the central portion of the building, and which is also used as a sort of social lobby. In such a large family, distinction between the head of the family and the other members is clearly established. The absolute power is vested in the head of the family and the other members are always unified by his authority.

Another unique feature of the Japanese family system is ancestor worship, which comes as a consequence of the preservation of the family line. Just as the children go to the father and mother each morning to pay respect with a morning's greeting, so do the members of the family worship the spirits of their ancestors. The conception of our Royal Family may well be explained in this connection. Our Emperor is considered to be the Head of all the families in Japan. In other words, our Imperial family is the centre of the families in Japan, and the individual families are the branches from the same tree. Hence, the cardinal virtues in Japanese ethics are loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety to our parents.

The family system of Japan is the bulwark and foundation of her national life. Upon this structure her social, cultural, ethical, and religious life has been built up. In recent years, however, it was not free from the influence of various tendencies, and many changes have been in evidence. An attempt has been made to carry out some research into the Japanese family system, and thousands of opinions regarding the general attitude on the social practices of our family system have been collected. According to the replies given by 7,575 people of over forty years of age, the majority show a favourable attitude towards the family system as it is. For instance, the questions to which the consensus of opinion has been agreed upon are as follows:

1. Children must get their parents' approval when they marry.
2. Newly weds should live with parents.
3. Parents should arrange the marriages of their children, who are young and inexperienced.
4. Ancestral worship is a good feature of the family system.
5. It is wise to adopt a child in order to perpetuate the family line.
6. It is absolutely wrong to divorce a wife because she has no child.
7. If the head of the house is unable to support his family, his relatives must attempt to do so.
8. When the branch house is in distress the main house must support it.
9. Ideal family life can be achieved only when the head of a house has the ruling hand.
10. Free association of men and women is apt to corrupt society.

On the other hand, their unfavourable attitudes are expressed by the following views:

1. Marriages should be carried out without parent's approval.
2. The motive for marriages should be love and not the bearing of children.
3. The divorced wife has the right to take her child with her when she leaves.
4. Both husband and wife should manage their property.
5. It is wrong to distinguish between the main house and the branch house and to give authority to the former.

From these conclusions one may clearly see that the general tendency of opinion among the older generation is to preserve very distinctly the continuity of the family line.



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We have also explored the same subject amongst one thousand universities and college students, and an analytical study of their replies reveals that there is a strong expression of individualism which is the general fundamental basis for modern civilization. They do not accept all the views which are favourably agreed upon by the older generation. For example, the latter approved such opinions as "Children must get their parents' approval when they marry," "Free association of men and women is apt to corrupt society", and "Ideal family life can be achieved only when the head of the family has the ruling hand." However, these views do not meet with the agreement of the former. On the contrary, the younger generation has agreed upon such conceptions as "Marriages should be carried out without the parents' approval," "The motive of marriage should be love but not the bearing of children," and "It is wrong to distinguish between the main house and the branch house and to give authority to the former."

The above mentioned facts will explain by themselves the conflict of ideas between the younger and older generations of our day. On the one hand, the older people who are controlling present society show, comparatively speaking, a favourable attitude towards the traditional family system and are eager to maintain it. On the other hand, younger people who will be the leaders of tomorrow are desiring to change this time-honoured system and are in favour of establishing a new social institution based upon individualism. Moreover, there are extreme cases of students who agree with the advocacy of communism, with special reference to the family system. There is indeed a crisis of the family system in Japan.

THE GURUKULA UNIVERSITY HARDWAR.

Thirty-four years ago, the Gurukula Kangri was founded by Swami Shraddhanand on the 24th of February 1902. This institution is the oldest and the best of its kind. Though controlled by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Punjab, it is an All India institution, in which students hail not only from the Punjab, but also from the United Provinces, Gujarat, Rajputana, Central Provinces, Behar, Bengal and even from far off places like Madras, Burma and Africa. At present there are some Harijan boys also studying in the Gurukula.

The Gurukula has already developed into a university. Above three lakhs of rupees have been spent on its buildings. The distinctive feature of the institution is that it admits boys at the tender age of seven or eight, keeps them safe from the harmful atmosphere of city life and imparts to them the ancient Vedic culture. Brahmacharya is the life breath of the Gurukula. Admitted at a very impressionable age, Brahmacharis reside here for fourteen years and during this period, while on the one hand, they acquire a profound knowledge of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the six Darshanas, Vyakarna, Nirukta and Sanskrit literature, on the other, there is satisfactory provision for the efficient teaching of modern subjects, such as western Philosophy, History, Chemistry, Economics, Comparative study of Religions and English literature. The Gurukula is an independent and unaffiliated institution and it gives its own degrees. Its students not only far surpass the students of affiliated colleges in the possession of the ancient Vedic culture of which the majority outside are entirely innocent, but they also compare very favourably with them in the mastery of modern subjects in which, Hindi being the medium of instruction, they acquire a high degree of proficiency. By writing classical works, such as

Vedic Vinay, Nirukta, Veda Bhashya and Indian History the Gurukula graduates have rendered most valuable service to the cause of Hindi and won an honourable place among the writers of the mother tongue.

By repeatedly winning trophies for several years consecutively in the All India Inter University debates held annually on the occasion of the convocation of the Benares Hindu University, its students have indisputably proved themselves to be powerful and eloquent speakers. Some of its graduates have gone out to Germany, England and America and with little difficulty they have been able to achieve distinction in their respective lines. This institution inculcates in its students the lessons of patriotism, fearlessness, courage, independence, service of humanity and respect for Indian culture.

To solve the problem of livelihood, the Gurukula has started a first class Ayurvedic college, in which the teaching of the ancient Ayurveda goes hand in hand with the teaching of Allopathy. There is adequate arrangement for the teaching of dissection and surgery as well. For lack of funds, it has not yet been possible to start a Technical Institute to teach students the arts for which they have a natural aptitude and thus enable them to stand on their own legs. The scheme for a first rate Technical Institute can be realised only if generous donors give liberal contributions for the purpose.

The annual expenditure of the whole institution is about one lakh and sixty thousand out of which nearly half is met by the maintenance fee received from the guardians of Brahmacharis, but the rest is defrayed by public charity. Generous donors have not failed in their duty when the Gurukula people have gone out to them for funds. This year the deputation of the Gurukula consisting of Professor Indra, Editor 'Arjun' and Professor Satyavrata, Governor Gurukula Kangri, is visiting Bombay by the end of November and it is hoped the public of this city will liberally contribute to the Gurukula fund.

HINDUISM AND CASTE.

The recent announcement of Ambedkar that he will not die a Hindu has caused a flutter in the dovecots. Whether he emerges as President of the Mahasabha or a convert to some other creed is a matter in which the average Hindu has no say and may not hazard opinion or counsel. He may at the most regret, understanding and sympathising with his attitude of revolt and bitterness, yet certain and thankful that Hinduism will survive and might even, from some points of view, gain by his secession.

From the days of Ram Mohan Roy and Dayanand Saraswati, liberal and far-sighted Hindu leaders on this side as Bhandarkar, Ranade and Gokhale have been inviting the attention of Hindus to the weaknesses of the caste system, of which untouchability is an extreme form, and have been pressing us to set our own house in order. The various Samajas and Missions such as the Depressed Classes Mission in Poona and now the Harijan Movement of Mahatma Gandhi have been doing their best. But Rome was not built in a day. We are dealing with an institution centuries old, with a conservative, superstitious and vast community, illiterate as far as the women and the masses are concerned. The attitude of Government was in theory a benevolent, in practice a futile, neutrality. And with the increased poverty and struggle for existence and competition

* Extracts from "An Open Letter to Mahatma Gandhi and Hindu Leaders."



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for posts under Government, the administrative and statutory recognition of the backward castes, combined with separate electorates, has rendered the work of the social reformer even more difficult than before.

As one of the oldest members of the Presidency Social Reform Association, I fear I must make the admission that 'too late' is an appropriate motto in regard to the attitude of us Hindus to Social Reform. We refuse to face the question fairly and squarely. We shirk to give a plain answer and to act upon it. We take refuge in phrases and quibbles, and subtleties which serve to exasperate rather than to solve. An outburst, and we act like frightened sheep—an unedifying and a humiliating attitude for any self-respecting community. In one very real sense, economically and politically, we are all of us equally depressed. But the poorer and the weaker we grow, the more we display, failing aught else, pride of caste.

The plain issue before us Hindus is whether today we are or are not in favour of social intercourse and, above all, of intermarriage between all castes of Hindus, including the untouchables. On this vital question only one of two positions is consistent and possible. One position is to accept caste as a divine and a sacrosanct institution, above and beyond the pale of worldly considerations. And no benefits, whether eugenic or social, economic or political, from intermarriage can be allowed to affect the maintenance and the permanence of caste. As in the theory of Hindu Law, orthodoxy may concede that only four castes and the untouchables should exist. But since it is impossible in practice to go back to these five only, the concession is more apparent than real.

This is in fact the Sanatanist position and answer. It ignores the fact pointed out by scholars, such as Bhandarkar, that the most ancient Vedas give no countenance to untouchability and allow intermarriage between castes which were a later growth. It overlooks the fact that, whatever its origin, today caste does not correspond and is not related with economic realities such as division of labour or, in some cases, even with real culture and education.

The other position is that of the social reformer who is not ashamed either of his name or his convictions and of their logical consequence. Whatever its origin and its growth, caste is a human institution which has existed in other countries and has been modified by human agency, conscious and unconscious. In India, on the contrary, it has grown to monstrous dimensions, undreamt of elsewhere. It divides and weakens Hindus and, like a cancerous growth, absorbs all the vital forces to itself at the expense of the community.

The Joint Parliamentary Select Committee has, and with some justice, characterised caste as "inconsistent with democratic principles." But even today the public utterances of leading Hindus on this point are not quite clear any more than the attitude of the Congress or the Mahasabha. I do not belong to either organisation and have no pretensions to lead. But I am and have been clear in favour of intermarriage. As to untouchability, I cannot conceive how God can impose upon the Hindu Community so absurd and suicidal a law that an untouchable so remains only as long as he remains a Hindu, but becomes touchable the moment he leaves the Hindu fold. Other countries and communities exist and have progressed without caste and so can Hindus. The Heavens will not fall with it.

For the root evil, the appalling poverty whether of the cultivator or of the untouchable, the solution must be economic and political. But equality in the

sight of the law already exists. Equal opportunity of education in schools, maintained by public funds, can and should be conceded, whatever the objections of the orthodox. But even here in regard to the use of wells, the prejudice and resistance exist mainly in the villages and on the part of non-Brahmins such as Patidars in Gujarat, Marathas in Maharashtra and Lingayats in Karnatak. And as a police force in each village to enforce equality is not practical, the only alternative just at present would appear to be that the touchables in any village, who object to the use of their wells by the untouchables, should be made by law to provide for a proper separate well for the untouchables. And as to temple entry, I would suggest, in the case of public temples, early legislation, throwing them open to all Hindus including untouchables on a perfect footing of equality, overriding any custom or trust, express or implied, prohibiting any section of Hindus from entry to the main building as distinguished from the inner shrine, reserved for the worshipping priest.

But the untouchables, not less than the non-Brahmins and Brahmins, are, like all Hindus, tarred with the same brush and observe caste as rigorously among themselves, as, for instance, the Dheds and the Bhangis in Gujarat, and the Mahars, the Chamars and the Mangs in Maharashtra. The question for the untouchables is, therefore, the same, and it behoves their leaders, while pressing for equality, not merely to abuse the Caste Hindus, but also to encourage intermarriage and social reform among themselves. Lastly, I would remark that legislation may forbid or permit but cannot impose social intercourse or intermarriage. These must grow out of equal standards, culture and sympathy and work in common ideals, rather than from abuse or political motives.

I would appeal to Hindu leaders such as Mahatma Gandhi, Pandit Malaviya, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Mr. B. V. Jadhav and the Hon. Dewan Bahadur Kamli to give us a clear and a courageous lead on this vital question.

G. D. MADGAVKAR.

CASTE HAS TO GO.*

I gladly publish Sir Govindrao Madgavkar's open letter. My own position has been often stated in these columns. It may be summed up as follows:

1. I believe in Varnashrama of the Vedas which in my opinion is based on absolute equality of status, notwithstanding passages to the contrary in the Smritis and elsewhere.
2. Every word of the printed works passing muster as 'Shastras' is not, in my opinion, a revelation.
3. The interpretation of accepted texts has undergone evolution and is capable of indefinite evolution, even as the human intellect and heart are.
4. Nothing in the Shastras which is manifestly contrary to universal truths and morals can stand.
5. Nothing in the Shastras which is capable of being reasoned can stand if it is in conflict with reason.
6. Varnashrama of the Shastras is today non-existent in practice.
7. The present caste system is the very antithesis of Varnashrama. The sooner public opinion abolishes it the better.
8. In Varnashrama there was and should be no prohibition of intermarriage or interdining. Prohibition there is of change of one's hereditary occupation for purposes of gain. The existing practice is therefore doubly wrong in that it has set up cruel

* The Harijan.

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restrictions about interdining and intermarriage and tolerates anarchy about choice of occupation.

9. Though there is in Varnashrama no prohibition against intermarriage and interdining, there can be no compulsion. It must be left to the unfettered choice of the individual as to where he or she will marry or dine. If the law of Varnashrama was observed there would naturally be a tendency, so far as marriage is concerned, for people to restrict the marital relations to their own Varna.

10. As I have repeatedly said there is no such thing as untouchability by birth in the Shastras. I hold the present practice to be a sin and the greatest blot on Hinduism. I feel more than ever that if untouchability lives, Hinduism dies.

11. The most effective, quickest, and the most unobtrusive way to destroy caste is for reformers to begin the practice with themselves and where necessary take the consequences of social boycott. The reform will not come by reviling the orthodox. The change will be gradual and imperceptible. The so-called higher classes will have to descend from their pedestal before they can make any impression upon the so-called lower classes. Day-to-day experience of village work shows how difficult the task is of bridging the gulf that exists between the city-dwellers and the villagers, the higher classes and the lower classes. The two are not synonymous terms. For the class distinction exists both in the cities and the villages.

M. K. GANDHI.

CONVERSION NO REMEDY.*

I was very grieved to hear of your decision to give up Hinduism. Please don't misunderstand me. As a matter of fact, I care a straw whether Hinduism lives or not. I shall not worry myself, if all the organised religions disappear from the face of the earth. Whatever is noble in the teachings and ideals presented to the world by the great teachers of humanity from the beginning of the world will endure. No one need, therefore, shed a tear over the fate of any particular religion.

What grieves me, however, is that the step you propose to take would hardly remove the disabilities of your community. No mere change in name will wipe off untouchability or unapproachability. You cannot have had first-hand knowledge of Malabar; your experience about conversion also is perhaps confined to individual cases. How wholesale conversions affect the status of a community, I can tell you from experience. In Travancore, whole villages of Harijans have embraced Christianity. Those Christian Paraiyahs and Christian Pulayats still continue to be unapproachable and untouchables in their new surroundings. They have their separate Churches—small sheds befitting their status in society. Conversion has not materially benefitted them. Some of them have even revolted and formed a separate church of their own.

Those who got themselves converted to Islam too have fared no better. In Ponnani, a place sacred to Malabar Muslims, there is a vast community of fishermen Muslims, converts from local Hindus and they form a separate class by themselves.

We can well understand why it is so. An individual convert is soon assimilated into the main body, but a whole community differing from the bulk of the community they have joined in point of education, wealth, culture and status cannot be assimilated like that. They remain distinct and carry all their old disabilities with them into the community they join.

*Mr. K. Kelappan, Editor "Mathabbumi" has addressed the above letter to Dr. Ambedkar.

Even conceding the possibility of wholesale conversion, the new converts would just add one more sect to the community they join. But can we be sure that an appreciable percentage of Harijans can be persuaded to give up their present religion, whatever it be? I should think not. And what will be the net result of your conversion? Yourself and a few thousands, let us say, of the educated men in the community, who are even otherwise able to hold their own against others, will give up Hinduism and will cease to be of any more use to the bulk of your community remaining behind. The bulk of your brethren will continue to be Harijans and Hindus, kicked and driven away even from public roads. That is a state of affairs which must make you pause, and think again before you make your final decision.

Mere change of religion cannot help them. I do not see even any wide-spread movement among Christians or Muslims to do away with the distinctions of class and caste among them. Supposing Harijans get themselves converted to Christianity or Islam, the same uphill work, you will still have to do to bring into being a movement to remove the disabilities of the new converts. But, in the Hindu fold, by the huge amount of work already done and the great sacrifices made, the conscience of the Caste Hindus has been to a considerable extent already awakened. The thinking sections among them have become alive to the injustices done in the name of religion, and are up in arms against such injustices. Every where efforts are being made to do away with these iniquitous customs. You do not certainly belittle the volume of attention that is being focussed on this problem by Gandhiji and his followers. It has already begun to bear fruit. Will you spurn us all and turn your back on the movement which many of us are prepared to promote even at the sacrifice of our lives? I quite realise your indignation and despair. I have often said to myself that in front of Guruvayur temple, I shall convert thousands of Harijans to Islam and lead them along temple roads with the cry of 'Allah-Ho-Akbar.' The very next moment I realise it is a counsel of despair and that it will not avail. There is, as you know, no royal road to equality.

I shall never ask you to be patient or to wait. We shall all put our heads together to find a solution and we shall work steadily and persistently till these evils completely disappear. To throw the blame for the present state of affairs on any section of the Hindu community is unjust, as all are equally conservative and equally guilty in maintaining them.

I would therefore request you as a friend and worker in the cause to advise the young men who think that burning Manusmriti and Bhagavat Geeta will solve the problem to take up the fight and continue it until we reach our goal.

K. KELAPPAN.

NATIONALISM IN MODERN TURKEY.

The Report of the *Foreign Policy Association* of New York for October deals with the development of the Turkish Republic during the last twelve years. It sums up the result as follows:—

In the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles, Turkey has made remarkable progress during the twelve years of the Republican regime. First-hand observers of Turkey continually remark on the rapidity with which the Turks are assimilating Western methods and civilization. In the political sphere a purely national, sovereign state, commanding the loyalty of its people and the respect of other nations, has been created. The social



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programme of the government has made definite progress in popular education and the emancipation of women. Health and living conditions have also been improved. In the financial sphere, Turkey has adjusted its foreign obligations and by instituting a policy of "pay as you go" in its internal affairs has strengthened its credit abroad. Economically, the new regime is revolutionizing agriculture and establishing industry in an effort to become self-sufficient in manufactured goods. On the other hand, economic nationalism, restriction of foreign trade, heavy appropriations for national defense, and the Government's internal financial policy are at present the major difficulties which beset the Turkish people in their attempt to gain economic and political security. The first stage of the Turkish revolution has been effectively completed. The final stage, that of consolidation, is now in progress.

With regard to the measures for consolidating nationalism, the Report says: Turkey has accepted nationalism with unusual rapidity and completeness. Education, the most important vehicle for its inculcation, was nationalized and secularized by the law of March 1924. Since then various restrictions have been placed on foreign schools, which have made it difficult or impossible for them to exist. Turkish children must be taught in the government primary schools, where new textbooks and government-trained teachers inculcate the national ideals, the new Turkish language, history and civics. These schools are increasing both in number and efficiency. The new language written in Latin characters, has tended to eliminate all vernacular languages and dialects, and has had the effect of binding the people together. Other ramifications of nationalism, such as the glorification of Turkish folk-lore and legend, the substitution of Turkish for Ottoman, Arabic and foreign words, symbolical displays of the flags, crescent and star, national holidays and ceremonies, and display of likenesses of Ataturk strengthen loyalty and devotion to the State. This patriotism has arisen without any particular subsoil of Turkish tradition, common language, feelings of racial origin or recognition of cultural unity—the usual components of nationalistic attitudes. These elements have been applied from the top; and the effect, although superficial, is apparently no different from the nationalism so rampant in other countries.

Turkish nationalism was first consolidated by abolishing the competing loyalties. Homage to religion and its acolytes, which might divert a people from single-minded devotion to the national state, was impaired by the overthrow of the Caliphate and the gradual dissolution of Islamic power. The abolition of the Sultanate represented an attempt to destroy allegiance to an individual. Minorities with national aspirations which still remained within the boundaries of Turkey as defined by the National Pact were eliminated by exchange and suppression. The exhaustion of the people and the strength of the dictator accounted for the success of these drastic moves, although Ataturk had discovered that the elements of reaction and fanaticism in Ottoman Turkey possessed no real influence of their own. Suppression of religious, Ottoman and minority allegiances has not had uniform effects. Although stern measures have been applied to destroy the power of the priesthood, and the state still retains the right to interfere in religious matters, the regime has practiced tolerance to some degree. Ataturk is opposed only to those features of religion which he regards as backward, or as interfering with the complete dedication of the citizen to the nation. Islam must conform to the nationalist programme. Such resistance to the regime

as still persists is centred in the mosque, particularly in the outlying regions where Moslem habits remain firmly entrenched. All religious titles have been abolished, no head and no sectional leaders of Islam remain in Turkey. The mosque with its *kodja* or priest is an individual unit, having no relation to a diocese or any other mosque. This decentralization of Islamic control makes it impossible for any reactionary movement to gather momentum, for Islam is now a body without a head, and the body is slowly dying for lack of guidance and trained leaders.

Although religious reaction is almost non-existent at the present time, allegiance to an individual has not disappeared. The Turkish people's hero-worship of Ataturk assumes such proportions that it sometimes obscures patriotism for the Turkish nation. This substitution of allegiance is not without danger to a national state, for the intense loyalty to the nation which the combination of Ataturk and the republic now inspires might cease to exist without the personality which is its focal point. The outstanding quality of Ataturk is his sincere patriotism and his desire to revivify his country. Personal ambition is completely identified with Turkey's ambition. At present his retention of dictatorial power appears necessary for the consolidation of the Turkish revolution.

In the case of the minority nationalities, the programme of suppression has been extraordinarily effective. The strength of the nationalistic feeling was mostly exemplified by the thoroughness and zeal with which the Turks rid themselves of the "strangers within their gates." Besides their desire for racial and religious homogeneity, the Turks had two other motives: to leave in Turkey no source of reaction, and to give foreign powers no excuse for intervention. During the War the Greeks living in the neighbourhood of the north-western littoral were evacuated, while the Armenians were massacred and driven into the desert. As a result of the exchange of populations programme, over 1,200,000 Greeks and Armenians left the country, while some 500,000 Moslems were brought in.

The latest official census of 1927 shows fewer than 27,000 Greeks living in Turkey, mostly in Istanbul and Izmir; Armenians number about 10,000. Some 11,000 Italians, 6,000 Russians, and 17,000 other foreigners comprise the balance of the alien population—a mere one-half of one per cent. Over 97 per cent of the inhabitants follow the teachings of the Koran, while at least 86 per cent speak the Turkish language.

However, the Kurdish people living in Turkey bring the total of minority nationalities up over a million. They are concentrated in the southeast corner around the *vilayet* of Hakari, speak their own language, and profess a fanatical type of Moslem worship. During the World War an incoherent national sentiment appeared among these uneducated and unconquered tribesmen. The treaty of Sevres had made allowance for Kurdish nationalism, but the northern Kurds were incorporated into Turkey by the treaty of Lausanne. Angered by the coercive measures of the government and impelled by a vague desire to establish a republic between Van and Mosul, the Kurds rebelled in 1925. The revolt was suppressed with great difficulty, but it served as a rallying point for patriotic sentiment in Turkey, and although it called for such harsh precautions as gagging the press, it helped to solidify the nation. The process of turkifying the Kurdish regions has steadily continued.

One of the major policies of the People's party and the Republic during the last nine years has been the encouragement of public education.



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tion. A promising start was made with the reform of the educational system in 1926 but this applied only to the children of the nation. To reduce illiteracy, to make the people understand the causes and results of the revolution and to instil a national spirit was far more difficult. This adult education was vitally necessary for the well-being and even the existence of the new Turkey; for, although ten million peasants knew in a vague way that they had won liberty and freedom, they had, on the other hand, seen their Caliph expelled, their religion undermined, and their fez taken away. To reach these people in any other way than by personal contact was virtually impossible. Of a population totaling approximately fourteen million, 1,751,239 families or 9,216,918 individuals were engaged in tilling the soil for a living—about two-thirds of the nation. The average population of the 40,191 cities, towns and villages was only 333, and the density of the population per square kilometer was 17.9. Both by vocation and location, the Turkish people were thus found difficult of approach. In 1927, only 685,040 persons, or one in twenty, could read and write. To form and secure a national state, to inject a synthetic national culture into a people 95 per cent illiterate seemed an overwhelming task.

BUDDHIST RELICS FROM MIRPUR KHAS.

The fourth anniversary of the great temple Mulagandhakuti Vihar, at Sarnath near Benares, was celebrated on the 10th November in the presence of a large gathering of Buddhists and non-Buddhists. About four hundred Buddhist pilgrims from Japan, China, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Burma, Siam, Chittagong and Ceylon had arrived at Benares to participate in this annual celebration lasting for three days. On behalf of the Government of India Mr. J. F. Blakiston, Director General of Archaeology, presented to the Mahabodhi Society Buddhist relics found at Mirpur Khas in Sindh. This function was followed by a Buddhist procession when the presented relics were taken from the museum to Mulagandhakuti Vihar for enshrinement.

The following address was delivered by Mr. J. F. Blakiston, Director-General of Archaeology in India, on the occasion:

"It gives me great pleasure to present to you on behalf of the Government of India the sacred relics found at Mirpur Khas in Sind in 1910 by the late Mr. H. Cousins of the Archaeological Department. On two previous occasions relics from two other sites in different provinces, namely, Taxila in the Punjab and Nagarjunikonda in the Madras Presidency, were presented to you by Government through my predecessor for enshrining at the Mulagandhakuti Vihara at Sarnath. As you are all aware, the spread of the Buddhist faith from the land of its birth has been phenomenal. During the millenium that followed the Master's death, it became the predominant faith almost throughout India and had already reached the distant regions of Ceylon, Tibet, Siam, China, Japan, Mongolia, Afghanistan and Central Asia. In most of the regions the light of Buddhism continues to shine since it was introduced, but in India itself interest in Buddhism has ebbed, and the work of following up the path of the development of this faith in various parts of the country has fallen to the Archaeological Survey of India since the latter part of the 19th century. The Survey can lay claim to having restored, to some extent, the ancient fame of places like Sarnath and Bodhi Gaya, Sravasti and Kasia, Sanchi and Bharhut, Nalanda and Pahrpur, Taxila and Peshawar, Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda. Some of the relics discovered during the earlier explorations being claimed by Burma and Ceylon, countries closely associated with

India, in which Buddhism is still the dominant faith, were presented to the Mahabodhi Society by the Government of India. With the renewal of interest in Buddhism in India, thanks to the activities of Societies like the Mahabodhi Society, it is but natural that the relics of the Master and the Great Teachers, who followed him, so dear to the faith and so reverentially consecrated in the centuries of its rise, should be preserved in India itself, and particularly be reassembled at the Holy Centre where the doctrine first saw the light of the day. If the first relic that was presented at the inauguration of the Vihara in 1931 illustrated the spread of the Dharma in the Gandhara country, the second one offered at the first anniversary betokened its prosperity in the lower basin of the Krishna river. The relics which I have the honour to present to you to-day emanate from a site in the lower Indus Valley where the influence of Buddhism was equally prevalent. In the history of the province of Sind, the glorious civilisation of the pre-historic epoch of the 3rd millennium B. C. recently brought to light by the Survey and the flourishing period in the first few centuries of the Christian Era, when Buddhism was the dominant faith, are the only landmarks (prior to the Muhammadan conquest) of which this province can boast.

In February 1910 the late Mr. Henry Cousins, then Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey in the Western Circle, excavated a Buddhist site locally known as Kanhujo-daro, about half a mile to the north of the town of Mirpur Khas, the headquarters of the Thar and Parkar District in Sind and brought to light the remains of a Stupa with a brick basement. Digging down about 25 feet below the summit of the mound exactly in the centre, Mr. Cousins came upon the brick-built relic chamber of this Stupa, in which he discovered the circular stones about a foot across, placed one upon the other forming a coffer with a cavity of about 3 inches in diameter and 4 inches in height in the middle of it. Within this cavity he found a small crystal bottle, while around it and on the top of the stone coffer were sprinkled a number of offerings consisting of crystal, coral and gold beads, small seed pearls, copper coins and other objects. The bottle contained a small cylindrical case of silver with a slip-on lid wrapped round with gold leaf, which was as fresh and bright as the day it was put on. Inside the silver case was a tiny case of gold containing a very minute substance about the size of a pin-head with some dust. Underneath the two metal cases, but within the crystal bottle, was found a small spoonful of brown funeral ashes, some lumps of which had the texture and surface of charred bone. In two of the corners of the relic chamber little narrow-mouthed vases filled with sand were found. The care with which the relics had been deposited left no doubt as to the sanctity in which they were held by builders of the Stupa.

The outer casing of this Stupa at Mirpur Khas with its brick ornamentation cannot be far removed in date from the Dhanekh Stupa here at Sarnath and Mr. Cousins even thought that it was earlier than four hundred A. D. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the Stupa, as it stands with the large monastic establishment, which grew around it and existed up to the 7th century A. D., was built on the site of a ruined Stupa of much earlier date to which the relic deposit must be related. The large sized bricks of the relic chamber, the vases around the relic coffer, and, above all, the copper coins of contemporary date, which are remarkably like the punch-marked coins of Northern India, point to the conclusion that the relics were consecrated in the earlier centuries before the Christian Era. It



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would not be stretching the existing evidence too far to suppose that the great Mauryan Emperor Asoka was responsible for the construction of this Stupa and that the relic in all probability was a body relic of the Buddha himself and the funeral ashes perhaps those of Upagupta, the famous religious preceptor, who was especially instrumental in spreading the doctrine among the people of Sind.

Until therefore, any better identification is in the field, it may be tentatively accepted that the relics found at Mirpur Khas are those of the Great Founder of this Buddhist faith and the Arhat-Upagupta. Reverend Sir, I have now great pleasure in presenting the relics on behalf of His Excellency.

CATHOLICS AND THE ITALIAN-ETHIOPIAN WAR.*

(BY F. L. BURKE.)

One of the most distressing aspects of the totalitarian State, where the spiritual has not altogether been outlawed, is the suffocation of Christian principles under the all-embracing, overpowering blanket of nationalistic self-interest. The prime example of this today is Italy, a pitiful specimen of a country 99 percent Catholic, where in spite of its glorious theologians, in spite of its being the seat of the Holy Father himself who has been preaching and praying for a Christian peace during the Holy Year just passed, there is now being inaugurated a war clearly immoral when judged by Catholic ethics.

According to Catholic teaching a just war is waged only when it

1. *Is undertaken in vindication of a strict right.* Italy has no legal right to Ethiopia or any part thereof. "A war is not morally justified which aims at expanding national territory, at seizing even the surplus and undeveloped territory of another, or at compelling a backward nation to develop its natural resources for its own and for other nations' prosperity, no matter how desirable, beneficial or necessary these may be for a developing state." Quoted from 'The Ethics of War (C. A. I. P.)'

2. *Is in defense of a right proportionate in magnitude to the damages inflicted by war.* In the opinion of many theologians this item alone renders any modern war with its horrible instruments of destruction immoral.

3. *Engaged in as a last resort.* Italy has insisted on war with Ethiopia and has scorned peaceful settlement except on the basis of Ethiopia's complete surrender to Il Duce. Arbitration has been indignantly rejected by Italy.

4. *Will in all probability be victorious.* Italy O. K. on this point!

5. *Is initiated by public authority.* Il Duce is the one and only authority in Italy.

6. *Is conducted with a right intention.* Whether Italy's intentions in Ethiopia are purely cultural and civilizing or whether they are but lust for power, God only knows—the rest of us can merely guess.

7. *Is rightly conducted.* A modern war rightly conducted with regard to observance of international agreements, the spread of malicious propaganda, violence to non-combatants, etc., is inconceivable.

The Catholic Association for International Peace has called for economic measures against Italy as an aggressor nation. Emphasizing that Ethiopia "has made every possible effort to obtain a peaceful solution, while Italy has spoken in terms of conquest and has tried to frustrate the collective opinion of the community of nations," the Association advocated economic sanction against Italy by the United States for violation of the Kellogg Pact.

* Catholic Worker, New York.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Professor Wadia on Parsi Problems:—We publish today excerpts from a paper written by Professor P. A. Wadia on the Parsis of Bombay and their charities. The Professor has been labouring for many years to bring about a co-ordination of the numerous Parsi charitable endowments. That accounts for his taking the administration of charities as the text for his thesis which covers much larger ground, and has an interest for all communities. The Parsi problem, as Professor Wadia clearly perceives, is a part of the Indian problem though, owing to the small and localised population, it presents itself, and is capable of being dealt with, under what may be called "laboratory" conditions. It affords an extremely rare opportunity for sociological investigators. The Parsi community is an integral part of the Indian population and, at the same time, it is a distinct and separate community preserved as such for several centuries by the Indian policy of respect for all faiths. The most striking feature of Professor Wadia's paper, is his clear grasp of the fact that the tendency of the western competitive system to displace the old co-operative system—typified by the Indian joint family—by its greater inroad on Parsi life, has contributed to the acuteness of their problem as compared with other communities which have been slower to adapt themselves to it. Incidentally, it provides an unexpected confirmation of the objection to the early abolition by law of the joint family system by the reformed Legislatures. The abolition of the joint family unless preceded or at least accompanied by the provision of social services such as health insurance and old age pensions by the State, will lead to great distress and discontent.

Relief and Reform:—The disintegration of the joint family among Parsis has progressively

increased the number of individuals and families on charity relief as the figures quoted by Professor Wadia testify. He, in fact, fears that the increase is bound to be accelerated at a rate with which the charity funds, large as they are, will find it difficult to cope. What is the remedy? We can think of none which would enable Parsis alone to prosper while the rest of the population remained where it is or declined to a lower level. This Professor Wadia recognises. The better utilisation of the charity funds, which he suggests, is not, as he is careful to explain, a permanent solution. In economic thought the word "charity" has become odious. It is being asserted with increasing insistence that charity is no remedy for poverty. Canon Hudson in his "Preface to a Christian Sociology" observes: "What we have to recognise is that the time for the Church to play second fiddle to my Lady Bountiful is past. 'Damn your charity: we want justice,' is the retort it is apt to provoke. There is a vast difference between a Church which acquiesces in conditions which it recognises as evil, even while it bends its energies towards making life less intolerable for those who suffer under them, and a Church which insists that the conditions shall be changed." Professor Wadia points out that the chief obstacles in the way of a co-ordinated administration of charities are the wealthy men of the community who control the chief endowments and "who have an outlook very much like the outlook of Western aristocrats a hundred years ago." This is rather unjust to the aristocrat. Every aristocracy holds some values as being higher than money values.

Mrs. Sanger in India:—We welcome to India Mrs. Margaret Sanger, pioneer of the Birth Control Movement and one of the foremost women of the United States. Mrs. Sanger arrived in Bombay on Monday and addressed a public meeting the day after. She is guest of honour and principal speaker at the All India Women's Conference which meets in December at Travancore. The Bombay meeting was to have been presided over by the Mayor, but Mr. K. F. Nariman who is punctilious in keeping his public engagements, was detained at a Corporation meeting and Dr. Sokhey of the Haffkine Institute took his place. Dr. Sokhey's name has been associated with a recent controversy on marriage in which he expressed unorthodox



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opinions. The Birth Control leader has enough prejudices to contend with, without complicating her task by even a semblance of linking it to other propaganda. Mr. Nariman's absence was the first mishap that befell Mrs. Sanger on her Indian visit. There were others but they were of her own making. Social workers here had expected that this experienced leader would have taken an early opportunity to extricate the Birth Control Movement from the many entanglements which its well-meaning but over-zealous advocates had thrust it into. Mrs. Howe-Martyn the English "expert," in a letter to a contemporary a day after Mrs. Sanger's arrival, had encouraged this hope in one important point—namely, the assumption that Birth Control was necessary to prevent over-population. "In the two great birth control countries, England and the U. S. A.," she wrote, "the birth rate has fallen but the numbers of the population have steadily increased. England began to practise birth control seriously in 1876. Every year since then she has had an increase of population at home as well as losing large numbers of people to America, Australia, South Africa." Probably considerations of space prevented her from referring to Russia, where, according to Fannina Halle, propaganda and legislation in favour of Birth Control has resulted in sending up the birth-rate. Mrs. Howe-Martyn is now on her second visit and has modified her earlier attitude.

Doctors and Birth Control:—Mrs. Sanger unfortunately stressed in her speech on Tuesday that the movement aimed at relieving the pressure of population on means of subsistence which is by no means established. It was very regrettable that in her first public utterance in this country she should have sought to confuse birth control and sterilisation. The line of demarcation between the two, as we have said time and again, is clear-cut. Before Mrs. Sanger can include sterilisation under birth control at the one end, she has to extend it at the other to include continence. Why American workers include sterilisation under birth control is largely because there is a law in the States against the former. It is tactics to combat prejudice. Here the necessity does not arise and it will be unwise to follow American methods blindly. We are surprised that Dr. Erulkar who objected in his vote of thanks to continence being included as a birth control method, silently accepted sterilisation as one. Dr. Erulkar assuming special privilege and knowledge as a doctor, declared pontifically that continence in the normal person was not only impossible but positively undesirable. No 'normal person' would dream of seeking medical opinion on this matter of common sense, and Dr. Miss Mistri seconding Dr. Erulkar's vote expressed Indian opinion in protesting against his depreciation of self-control. Dr. Mistri further expressed her opinion that advice on birth control should be given to married women only, on medical

grounds alone and by qualified doctors exclusively. It is doubtful whether this can be put into practical effect but she has done well in attempting to strip birth control of all the extravagant claims of its exponents and in presenting it as a measure of relief for suffering women.

The Viceroy and the Byculla Club:—Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's open letter to Lord Willingdon, requesting His Excellency not to accept the invitation to a farewell dinner at the Byculla Club when he comes to Bombay in April next, has fallen flat and has even been the subject of ironical comment in some Indian newspapers. This is because the letter did not make it clear that what Sir Chimanlal objected to, was not the Viceroy's dining at an exclusive European Club but to giving it importance by making it the occasion of a pronouncement on political and public affairs as has been the custom hitherto. Even if the Club relax for this occasion its rule against the admission of Indians as guests, the objection will remain. If the Viceroy feels that he can not leave the country, which has been off and on his sphere of activity for about eighteen years, without making a speech, it should not be difficult to make it in less invidious surroundings. The Municipal Corporation or the Bombay University, may like to offer Lord and Lady Willingdon, as old friends, its hospitality even though a formal address or an honorary degree may not be deemed expedient in view of his political record on which Sir Chimanlal has gone out of his way to congratulate His Excellency. Lord Willingdon was led to adopt a policy of 'thorough' in dealing with the civil disobedience movement by the confidence, which he expressed more than once, that he will inaugurate constitutional government in India before he laid down his office. That hope has not been fulfilled. The disappointment to His Excellency is no doubt as great as it has been to the country, and Sir Chimanlal's tribute may go unappreciated. The club which bears Lord Willingdon's name may also be approached to provide a platform for His Excellency's farewell to India, which, in any case, is sure to be broadcast.

Oliver Baldwin:—The Indian cinema industry has rendered valuable service to the Anglo-Indian community by opening out a new career to its women who were among the first to take to the screen. This naturally involved their adopting Indian dress and customs and several of the stars have felt it necessary to assume Indian names. As most of them were not able to endure the strain of living European lives and acting Indian, Indianisation was carried into their homes. Their comparatively large salaries increased to some extent the number of dependants. A section of the community which had long lived in isolation amid Indians, was now drawn to them. The advent of the talkies accelerated the process. According to "Reynold's Weekly", Indian cinemas have made a further contribution to Indianising members of other communities.



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Mr. Oliver Baldwin, Socialist son of the British Premier and author of a book on Jesus which was notable for its unorthodox estimate of Judas, will adopt Indian clothing and village life when he arrives in Bengal for achieving local colour for a film scenario. Mr. Lester Hutchinson has narrated in his book on Meerut how he came to India as a journalist but that a series of unforeseen accidents, including the financial instability of his prospective employer, threw him into Meerut Jail as an accused in the communist conspiracy case. Unlike Mr. Hutchinson, Mr. Baldwin has made up his mind on political questions and it is most unlikely that he will drift into any movement as casually as that individual did. Moreover the Communist bogey is at rest for the present but one can never tell when it may be raised again. We trust that Mr. Baldwin will have a happy visit.

Social Workers' Failure:—Instances are not unknown of people, who have been eminently successful as social workers, developing unexpected traits when invested with authority. The phenomenon has been repeated on a large scale in the United States where social workers were drafted to administer the enormous system of State relief to 20 million unemployed. The *New Republic* (October 13) publishes a contributed article headed "Spying on the Jobless," and in its editorial comments thereon, observes: "It is easy to understand the irritation of the social workers who, in the main, are in charge of relief in Washington and in the various States and cities. Few of these men and women have ever had any experience in labour relations; most of them, before the depression, had worked all their lives on salaries for private or public groups caring for individual 'clients,' who were pathetically grateful for anything done for them. But today, the twenty million persons on relief include many of a different calibre—people who were successful in their own fields a few years ago, people who are conscious of no personal failure but quite correctly attribute their plight to the inadequacies of a wretched, makeshift social system. The social workers, in their great test, have, on the whole, proved bad executives, unimaginative and unsympathetic, too quick to fall back upon the easy solution of charging that the unemployed are seeking to overturn the government, too hasty in threatening a recalcitrant with the danger of starvation for himself and his friends."

Slums and Their Owners:—Mr. K. F. Nariman's active interest in the work of improving the city, and particularly the slums of Bombay, during his term of office as Mayor, is bearing fruit. Mr. I. H. Taunton, Municipal Commissioner, spoke mainly on the question of eradicating the slums in his address on "Some Aspects of Municipal Work" at Tuesday's Rotary Club meeting. Mr. Taunton remarked in the course of speech, "The north and east of the island (of Bombay) have large colonies of corrugated tin sheds which are no better than

hovels, and the people inhabiting them are living in squalor. You will be surprised to learn that these sheds are owned by some of our wealthy, even prominent, citizens." A society which looks on labour agitation with marked suspicion as likely to develop Communist tendencies, ought surely to compel more responsible conduct from capitalists. Mr. Taunton declared that the direct removal of slums was not practicable even for a wealthy local body like the Bombay Municipal Corporation. But it would be hardly fair to the middle-class citizen to tax him for providing better conditions for workers employed by the mills. It is the responsibility of the employer who reaps profits from their labour, to provide his men with proper living conditions, and the establishment of a standard in this matter and its rigid enforcement would be a first step toward solving the problem. After all one cannot expect people to live decently in "hovels" and the Commissioner's inveighing against the habits of the people seems to be a trifle irresponsible. As the chief executive of a large corporation Mr. Taunton can only ask the people to maintain a certain standard when he has done his best for them and on his own admission he has not come any where near doing so. The interest of our well-to-do Rotarians in the conditions in which a number of their fellow-citizens live is indicative of the contagious nature of Mr. Nariman's enthusiasm. The discussion of such a subject would hardly have been considered suitable for a lunch.

Memory of Past Birth:—Some years ago a young boy in Northern India gave details of his life in a previous birth in a nearby village, which were verified and found true by enquirers. Within the last few days a sensation has been created by an eight years old girl in Delhi declaring herself to have been the wife of a citizen of Muttra and to have died in giving birth to a son by him. We publish an account of the case. The latest news is that the girl was taken to Muttra by a committee of Delhi citizens and that she identified her former father-in-law and other relatives, fondled the ten years old son of whom she claimed to be the mother, mentioned a confidential talk with her husband in the former birth, which was known only to him and her. The doctrine of rebirth is universal among Hindus. The Bhagavad Gita asserts that the soul does not leave a body before finding for itself another. Other authorities postulate an interval, long or short, according to the deserts of each individual between two births. The Delhi case, like the previous case of the boy, would seem to show that the Gita doctrine is the right one. What distinguishes it from the generality of cases is that, while in the latter, memory of former life survives only as impulse, in the Delhi case it has continued as memory. The girl wishes to resume her previous life with her former husband who has another wife, whom she is unable to recognise.



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BOMBAY, November 30, 1935.

SIR T. SAPRU ON EDUCATION.

One of the praiseworthy characteristics of an earlier generation of educated Indians, who had risen to positions of influence in official or public life, was the great interest they took in students and their activities. Like other old traditions this also is rather tending to fall into disuse. To this tendency, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is the most outstanding exception at the present day. His interest in students is warm and generous. It is impossible not to be struck by the earnestness and eloquence of the pronouncement on the educational problem which he made at the second University Students' Conference over which he presided last week at Allahabad. The educated youth of India, and not of the United Provinces only, is eager to know how, with much the same education as they have received, with the same opportunities or lack of them and, we believe, not much more of initial worldly advantages than many others started with, he has risen to the position which he has come to occupy in official no less than in public estimation. He has as little of the arts of the courtier as of the demagogue. He is not smooth-tongued and is even apt to be impulsive in speech when he is strongly moved. He broke away from his old Liberal Party, unable to stand their run-with-the-hare and hunt-with-the-hound politics. He told British statesmen at the Joint Parliamentary Committee, when Lord Halifax tried to wriggle out of his pronouncement when Viceroy of India about Dominion Status being the goal of constitutional reform, that, if at that stage, they were telling him that such a promise was not made, he for one would have nothing more to do with the reforms. True to his word he has since publicly announced with reference to some reports that he will not seek or accept any position under the reform scheme. True, he has somewhat puzzled his countrymen by advising them to work the reforms for all they are worth, notwithstanding that his own position clearly shows that in his opinion they are not worth much. This can be explained by assuming that Sir Tej is not sure that the strength of character which is happily his, is sufficiently diffused among his countrymen as yet and that he can not take the responsibility of inviting them to follow his example. His views on Indian education are tinged with the same diffidence. A young man who heard Sir Tej's speech at the Allahabad Conference or one who reads it in the papers, may ask himself: "If Sir Tej, in spite of the serious defects of our system, has managed to attain the success and eminence in professional and public life that he has, why should it prove so disastrous to me as he, in his solicitude, assures us it will, unless it is radically changed?" He may even think, "I shall be content with a

small part of the success which has come to him. Why does he frighten me, at the threshold of my career, when I expect words of encouragement from an elder so justly esteemed, by referring to M. A.'s who sell milk in the streets and L.L. B's who have to go from door to door in search of a client or a job?" We must say that we feel considerable sympathy for the young man. To tell young men that their education, the only one within their reach, is worthless, and that the prospect before them is as gloomy as it can be, is hardly fair to them. We take upon ourselves, therefore, to advise young men who heard or read Sir Tej's speech to think more of his example than of his opinion of the value of the education which they have received or may be receiving.

There are a few questions which we feel impelled to ask on some of the issues dealt with by the distinguished speaker. Is it possible to deal with unemployment among the educated classes apart from that of the chronic unemployment among the uneducated masses in the country? At a time when the economic interdependence of nations and continents are being forcibly brought home to all, can we really divide the problem in this country into separate parts and seek a solution for one without reference to the conditions affecting the other and greater part of it? Is there really proportionately more unemployment among the educated than among the manual workers who form the bulk of the population? Is there really a hard and fast line between the cultural and practical life, between reality and theory, such as was postulated in the address? How are we to account for the 20 millions of unemployed in the United States where babies play with mechanized toys and the mechanical bent persists right up to every stage of education? Or for the two millions in Britain despite the team spirit, character and faculty of quick decision which it is said to be the chief aim of British education to foster? India is the only country where unemployment is proclaimed to be the result of education. Sir Tej said that during his recent tour in Europe he found that the general tendency was to give a 'practical' turn to education. But surely they are not trying to solve unemployment by that means. Economic sufficiency for every nation, whether it is wise or unwise, is the one policy which all nations have turned to as the remedy for unemployment. We are not able to do that here but it is no reason why we should make a scapegoat of education which, within three quarters of a century, has produced proportionately a larger number and a finer type of national leaders than countries far more advantageously situated in every respect, not the least among them being Sir Tej himself. You may make education as practical as you please, you may convert all our schools and colleges into technical and technological institutions, but you will not reduce unemployment in the least unless you are able to raise the purchasing power of the people and



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to prevent its being drained away from the country. To have one's feet on the ground, is no great achievement. Most of us cannot help it. But the human spirit has not been content to stick in the mud and has taught itself to fly at much sacrifice of life and energy. Cecil Rhodes on his first visit to Africa was fording a turbulent stream on horseback in company with a big-game hunter in that part of the world. The swift eddies of the river round his horse's legs made him faint. His companion noticing it gave a sharp rap on his chin, "Look up, man, not down." We shall only get faint by looking down and fixing our eyes on the vicious circle of our personal and particular problems. Our educational system is far from perfect, to be sure. It demands rectification in several ways some of which we expect to find in the forthcoming report of the Sapru Committee on unemployment among educated men in the United Provinces. In another direction, too, it will need to be brought into line with contemporary requirements. A British educationist, Head Master of Dartington Hall, in his "Education in a Changing World" calls attention to a need of the time. We take the following from the review of the book in the *New Republic*: "Mr. Curry points out that, in the face of the present growth of political and social dictatorships, parents have the right to ask themselves whether they wish to educate their children in a way which leaves a strong chance that their lives will be spent in prison or worse. But he makes an eloquent case for the fact that if all parents answer, no, there is apparently no hope at present for social or individual progress for freedom of the spirit or for moral or personal integrity."

Trade in Girls:—The energetic Vigilance Association Worker, Mr. P. G. Naik, writes: "Another girl who was shown to me was an orphan and was brought to Bombay from Ratlam by a gang consisting of men and women. Some members of the gang had secured the possession of the girl and the others had served the financial help to bring her to Bombay. On their arrival in Bombay they stayed in a Dharmashala for a week, during which time they got in touch with accused No. 1 who was the local agent, arranging to get such girls disposed of in Bombay. He had rented a room for them and had also arranged for their maintenance. If independently approached the gang was prepared to accept Rs. 3,000/- for the girl, while the Bombay agent would demand at least Rs. 5,000/-. Both the gang and the Bombay agent had no hesitation in selling the girl to any person without any distinction of caste, creed or religion. Unfortunately, the gang got scent of the arrest and disappeared altogether from the place.... The most difficult part of the investigation in such cases, is to ascertain the age of the girl; as, if the girl is above 18 years, no legal action is possible. It is very difficult to tell the age of a girl simply from her general appearance and it is not possible to get any other evidence about her age at this stage of investigation."

GENERAL RIGBY IN ZANZIBAR.

"General Rigby, Zanzibar and the Slave Trade" by Mrs. Charles E. B. Russell (George Allen and Unwin, London; price 16 sh.) is primarily a record of the services of her father in combatting the traffic in African slaves when he was British Consul in Zanzibar, 1858-61. Mrs. Russell feels that her father's contribution to the abolition of Negro slavery, has met with little recognition and the book is a posthumous discharge of a filial duty and as such is entitled to appreciation. The General during his three years of office liberated 8,000 slaves a large proportion of whom was owned by Indians in violation of the law making the holding of slaves a crime in the British Empire. General Rigby took the view that British Indian subjects who were not allowed to own slaves in their country, were subject to the same restraint in Zanzibar although it was foreign territory. Many of the Indians in the Island were, however, subjects of Cutch and they sought the protection of the Sultan against the British Consul, and their claim to be exempt from his jurisdiction was upheld by the Bombay Government which was then in control of Indian interests there. As the Cutchies had relatives among Indians from British India, it was easy for the latter to plead that they were not the owners but that the slaves belonged to a near or distant relative who was a subject of Cutch. It was estimated that 25,000 negro slaves had been sent to Kathiawar and Cutch about the time General Rigby was Consul. The General's methods were short and summary. He issued a proclamation one day calling on all British subjects who owned slaves to bring them all to be emancipated within the period of one month from the date of the order. "During the month," writes Mrs. Russell, "not a single British subject complied with the instructions to bring slaves to the Consulate. On the day before the expiration of this term, the Consul summoned one of the wealthiest Hindus, whom he knew to be possessed of over four hundred slaves. He presented himself at the Consulate in very scanty attire, the upper part of his fat body entirely nude. Rigby at once summarily fined him a hundred dollars for disrespect to Her Majesty, and enforced immediate payment. He then asked him why he had neglected to comply with his proclamation to produce all his slaves for the purpose of being emancipated. He replied that his slaves were his own private property, purchased with his own money, and he denied the Consul's authority to deprive him of them. Thereupon Rigby sent for a blacksmith, and ordered him to fasten on the Baniar's legs the heaviest pair of irons he could procure." There was a hartal but Rigby was inflexible and the Baniar sent word that he was willing to obey the orders of the Consul. He was released and ordered to pay twenty dollars to each of his four hundred slaves who were set free on the spot, as compensation as he had illegally held them in slavery. The Hindu refused this exaction and was sent back to jail, kept there until he consented to pay. The queer thing was that the French, American and other foreigners were all the time carrying on a considerable trade in slaves and Rigby's protests made no impression on them. The Bombay Government in pursuance of the policy of supporting the man on the spot approved of Rigby's action but when he left and his successor reverted to the *laissez faire* policy of his predecessors, that Government approved of it also.

"The truth was that the wave of humanitarian zeal which swept over Britain in the end of the eighteenth century had spent itself out. The emancipation of slaves in 1833 was its culmination. Darwin's "Origin of the Species", with its slogan



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'survival of the fittest' was published in 1859. In the American Civil War, British sympathy was with the slave States. The system of free emigres devised by the French to take the place of slavery, which British statesmen had denounced as thinly-veiled slavery, was taken over and adopted under the name of "indentured labour" and thousands of natives of India found their way to the British Colonies right up to 1912 when it was abolished by the persistency of Gokhale. Slavery itself was not completely extinguished in the British Colonies till 1927. Rigby had left England at the age of 16, when the anti-slavery sentiment was still warm in British hearts. There was also a personal sub-conscious feeling behind his intense hatred of slavery. His home life was most unhappy. "I was born at Yateley Lodge, Hants, on the 18th of January 1820," he writes, "and, according to the custom of those days, I was put out to nurse in a cottage, until I was two years old. This horrid and unnatural custom of separating young children from the parents, of course, went far to destroy natural affection on both sides. All I remember of my early childhood is the harshness and neglect with which I was treated. My father was affectionate and fond of his children; my mother never cared for them in the slightest, and she always evinced an especial dislike to me. I never remember during my whole childhood the slightest caress or affection from her. I, therefore, grew up with a fear and dread of her, and always ran away and hid when I saw her approaching. At this time my father had chambers in the Inner Temple and usually remained all the week in London, returning home by the coach on Saturday. I always dreaded his return, knowing the beating in store for me. His first visit was always to the nursery, armed with a stick or cane, and in reply to his question if the children had been good, the nurse's reply was, "yes all very good except master Christopher." Knowing what would follow, I used to pile all the chairs and furniture in one corner and creep under them to get out of the way of the cane." Young Rigby at seven years of age was packed off to a school at Brough in Westmoreland, where his experience was even worse than in his unhappy home. The food was bad and poor, the boys had to sleep three in a bed "and there being insufficient room, the smallest boy was kicked out and stood shivering on the cold floor, not daring to creep into bed again until certain, the other two boys were fast asleep. Each morning the master went round the boys' bedrooms with a birch rod, and severely flogged the boys who had wetted their beds." Letters were allowed only twice a year, and the boys were obliged to say that they were very happy and did not want to go home. If a boy managed to post a letter without being seen by the master, the village postmaster was sure to send it to the latter and the boy was cruelly flogged as a warning to others. After three years in this establishment without a single visit to his home, young Rigby managed to write a letter to his father (with a mixture of soot and water for ink and hiding in a hayloft) telling him how miserable he was and begging to be taken away. He was sent to a school at Abingdon and while there his father wrote to him offering to procure him a cadetship to India, giving him two days to decide whether to accept or refuse it. The very next day he replied accepting the offer. "I think," writes Mrs. Russell in a footnote, "there is little doubt that it is his sufferings at this school (Brough) which later inspired Rigby with a depth of pity alien to his age for the sufferings of slaves, particularly a child slave. He knew."

That Rigby's efforts to emancipate slaves was prompted not by general considerations of the

brotherhood of man, is shown by his remarks on his return to Bombay in 1864 as Boundary Commissioner in Kathiawar. He writes in a letter to a friend,—"You can't imagine what a change has come over Bombay; it is dirtier and more stinking than it ever was, cholera and smallpox are always raging, there is no sign of any material improvement, not a decent building erected anywhere. The natives are wallowing in wealth, which they do not know what to do with; they occupy all the finest houses, drive fine carriages with servants in grand liveries, and quite out the Europeans in everything. They no longer show the slightest respect to Europeans, and the present system is to flatter and pamper these greasy, fat Banians, call them all Esquires, make them Justices of the Peace and Fellows of the University. Fancy the people voting a statue to that fellow A—who was known to be in correspondence with the mutineers in '57. And Mr. B— of the *Bombay Times*, for always trumpeting the virtues of the natives, has got from them a subscription of a lac of rupees! He came out as an agent for C—, the wine-merchant, was dismissed, then set up as a merchant, became bankrupt, then Sub-Editor under old B—. The Bombay Railway appears to be completely disorganised. Instead of assisting to develop the trade of the interior, they have lately issued a notice that they won't receive cotton for carriage to Bombay. There is an immense amount of gambling in Bombay in all sorts of bubble companies, and I fancy there'll be a great smash some day. Almost every merchant seems to get up a Bank or a Shipping Company. As long as cotton keeps so dear, I suppose things will go on smoothly, but the crisis must come some day. The Jews are now the rising people in Bombay and have the finest houses." The prophecy came true. An interesting chapter in Mrs. Russell's book is that describing the episode in which her father came into sharp conflict with Richard Burton, translator of the *Arabian Nights* who went on an exploratory expedition to the interior of Africa, when Rigby was consul in Zanzibar.

THE PARSIS OF BOMBAY AND PARSİ CHARITIES.

(BY P. A. WADIA.)

Nowhere does the contrast between the East and the West in the social and economic spheres present such fruitful material for observation and study as in the small community of Parsis living in Bombay. We have here a community with substantial resources in the shape of charitable endowments of all kinds, whose members have very rapidly taken to an indiscriminate imitation of Western manners and modes of life, and many of the upper classes of which have an outlook very much like the outlook of Western aristocrats a hundred years ago. Whilst modern capitalism in the West pays a lip worship at any rate to the new tendencies of our times, when the disinherited classes are seeking to come into their own, the representatives of capital in this community who are mainly responsible for the administration of the charitable endowments placed in their hands, resort to a system of outdoor relief such as prevailed in England under the Poor Law Administration in the days of Malthus. The anxiety and the alarm which Malthus felt in his days, the well-wishers of the Parsi community feel today, as an indiscriminate system of doles undermining the morale of the community seems to be at work on an increasing scale, adding from year to year to the number of those who are dependent on communal relief. If

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there existed any opportunity for a capitalist society to proclaim to the disillusioned world its ability to organise a social order embodying the principles of justice, and securing contented classes co-operating with one another on a basis of healthy and comfortable living, by wise planning of the resources at its command, such an opportunity seems to exist today in the Parsi community. There is nothing more tragic than the wastage of the resources at the disposal of the community and the neglect of the opportunities which such resources afford for wise and intelligent planning for the future welfare of the community.

The number of Parsis living today in the city of Bombay is 55,000. Till 1921 the number of the community remained fairly steady over a period of 30 to 40 years. But the community increased by 5,500 souls in the decade ending 1921. It is difficult to make any statement with regard to the distribution of income, and changes in this distribution of income during the last 50 years in the community. But one or two observations may be safely made on the subject. In the first 75 years of the last century our community made rapid strides in its economic status and development, and consequently played a prominent part in the social and political life of the country. We were the first of the Indian communities to take advantage of the opportunities which contact with the British people opened out to the country. We acted as intermediaries between the East India Company's employees and the Indians. We availed ourselves more readily than others of the educational facilities which were offered to us in missionary institutions and in the Government Schools and Colleges. Our adventurous and enterprising spirits ventured across the seas as traders and merchants in the further East, at a time when crossing the Blackwater would have involved living death to the Hindus. By our educational attainments in the earlier days we were able to occupy leading positions in the public services and the front rank in medicine, law and other professions. It has also to be remembered that in those earlier days our ways of living were simple, the cost of living was not so high, and our communal needs were few and could be easily satisfied by the resources at our disposal.

Our general education and our enterprise enabled us to lead fairly comfortable lives as merchants and tradesmen, as employees in Government services and in private firms, and members of the professions. The joint family organisation which we shared in common with the other Indian communities enabled us to take care of our dependants, and the funds at the disposal of the Parsi Panchayat Trustees were sufficient to provide for the needs of those whom adversity left stranded and helpless. Whilst our affluence in those days of simple living enabled us to provide for the needs of our own dependants, it also made possible the flow of charity far beyond the limits of our community, in grateful memories of the days when the country had given a kindly and hospitable shelter.

Very rapid changes have taken place, however, in the social and economic condition of the Parsis living in Bombay City during the last quarter of a century. The rapid rise in the cost of living has seriously affected our community. Whilst prices have gone up, the average earnings of large numbers of the community have not correspondingly increased. As a rule wages do not rise in exact correspondence with the rise in prices. But in our case there were further factors that were responsible for bringing about a serious situation. Numbers of our community have definitely abandoned the simpler modes of life to which they were once

accustomed. There are some who regard the standard of comfort to which the Parsis have grown accustomed as an artificially high standard which is bound to affect unfavourably the general condition of the community. Our community has to recognise sooner or later the impossibility of maintaining an artificially high standard of living, more especially when we are surrounded by communities whose modes of life are simpler and whose social life is still based on the co-operative principles of the joint family system which we abandoned at a much earlier date. It is also to be remembered that the initial advantage which our community enjoyed in the earlier days of possessing a privileged position in the public services and in private firms as pioneers, and as having taken more rapidly to the educational opportunities which were offered to the country, the community is now gradually losing. In Government employment we no longer enjoy the preference which we once enjoyed due to our general attainments and to our professions of loyalty. In the professions likewise we can no longer hold the prominent position which we once held, when the other communities had not taken to education in such large numbers as they are now doing. There has been moreover between 1881 and 1931 a marked change in the nature of the occupational distribution of the Parsis living in Bombay city. There is a drift from an occupational point of view, from trade and industry to clerical work. It is a truism that a number of textile factories which were hitherto controlled by Parsis and which served to absorb a certain number of the community have now been sold or closed down. The men who have been employed in these factories and others employed in factories belonging to non-Parsis have now been thrown out of work. We estimate the number of families whose earning members have thus been thrown out of employment as between 500 and 1,000.

The prospect before the community in the immediate future seem to be very clouded. With the continuation of the depression, and with the increasing struggle for existence in a city like Bombay where the unskilled members of our community accustomed to an artificially high standard have to face the competition of more skilful men belonging to other communities, we must be prepared to see the number of dependants on charity funds increasing in the years to come. The resources at the disposal of our community will continue to be taxed till they reach the limit. These resources are not inexhaustible. With greater co-ordination they could be economised, and a considerable amount of wastage might be prevented. But at present we are not only reconciled to a policy of wastage of these resources, but we seem to live in the present without taking any thought of the future. The poorer sections who are in receipt of doles are rapidly multiplying. Their children are usually ill-fed, feeble in body and much more feeble in mind. It is exceedingly common to find in these classes half-witted boys and girls, whose education requires special treatment but who have been allowed to vegetate in the lower standards of our educational institutions, till their parents are compelled to remove them only to throw them into the world to drag out an unemployed existence or to earn a miserable pittance supplemented by doles. These social misfits unable to maintain themselves, and with no sense of responsibility in the matter of increasing the size of their family, will become an increasing burden on the community. The boys and girls of these social misfits, when they grow up half-witted and weaklings, will be unable to earn a decent living for themselves, and with the help of doles will multiply the number of dependants in ever expanding circles. This seems to be the prospect facing the community in the future as the result of



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our present method of administering the charity funds at our disposal.

What are the measures that our community has thought of adopting in the face of these conditions? We have not as yet in our community any trained social workers who could be regular visitors in the slums, advising families about their needs and the needs of their children, and following up from year to year the physical and mental development of these children. We have no facilities in the city for the proper training of such social workers. None of our charities have even dreamt so far of securing the services of trained social workers for meeting some of the needs for work of this kind in our community. The extent of unemployment in our community is further bound to increase on account of the more general causes that are connected with trade depression the whole world over. The adoption of a farsighted policy and planning would require a twofold series of measures; firstly, an organised effort at supplementing the limited income of all classes of unemployed people, the help being graded according to the size of the family, irrespective of all other considerations based upon merit or desert; and secondly, careful planning for the children of such families providing for their health and educational needs. But even when all this is done, we do not think we shall see the end of poverty or unemployment; firstly, because such unemployment is determined by causes which lie beyond the control of our community, and also because the social and economic environment in which the community is living, with differences in standard of comfort, with relative disparity in numbers, and with limited avenues of employment in a country dependent on the mercies of foreign rulers, may frustrate the effects of all the careful planning that our community may resort to. No single community, even though it may be small in numbers and provided with material resources, can today live a separate and isolated existence. Its economic life will be determined by factors beyond its control. And whilst we need not be entirely pessimistic with regard to the future, we must be prepared to face the possibility of a frustration of all our well-devised schemes in a world which is becoming increasingly unified, and where, therefore, we can only prosper together or fail together.

CAN SOCIALISM SAVE THE WORLD?

It is the capacity to think, feel and act that differentiates man from the animal. These are the functions that automatically establish for him a moral relationship with his fellow beings which is absent in the other species of life. And society is nothing but this organised relationship. Animals may move in herds and trees may grow in forests but they cannot build societies among themselves for they lack in this fundamental requisite of intercommunication. These functions again automatically develop in him a personality, creating around him an atmosphere which is congenial to their growth. Apart from his physical needs which are common between the animal and himself, his personality has its own peculiar needs. It is this personality and its spontaneous moral obligations that are capable of creating that organisation called society. For it loves and seeks to serve; it thinks and exchanges thoughts; and it expresses itself in various forms which connote beauty and seeks joy in its surroundings. Love is the oxygen of that 'person' within and love means service. The wish of people to achieve salvation or personal freedom by serving humanity is no idle dream. It has a meaning which those in whom that personality is killed cannot understand. Through service it evolves, perhaps into the infinite. Love

must act if at all it exists. It is spiritual. And morality is the gist of all its activities. Both spirituality and morality are but its heart and brain.

History is a conflict between that personality and all complications that arise as a result of the interference of physical needs with its moral activities. Physical needs, commingling with the moral obligations of a person, superseded all other claims and gave an economic colour to the whole of his life. A communistic form of society in which that personality is totally crushed is not a commendable form of socialism but a degenerating form of animalism. It is utilising the human energy to keep the man as a "regimental" animal. To suppress oneself in the interests of a society is not a sacrifice but a suicide. Socialism, in its true sense, is a movement of the society and society being essentially the organic form of all personal relationships among individuals, there cannot exist a form of socialism which does not include the growth of personality. Also there cannot be a growth of personality—to put it conversely—unless that relationship assumes a socialistic form. Society begins with the growth of personality, it is but the objectified form of personal love of one individual for others. It is the moral quintessence of individual loves. There is no society where personality does not act and there cannot be socialism where there is no society. Therefore, any true form of socialism should include that personal growth, growth of individual personality. That form of socialism is nothing but a new form of social order where all individuals possess the freedom to grow.

If you allow a man to live he automatically breathes, you need not teach him about it. If you allow the personality to grow, it automatically grows and loves, you need not force it to do so. But love itself, or acts of love, demand thought, discretion, foresight, wisdom and the assimilation of facts or truth; which in their turn demand free scope for intercommunication. For there cannot be either thought or action in a vacuum. When personality grows self-expression is unavoidable. But self-expression demands harmony, coherent arrangements of facts and a pleasing form of communication. This involves beauty. But all these conduce to the growth of the individual and the freedom of his life.

However imperfect it might be, these forces of intellect, emotion and expression, they must act and while doing so they build among themselves an organisation which is not only a means for their activities but also a means for their own recreation. Through that organisation they give and take. An individual, while offering to the society whatever he is able to give, also receives whatever is possible for him to assimilate. That organisation is the social system. Therefore that social organisation which is merely incidental to human life is pledged with two different but complementary functions. Firstly to convey to the individual the rich achievements of the past thus enabling him to grow higher and secondly to distribute his own personal gifts, with an impartial hand, amongst all the other members of the society. If it cannot fulfil these two functions properly it is imperfect and when it is imperfect the individual is bound to suffer. Man grows as an individual, expands and deepens his private personality by rationally appropriating the social medium in which he lives—by making its meaning his knowledge and converting its higher tendencies and possibilities of better things into his personal purpose. If his growth is stunted, it is because his appropriation is incomplete. In the individual the life of his community would receive a new incarnation. So that individual and society are not separable, as different elements within a whole.



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Distinction, friction, antagonism come only from their imperfection. The one is not the other only because it is not itself. Society is an external necessity to the individual because he is not sufficiently intelligent to grasp its meaning or sufficiently good to adopt its ends; and society on its part is a mechanical and most imperfect whole only because its members are only partly "rationalised." That social organisation is a moral medium and the individuals can be perfected or they can be rendered perfect happiness only by perfecting that medium. The aim of socialism should be the perfecting of that medium or the reorganising it into perfection. True socialism is not opposed to individual growth, it is not mere "regimentation" as some critics imagine.

It is this ethical relationship that makes the society, an intermingling of three positive forces, intellect, emotion and expression or, to put them in terms of what they connote, truth, love and beauty. Physical relationship cannot make a society. Even marriage cannot, but love can. Family is an expression of love emotion but not animal passion. It is not economic forces that make societies or increase necessities of life. There is no such thing as economic relationship among mankind. It has no life, such a thing cannot exist. Emotion is the cause for the increase of necessities. The so-called luxuries are called luxuries on account of their rarity, nor can they exist unless man has developed a sense of beauty. Hero-worship is the cause of monarchy and dictatorship, while love for freedom is the mother of all rebellions and revolutions. True intellectual force is a selfless search after truth and history testifies the fact that the greatest of intellectual giants died in poverty. Many tried in despair to simplify the emotion for a luxurious life and reduce the economic wastage over them. But such a thing is an impossibility. For all luxuries are really the products of artistic tastes in man. That desire cannot be put out as long as the sportive aesthetic sense is present in every individual. Perhaps that is a means of ventilation for the martial inclinations in him. It is not the 'grapes are sour' philosophy that can save us from this situation of want and despair but complete industrialisation and free supply of commodities to all tastes, avoiding, of course, all possible waste. Therefore even industrialisation is fundamentally an ethical movement. And we see with our own eyes that it is a failure in the hands of the 'amoral' capitalist.

Socialism from all points of view is an ethical movement which aims at reorganising the present social system, which is essentially a moral structure, into a really useful organisation to the growing individual. "The evolution of the individual's powers," writes MacIver, "is hindered by the hard necessities of an imperfectly moralised social system and evolution of the public good is baffled by the narrow views and the unsocialised wills of individuals." Ultimately it is the individual that lives and suffers.

It has become almost a habit with most of the critics of socialism to bring in the affairs of Russia whenever views on socialism are expressed. The intrinsic worth of a movement can neither be judged nor challenged by the success or failure of all experiments conducted in its name. While on the other hand most of the socialists are marking time in conducting small scale experiments in their local political spheres without attempting at a thorough-going reorganisation of the human system as a whole, the touchy communists are marking their time in waiting for a world-catastrophe which might yield an opportunity for their world revolution. The former follow the path of their slow political reformation which would take a very long time before it might reach the individual, mixing up

socialism with gradualness, and the latter follow the path of uncompromising dictatorial coercion. But both are political methods of force. One operating gradually, another immediately. Neither of them are following the methods of morally reorganising the system by means of constructive work from the side of the masses themselves. The communist believes that he is coercing the individuals for their own good. This is a very innocent mischief. He either does not know what goodness is or what he is doing. He is ignorant of the fact that nothing good can be expected from a suppressed individual. The fallacy lies in his thought itself, in his very ideology. He imagines that everything is economics, while in reality nothing is economics.

If anything can save the world from these various alarming and conflicting forces, it is a true form of socialism which would moralise the fundamental organic forces on which the whole social structure is based, the forces of intellect, emotion, and expression. Here moralising means socialising. And it can be achieved by organising constructive methods. Intellect which is the origin of all discoveries and organisations, emotion which is the origin of all attachments, and expression which is the means of communication and assimilation—all these three true forces can be reorganised only if all the socialist volunteers of human freedom join together in a constructive international programme. This alone can save the world.

Allahabad.

M. N. RAO.

THE LATE G. K. DEVADHAR.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

With reference to your note that "the conception of politics to which Gokhale sought to give expression through his Society was a comprehensive end," may I add that it was in a great measure due to the late Mr. Devadhar. Thirty years ago, four men sat in a circle on a prominent spot on the low ridge which runs between the Fergusson College and the Society's headquarters. Gokhale first took the seven vows and then administered them successively to Messrs. Dravid, Devadhar and Patwardhan. The first Memorandum of the Association written in the Admission book of the Society in Mr. Gokhale's hand which opens with the words, "We, the undersigned, agree to associate ourselves to form a Society, called the Servants of India Society, and we agree to be bound by the Articles set forth below and the rules and regulations that may be made" defines the objects of the Society to be "to train men for the work of political education and agitation, and to promote by all constitutional means the national interests of the Indian people." Mr. Devadhar whose bent in the direction of organising social service work had been marked even before he joined the Society, insisted upon the change being made without loss of time; and hence the article defining the objects reads thus; "The objects of the Society are to train national missionaries for the service of India, and to promote by all constitutional means the true interests of the Indian people." The scope of the Society was thus widened at the earliest stage into comprehensive service of the people in the missionary spirit; and the members of the Society, especially the Bombay branch under the directions of the Mr. Devadhar, were persistently criticized for allowing social service to engross the greater part of their energy and time. But Mr. Gokhale warmly defended the adoption of this wide definition with enthusiasm during his time.



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Indeed, Mr. Devadhar's work had been so effectively done that Lord Sydenham asked Mr. Sastri when he appeared before the Joint Select Committee of Parliament in 1919, "Are not you responsible, as Mr. Gokhale's successor, for changing the Servants of India Society, which he had meant exclusively for social service, into a political body?" Mr. Sastri had to remind His Lordship of a political conversation at the time of his visit to the Society, and of his gift of books on political subjects to the Society, to convince him that he was in the wrong about the real objects of the Society. At the present day, when on account of Mahatma Gandhi's pre-eminent guidance in the field of politics, the scope of the Society in the task of political education and agitation has become much narrowed, and the influence and prestige of the Society depend on the usefulness and indispensability of Devadhar's lieutenants in the field of social service, Devadhar's services to the Society and to the country must be considered to be immense, and the loss is almost irreparable.

Coimbatore, } Yours etc.,
November 25, 1935. } R. SRINIVASA IYENGAR.

EDUCATION AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

When I first read the Kavitha incident in the *Reformer*, there arose in me a great desire to put into writing the reflex side of the affair. But I got over it and said to myself "Why this storm in a tea-cup?" So I dropped writing to you then.

Now Dr. Ambedkar's suggestion at Yeola calling upon the Depressed classes to renounce their social position, has caused a stir in the Indian Press. The balanced view in the matter is that the suggestion is too premature and does not arise from the present attitude of the Caste-Hindus towards the Depressed classes. As a matter of fact, a great change has come over the mentality of the Hindus in the matter of the treatment of the untouchables, due, in a large measure, to the exertions of the Congress in recent times, to remove untouchability and to the activities of the Hindu Maha Sabha in general. This has been admitted by Depressed classes' leaders themselves like Mr. M. C. Rajah and others.

Such a changed attitude is coming to the fore even in rural areas. The admission of Adi-Dravida boys into the Panchayat schools is no longer a thorny question. Such is the shape of things, at present, here in the South.

But what stands in the way of the elevation of the Depressed classes is their own apathy and it is evident from the following:—

In No. 13, North or Vada Eluppai village, Cheyyur Taluk, N. Arcot Dt. (Madras Presidency), there is a Panchayat School. It was inspected in August 1934 by the Deputy-Inspector of Schools, Cheyyur Range, Cheyyur, who remarked in his Inspection Report that Adi-Dravida boys should be re-admitted into the school. In pursuance of the remark, ten Adi-Dravida boys were admitted in April last. They attended the school regularly for some time. Then they began to drop away, one by one, under the convenient excuse of tending cattle for their living. Being a teacher, at present, in the above school and also interested to a certain extent in their progress, many a time I went to the Cheri asking the elders not to stop away their boys and personally calling upon them to attend the institution without

fail and not to let the opportunities for education which Government have so willingly placed at their disposal slip through their fingers. But words fell flat. Their attendance began to grow thin; sometimes it is even nil. I got so disgusted with the whole thing that I do not now bother much about it. If the Kavitha incident represents one end of the swing of the pendulum, this shows, to my mind, the other extreme.

Government may come forward to uplift the community, as they are doing at present, even in a larger measure; other bodies like the Congress may do their bit for the Depressed classes. The real step for progress must be taken by the people themselves. The urge for reform and progress must always come from within. Is not self-help the best help? Have you not remarked 'A man is what his shraddha is' some time back in the *Reformer*?

North Eluppai, } Yours etc.,
23rd November 1935. } E. GOVINDAN.

[The loss to parents so poor as the generality of the depressed classes owing to their children being drawn away to schools, constitute a real hardship and schemes for their uplift should make provision for it. The Government of Mysore allowed a small amount as compensation to such parents. The great saying, quoted by Mr. Govindan in his last sentence occurs in the *Bhagavad Gita*. The *Reformer* can not appropriate the compliment he kindly pays us:—Ed., I. S. R.]

"LIFE OF DAYARAM GIDUMAL."

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

"*Young Builder*" Press, Karachi, are collecting materials for publishing in English a biography of the late Mr. Dayaram Gidumal, C. S., who along with the late Messrs. B. M. Malabari, Mahadev Govind Kanade, Sir N. G. Chandavarkar and other public workers in the fag-end of the last century gave a strong impetus to the Social Reform movement in Bombay Presidency in particular, and in India in general. He had a large number of friends all over the country. Some of these must be still living. The Editors of the Biography will esteem it a favour if those who were once the contemporaries of the great man would send to the undersigned such information and material, e. g., letters, pamphlets, etc., as may be in their possession. These would be returned to their respective owners, if so desired, after they have been done with.

Karachi, } Yours etc.,
November 23, 1935. } I. H. KUMAR.
Editor,
"Young Builder".

THE PROTECTION OF THE ASSYRIAN CHRISTIANS OF IRAQ.

Christian circles have been repeatedly disturbed by the precarious and perilous situation of the Assyrian Christians of Iraq, threatened with extermination, and they have intervened on their behalf with the League of Nations, asking that protection may be assured.

It is therefore worth drawing the attention of these same circles to the important decisions taken by the recent Assembly of the League of Nations, which solve in a definite and absolutely satisfactory manner, the problem of the establishment of the Assyrian Christians of Iraq.

After a period of study and the despatch of several missions, and after diplomatic negotiations which revealed, on the part of most governments, a very clear sense of their responsibilities, the settlement of the Assyrians of Iraq, in the plain of the Ghab has



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been definitely decided upon. In order to facilitate this settlement, the Assembly of the League of Nations has included in its budget for 1936 a sum of 1,800,000 Francs. Added to the contribution from the Government of Iraq, from Great Britain and from the authorities of the territory of the Levant, and to grants from private associations and from those principally concerned, this sum will enable the Assyrians of Iraq to be settled in the region of the Ghab. The total expenditure anticipated for these operations amounts to some 17,000,000 Francs, which will be paid in the course of the next few years as the need arises, under the auspices and with the participation of the League of Nations.

The plain of the Ghab is adequate for the settlement of from twenty to twenty-five thousand people. Large scale works will however be necessary, and while they are being carried out the majority of the Assyrians will be settled on an estate of 8,500 hectares or on other land in the neighbourhood, where they will be able to grow cereals or graze their flocks. Provincial establishments will be made. Five dispensary-infirmaries will be created and it is proposed also, if funds permit, to build a hospital of from 80 to 100 beds. As soon as the works are finished, permanent settlement will take place in the plain of the Ghab itself, where permanent villages will have been built in the meantime. These will take the form of centres accommodating from 2,500 to 4,000 inhabitants, and will be an improvement on scattered villages, since they will facilitate the installation of non-agricultural elements, such as artisans and shop-keepers, will reduce the number of schools, churches, hospitals and dispensaries to be built, and will thus cut down overhead charges.

Plans of a very precise nature, taking the customs of the people concerned into account, are in hand as regards the administration, education, and the civil, religious and political status of the Assyrians. They will be received as permanent colonists in the mandated territory of the Levant and naturalised at a date to be fixed in agreement with the Council of the League of Nations and after a period which in principle should not be less than 5 years.

A special organ will have charge of the direction of the settlement operations, working under the authority of the Council of the League of Nations, and in close liaison with the High Commission for the mandated territories of the Levant.

SRI RAMAKRISHNA GURUKUL AND VIDYAMANDIR—TRICHUR.

The Sri Ramakrishna Asram, Trichur recently published the report on the working of the Sri Ramakrishna Gurukul and Vidyamandir for the years 1933 and 1934. It is a record of steady progress in the educational, social and economic activities that the institution has been carrying on for the Harijans of Kerala from 1927. Started at first with only one Harijan boy, the boys' section of the Gurukul has now a strength of 38 against a strength of 12 in the girls' section. Among them are a few caste Hindus. The Vidyamandir is now a full-fledged Lower Secondary School with a strength of about 400, half of whom, again, are Harijans. Besides giving moral and religious lessons, it affords a system of education suited to the rural areas of Kerala, at the same time giving instruction and guidance in patriotism, cures and the cultural languages of India such as Malayalam, Sanskrit, Hindi and English. There is also an Industrial School attached to this where cloth-weaving, mat-making, drawing, music and needle work are taught. Agriculture also is given its due importance, almost making the Gurukul self-dependent in the matter of

vegetables. Practical training in accounting and business is given to boys through their registered Co-operative Society, which conducts a provision store and a book stall. Besides these there are the Children's republic, students' associations, the games club and the Court of Honour to train children to be responsible citizens of the country.

The Asram has also been working among the Harijan population outside, giving them economic relief through co-operative society, benefit fund etc., and helping them to live better lives in better surroundings by founding colonies and giving practical lessons in health, sanitation and cleanliness. It is noteworthy that many of the distinguished educationists, Congressmen and Officials, from all parts of India have visited the Institution and expressed their sincere appreciation of the work carried on by the Asram. The Institution now stands badly in need of funds for extension in accommodation and equipment. The Gurukul building and the shrine for both of which Mahatmaji laid the foundation-stone have yet to be completed. There is also a need for a separate girls' section. Contributions, however small, may be sent to The President, Sri Ramakrishna Asram, Trichur

CASTE AND UNTOUCHABILITY.

In the *Harijan* of 16th November, there appears an open letter to M. Gandhi written by Sir Govindrao Madgaonkar. In the main body of the letter he clearly states his own position as to the problems of Caste and Untouchability, and in the end appeals to certain persons, whom he regards as Hindu leaders, to 'give a clear lead' and a 'courageous lead' on this vital question.

In this category of Hindu leaders Sir Govindrao mentions myself along with Mahatma Gandhi and Pandit Malaviya. But without presuming to be such a great leader of Hindu opinion as he thinks me, I feel bound to disclose my opinions on the stated questions, because I hold that a man's views on public affairs can be regarded as public property, liable to be disclosed on a legitimate challenge.

Sir Govindrao demands not only a 'clear' lead but also a 'courageous' lead! What he inwardly means by this is obvious! I have no hesitation in accepting the challenge. I do not know whether the answer that I am giving him, in the following few lines, will be clear enough for his purpose. But I am prepared to stand or fall by what I am stating. These opinions of mine have been held by me consistently throughout my life; and being a journalist and active public worker, I had to disclose and state them already on many occasions.

I do not believe in caste as divine. It is man-made and the product of social evolution under particular physical or material conditions. The verse in the Gita about this should be quite clear in its meaning, even to a man of ordinary intelligence. चातुर्वर्ण्यं मया सृष्टं गुणकर्मविभागज्ञः Here वर्ण does not mean caste by birth. The वर्ण of a man is a philosophical interpretation or description of his, regard being had to his mental and spiritual tendencies, taken together with the work which he does under the influence of those tendencies.

If चातुर्वर्ण्यं so defined can be called divine, it is only so much divine as every other thing created in the God's Universe, and also only so much immune from modification or mutation by human agency. Like Sir Govind Rao, I do not believe that Caste, as now understood and observed by Orthodox Hindu opinion, was ordained by the Vedas. It is, no doubt, the product of immemorial custom; but there is no custom which the Hindu Society



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has no right to change if it so wills rationally. Our sense of the authority of even the Vedas is and must be limited by our sense of what is rationally good for us, that is to say, not particular individuals, but the Hindu Society. I do not think the present water-tight compartments of caste will remain, or ought to remain as they are. Inter-dining or even intermarriage as between different castes is not, *theoretically*, either a sin against the Hindu Religion or an offence against the Hindu Society. As actual evidence of my own opinions held on this subject I may state that I have (1) supported the Basu Bill, and the Patel Bill, (2) openly joined Sahabhojans (non caste dinners), (3) brought about intermarriages (in my own family) with a view to encourage fusion among the sub-castes of Brahmins.

I have faced ex-communication and even open unpopularity, for some of these things. But my anchor holds. I do not believe in untouchability, and hold that it ought to go and must be removed. I want this not only for strengthening the Hindu Society internally, but also on grounds of absolute justice and fairness.

But while I hold these views theoretically, I have differed and must differ from extreme or revolutionary social reformers, who would like to accomplish all the needed changes and transformations by compulsory legislation. I cannot go in this matter beyond permissive legislation, so that progressive people may be helped to make an experiment of their favourite reform upon themselves, without suffering any undue injury to their civil status. Similarly I am opposed to legislation calculated to coerce orthodox people to admit all or any people to their temples. I wonder if Sir Govindrao knows that I have held, now for years, precisely the same view as he holds about making a distinction between the main building and the inner shrine of a temple. Without being egotistical, I may claim, that I was almost the first in Maharashtra to suggest that as a compromise. My view is that upto a certain line, which marks off the shrine from the open hall, or *सभासङ्घ* (*Sabha Mandap*) as it is called, all castes should be free to enter a temple, but that no person, (excepting the consecrated official worshipper) be allowed to enter the sacred shrine, even though he be a Brahmin among Brahmins. This compromise secures three things (1) Satisfaction to the untouchable of having *देवदर्शन* (*Darshan* of the deity) direct, if he really hankers for that spiritual blessedness. (2) Assurance to him that he is on the same level of right or privilege with any other class, if what troubles him *really* is jealousy of the Brahmin. (3) Prevention of the sacred Shrine from pollution due to indiscriminate entry.

I hope I have made my position clear on all the questions referred to in Sir Govindrao's letter.

N. C. KELKAR.

GIRL RECALLS FORMER LIFE.*

Frantic crowds were seen collecting day and night in the Chirakhana Street in the heart of Delhi to have *darshan* of an eight-year-old girl.

Enquiries made go to show that Shanto Kumari, aged about 8 years, daughter of Mr. Rang Bahadur Mathur, a resident of Chirakhana, Delhi, had been disclosing her past for the last 5 years; but her parents and other relations took it as a trifle and did not at first care to ascertain the truth of the girl's sayings. It was only recently that a gentleman out of curiosity came to see this child and during the talk the girl gave him the name and address of her former husband as she had been doing even

previously. This gentleman jotted down the particulars and sent a letter to Pandit Kedar Nath Chaubey of Muttra as told by the girl. The letter, however, reached the person—Pt. Kedar Nath Chaube, who confirmed that the information given in the letter was correct. To further ascertain the fact, Pandit Kedar Nath wrote back that his brother might be allowed to interview the girl. This was arranged. The brother of Pandit Kedarnath came and met the girl who questioned her about their family affairs (in her time in her former life). The girl, to the amazement of all those present, gave replies which were really true to facts. She also disclosed that she had buried some money in a room of their house at Muttra of which she gave the correct description. This convinced him and he wrote to his brother, Pandit Kedar Nath to come to Delhi.

Accordingly, on November 13 last, Pandit Kedar Nath came to Delhi with his son, born of his former wife. The girl recognised them and wept bitterly. Pandit Kedar Nath, when he ascertained the facts from the girl, was moved to tears. The girl showed very great attachment to the son of Kedar Nath whom she recognised as her own son, and gave him dolls and a pack of playing cards.

Pandit Kedar Nath, his son, brother, and his second wife are now staying in Delhi.

It appears that ever since she could talk, she used to say that in her former existence, she was married to a man at Muttra, whose address she gave. Recently, her people communicated this fact to her alleged husband in her past life in Muttra, and he sent his younger brother, whom she identified as soon as she saw him. Her "husband" came from Muttra, and she recognized him also and told him of facts, which were known either to him or to his former wife. Incidentally, she told him that she had buried a hundred rupees at a certain place in their house for the purpose of offering to a goddess, should the child at whose birth she died survive. That child is now eleven years old. The girl explains that before being born in Delhi, she was born at another place and died when she was 2½ years old. The "husband" has gone back to Muttra to look for the buried treasure.

Pandit Neki Ram Sharma, who also visited Delhi in the same connection, gives the following account: "For the last three days I have been constantly visiting Shanti Devi at different hours. I have talked to her and have cross-examined her in connection with her past life. Her replies have been satisfactory and convincing. Though during her present life-time she has never been to Muttra, she describes the city and the 'ghats' as vividly as though she had just been there. I have no reason to doubt her recollection, which she gives of her previous birth. Being of an inquisitive and critical bent of mind, I am not easily led to believe things as described by others, but Shanti's talks leave no doubt in my mind, as to the authenticity of what she says. I want that Shanti should once be taken to Muttra; and if there she can, to some extent, recognize the streets and her 'old home' then what right will those who do not believe in the Hindu belief of the transmigration of soul have to call it untrue?"

Interviewed by a correspondent, Shanti Devi affirmed that in her past life she was the wife of Mr. Kedar Nath Chaube, a cloth merchant of Muttra, and said they used to live in Mohalla Chauban.

She remarked that she was very much in love with her "husband" and for a circumstantial touch, added that she often used to make potato cakes (*grantha*) for him—a delicacy he particularly liked to eat.

* Taken from news items in the Indian press, November 15 to 26.



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They had a well in their house and a *pan supari* shop in front of their house. She further stated, and pointed out that in this former existence as Mr. Chaube's wife she had a friend named Chameli (at Muttra) and they were both accustomed to go daily to bathe in the Jumna and used to offer prayers at the Vishram Ghat, which, as everybody knows, is a very holy spot.

The little girl often related these facts to her parents, but they did not take her seriously and did not make any inquiries till four months ago when one day Shanti suddenly insisted on going to Muttra to see her former "husband."

She also said that she had a son at Muttra and she was anxious to see him as it was the birth of that boy that had cost her life. Being opposed, she cried for hours at a stretch and would not be consoled.

Shanti, who is a very pretty girl, is anxious to go back to Muttra to stay with her former husband, but the parents are naturally unwilling to part with her. Meantime, more than a hundred thousand "pilgrims" have visited the merchant's house to see her for themselves.

Willing to Wound But Afraid to Strike:—The representative members of the depressed classes are bitterly complaining that the Indian Press is not giving accurate reports of their meetings and resolution. We realize that such complaints must be very carefully scrutinised for it is very easy to make such a charge when possibly the press itself is not consciously to blame. However, it must be conceded that for the most part the press of India is in the hands of higher castes among the Hindus. Even the English-edited papers have on their staffs high caste Hindus who handle matters that relate to religious affairs in India. This being true, it will be easy to understand why the depressed classes expect little consideration from the high caste Hindus who control the publicity in regard to religious matters. We believe this fear of the depressed classes is probably greater than is warranted though all who know the situation will readily concede that the Hindu reporters will be greatly tempted to suppress matters concerning the depressed classes that are not favourable to Hinduism. However, it must be admitted that reports have been appearing in the papers giving accounts of meetings of depressed classes in which Dr. Ambedkar's position has been supported. But even so the depressed class leaders feel that the high caste Hindus are doing everything in their power to keep out of the papers all favourable comment regarding Dr. Ambedkar's position. Editorially the Indian press appears to be antagonistic to Dr. Ambedkar. There is a very widespread determination at present to force Dr. Ambedkar to make terms with the Maha Sabha. False reports have been given out regarding his willingness to agree to some compromise that may be offered at Poona. In an *Associated Press* statement he has absolutely denied having had any conversation with representatives of the Maha Sabha. We are left to draw our own conclusions as to how such reports got in the papers. Let us give the press of India every opportunity to deal fairly with this present issue but may we not appeal to those who are in charge of the papers to go out of their way to learn what the real facts are? Let there be no chance for a charge to be made that the depressed classes have not received fair treatment from the press.—*The Indian Witness*.

Boomerang:—If Christian converts among the depressed classes are given charitable help for most urgent needs there are those who allege that "material inducements are responsible for their change of faith." We wonder what they will say to the case of a Christian girl of Oranganur who embraced Islam on November 14, on marrying a Muslim, and who was entertained at a tea party and presented with a gold medal by the local Muslim community!—*Examiner* (Roman Catholic.)

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BY

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Dangers of the New Constitution:—Speaking at St. Andrews Day Dinner in Madras Lord Erskine referred to the danger of the demand for linguistic provinces being revived. "We have not heard very much about that subject lately," said his Excellency, "but no doubt that subject will rise again and, if greatly daring, I may give a word of advice to Indian politicians, it would be this. They have set before their eyes the great ideal of a united India. We hear a great deal of India as a nation, and I sincerely hope that the ideal may come true, but I myself do not believe that you can hold that ideal and yet advocate the formation of linguistic provinces. The great achievement of the British in India has been the unity of India and I think that will be acknowledged by almost everybody in this country. I am quite certain, if any one is going to advocate the formation of linguistic provinces, he is going to upset the ideal for which a great many of them have a great affection." Lord Erskine went on with increasing warmth to deprecate strongly the persistence in a demand which, if gained, would throw India back into the condition in which she was before the advent of British rule. These are wise words but they come too late. The new Government of India Act has definitely started India back on the way to pre-British conditions. It has divided the unitary British India into nine or ten statutory provinces. We have accepted the principle of Federation but there was no need to dismember British India in order to fit it into one. We have never heard so far any explanation for this act of vandalism. The great achievement of British rule to which Lord Erskine referred, has been undone by British hands. This to us is the worst feature of the new constitution. Another danger—it is practically the same in a special form—was referred to by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in his Convocation address to Patna University graduates. Sir Tej, as one of the British Indian

members of the Federal Structure Committee of the Round Table Conference, which decided that British India should be cut up into independent units, must share the responsibility for this fatal transaction. "One danger that I foresee under the new constitution," he said, "is that education, being a provincial subject, our universities and our entire educational system, may tend from a national point of view to become far too provincial or parochial. I sincerely hope and trust that, without in the slightest degree interfering with the autonomy of the provinces, it may be possible to devise some machinery for the interchange of ideas between province and province and to secure some co-ordination and prevent unhealthy competition." Sir Tej was no doubt referring to the Education Board which the Government of India have decided to start. This Board, under far more favourable conditions, was tried and discarded not many years ago. Under the new conditions each province will be far more jealous of its independence and the exchange of ideas will lead to nothing. The only way in which the situation can be retrieved, is to institute a Federal post-graduate university, which will set a high standard to all provincial universities.

Madras and the New Constitution:—Speaking with special reference to his province, Lord Erskine said, with the particular constitution of the Madras Assembly what he himself was terrified of "was a large number of groups none of them owing allegiance to any other, and as a result the Government of the Presidency changing perhaps once a month or perhaps once in six months. Whatever may happen, at the coming elections," he added, "I do hope that some party will get a majority." The position is much the same as regards other provinces except perhaps the two where a statutory majority is guaranteed to one community, though even here the danger of group formation is not altogether absent. In the Punjab for instance, Muslims are divided in three groups, the Ahrars, the Qadianis and the others. Even when one party gets a majority in the elections it may not retain it after them. The following taken from the *Times of India's* report of the proceedings of the Bombay Legislative Council on Friday the 29th November, is amusing as well as interesting in this connection: "Incidentally Mr. Kulkarni remarked that he was surprised to find in the Council Attendance



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Book at Poona the addresses of about 12 members mentioned as "18, Queen's Garden Road." Probably it was a "hostel" and they all stayed there. Dewan Bahadur S. T. Kambli strongly took exception to his bungalow being described as a "hostel." Mr. Kulkarni knew very well that his bungalow was at "18, Queen's Garden Road." Mr. Kulkarni pointed out that he was not aware that the Minister's bungalow was situated there. He simply wanted to illustrate that members could not freely vote in the House for some reason or other." The truth is that the new Constitution will almost inevitably leads to the formation of groups in the Legislature not only in Madras but in most other provinces. The only way of counteracting this tendency of the Constitution is to form a strong caucus which from outside the Legislature will direct its proceedings so far as its own members are concerned. This is what the National Congress has been obliged to do and the Justice Party in Madras has been doing. Parliament had two alternatives with regard to the constitution of Indian Legislatures. It could have followed the policy prior to the Morley-Minto reforms of basing the franchise on educational and property qualifications without reference to religious beliefs. Or it should have recognised all religious beliefs and not only three or four as entitled to separate treatment for franchise purposes. In the latter case, Catholics and Protestant Christians should have been given their own electorates. At a public meeting of Catholics held in Bombay to protest against the distribution of seats for Indian Christians proposed by the Bombay Delimitation Committee, a prominent Catholic leader declared that if Bombay Catholics were not given another seat (which had been proposed for Gujarat Christians, mostly Protestants), they would rather be included in the general (non-Christian) constituency. The scheduled castes which are lumped together in electorates, are divided among themselves into numerous groups which hold aloof from one another, and these latter are bound to repeat themselves in the Legislature. We appreciate Lord Erskine's plain speaking but His Excellency, no doubt, realises that the dangers to which he referred are inherent in the new constitution.

S. Sinha on Indian Education:—It was courageous of Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha to maintain with chapter and verse that the Indian Educational system has done meritorious service to the country, at a time when it is being attacked by all sorts and conditions of people, including some eminent Indians, on diverse and often contradictory grounds. We reprint this part of the Convocation address which Mr. Sinha delivered at Lucknow University last week. "It is thus clear," he said, "that while, like all human institutions, our highest educational system is not perfect, yet it has already rendered good and great service to the cause of Indian progress.

I maintain that much of the denunciation of it—even when it is not interested—is wholly unwarranted, if not irresponsible, as evidenced by the declarations I have quoted from eminent authorities." Mr. Sinha rightly stressed the responsibilities devolving on educated Indians as the custodians of national interests and as the vanguard of the country's progress. He poured a little good-humoured scorn on the "man of facts" the 'eminently practical man.' "India," he added, "needs at this juncture not weak-kneed wobblers or mealy-mouthed temporisers, but "bold, very bold though not too bold" leaders and workers possessed of not only patriotism and strength of character, but a will to do and a soul to dare in the assertion and the maintenance of their just rights, even to the verge of being moderately fanatical and who, when occasion really demands it, will ride in the whirlwind and direct the storm." At this point, unfortunately, Mr. Sinha seems to have felt that he had gone a bit too far. He tried, unnecessarily we think, to tone down his high call on Indian youth and made a quotation, of all poets from Robert Browning, in which Bishop Blougram expounds his philosophy of limiting one's exertions to ends which are assured of success without them. This certainly was not Browning's own philosophy but quite its opposite. "If a man's reach does not exceed his grasp, what's a heaven for?" cries Andrea del Sarto in rebuke of Bishop Blougram and his host of followers. This is the ruling idea which pervades Browning's poetry and makes it a powerful tonic to sustain the human spirit in moments of depression. In the last lines that he wrote, the "Epilogue to Asolando," Browning draws a pen-picture of himself, as

One who never turned his back, but marched
breast forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted,
wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

Surely, this is a worthier model for our young people than Bishop Blougram.

Indian Troops for Aden:—A Press Communication from New Delhi announced on Monday that at the request of His Majesty's Government the Government of India have agreed to send a battalion of Indian Infantry to strengthen temporarily the defences of Aden. The unit selected is the 5/14th Punjab Regiment from Poona, of which one company is already at Addis Ababa as Legation Guard. There was considerable criticism of the despatch of one company of Indian troops to guard the Legation at Addis Ababa, which was moderated by the sympathy generally felt for Ethiopia. The despatch of a whole Regiment to Aden at the 'request' of His Majesty's Government, at the present time, is conclusive as proof that the Army in India is being maintained at a strength much beyond Indian requirements for Imperial



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purposes at the expense of the Indian taxpayer. During the debates on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill at the last session of the Legislative Assembly the Home Member drew an alarming picture of the political situation in order to justify the passing of the measure. Conditions in Bengal are still said to demand the maintenance of special measures. In Lahore, the communal conflict between Sikhs and Mussulmans has remained acute for several months. The Government of India can not be expected now to spare troops for the defence of Aden which, against strong protests from India, has been taken out of its control and handed over to the Colonial Office in London.

A Deputation to Dr. Ambedkar :—A deputation of well-meaning Hindu gentlemen from Nasik waited upon Dr. Ambedkar to request him not to carry out his declared intention to leave the Hindu fold. It had a three hours discussion with him and the substance of the talk has been published. Dr. Ambedkar told the members that he has a strong religious sentiment according to his own conception of religion. He was not of those who think that religion is not essential to society. He considered the foundation of religion to be essential to the life and practice of society. He would not undertake the responsibility of starting a new sect. He thought that the Harijan community should be completely absorbed into some powerful community. The Arya Samaj did not satisfy him. There were some difficulties in the way of Harijans accepting Buddhism. They will consider the question of joining Sikhism. The Doctor hates hypocrisy. He has no faith in Hinduism and has decided to renounce it but he does not intend to do so immediately as he wants to carry his community with him. It will take at least four or five years, he thinks, to persuade his community to follow him. If after that period they are not prepared to do so, he will alone change his religion. The annals of religious conversion, record no more deliberate instance of going about the business.

Baroda Government and Joint Family :—In a statement published a year or two ago of social legislation passed in Baroda State it seemed to be assumed that the break up of the Hindu joint family system was an end to be desired. The Baroda correspondent of the *Times of India*, however, reports that a questionnaire has been issued by the Legal Remembrancer to that Government to find out whether any element of usefulness is served by the retention of the institution under the prevailing conditions of Hindu Society. One great defect of the system, the Baroda Government has already remedied by recognising the wife of a coparcener, on his death, as a coparcener herself and giving the coparcener the right to make a will of his share in the family property. The fact that the joint family persists notwithstanding the many forces at work to undermine it, must be taken to show that there are some benefits which it confers. People will not submit to a

system which has completely outlived its usefulness and has become a burden upon them. That, at any rate, is the view which a student of social evolution would take of any long-existing institution. If that be the case, the Baroda Government do well to ascertain it by this enquiry so that if it is found that the benefits of the joint family are incommensurate with its injurious effects and that it should be radically modified, the State may make due provision otherwise for the good objects, such as they are, which the institution still subserves.

The Indian Institute of International Affairs :—We have from time to time urged that Indian publicists should study international affairs in order to get a proper perspective of our own problems. We are glad that it is proposed to start an Indian Institute of International Affairs and that a conference is to be called at Delhi early next year with that object. The signatories of the prospectus observe: "We consider that the formation of an Indian Institute of International Affairs, in affiliation with the Royal Institute would be of great value to this country. There are already in Canada, South Africa and Australia, Institutes of International Affairs, affiliated to the Royal Institute. In India such an Institute would probably consist of an All-India Council, with branches in States and Provinces, somewhat on the lines of the Canadian organization. We hope that eventually it may be possible to establish headquarters for the Indian Institute with a first class library and facilities for the study of, and dissemination of accurate knowledge on, international questions. If the Indian organization were affiliated with the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, its members would enjoy the full privilege of membership of that body when in London, and would be entitled to use its services as freely as its own members."

The Education in Turkey :—A writer in the *Open Court* sums up the reforms in education introduced in the Turkish Republic as follows: "Education is thoroughly secularized as well as centralized. In the old days, a large part of the education was given by religious teachers in the Mosque schools. It consisted largely in reciting the Koran and was medieval in spirit. The new government has closed all such schools and placed the children in state institutions. There some lessons are still labeled religious, but these are taught by lay, not clerical teachers, and contain such modern injunctions as the religious duty of supporting the aeroplane society. Private and minority schools are secularized with equal thoroughness, and education must not be used for religious or any other form of propaganda. Friday is the weekly holiday but this is general and far more largely used for rest and recreation than as a day of worship. Whereas a few years ago, most students kept the fast of Ramazan, now few do, and whether fasting or not, teachers and pupils are required to attend to their duties promptly." realpatidar.com



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[Dec.]

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BOMBAY, December 7, 1935.

"A NATION OF BEGGARS."

In his address to the Convocation of Patna University last week Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru declared that he did not want Indians to be a nation of beggars. So long as the British rule the country there is no fear of that contingency, happening. Whatever Britain may do or omit to do for India, she is determined not to pauperise us by her charity. A country which maintains the costly Civil and Military service; which made a gift of one hundred million sterling to the wealthy British overlord; which contributes five shillings in the pound to the income of every inhabitant of Britain; which, even at a time of extreme depression when much richer Governments have felt justified in granting themselves a moratorium for an indefinite period against their creditors, is punctilious in the payment of her foreign obligations; which is the only country in the world to allow the free export of her gold assets; and which is ready to raise large sums for sundry celebrations; is certainly in no danger of becoming branded as "a beggar nation." It is astonishing how a man of Sir Tej's intellectual acumen should pitch upon an inconsiderable item like Indian education as the root factor of the economic situation, overlooking the main factors which stare one in the face when one allows oneself the misery of contemplating it. But terrible are the devastating effects of a fixed idea. To safeguard India against this imagined danger, Sir Tej prescribed a triple remedy. The *Leader* of Allahabad in a weighty leading article shows that the "triune" reform put forward by the learned Convocation orator, is not new, that it has been tried in different parts of India and had failed to commend itself to the public. The Chief Editor of the *Leader* was the first Minister of Education in the United Provinces under the Montagu reforms and, everybody is agreed, he was no dummy Minister. In his short term of office he managed to effect important educational reforms. "In his (Sir Tej's) view," writes the *Leader*, "our primary education should be brought 'more into harmony with rural conditions' and secondary education should be made self-sufficient and not subservient, as it is at present, merely to university education. It is no disparagement of these ideas to say that they are not new. Expression has been given to them many times before and during many years. Also, attempts have been made to reorganize both primary and secondary education on the lines suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, but it is true to say that success did not attend those attempts." Sir Tej would seem to be unaware of what had been attempted in his own province in the way of educational reform. The *Leader* goes on to point out that some years back an attempt was made to reform primary education in the direction indicated by Sir Tej and it failed. Attempts made in Madras,

Bombay, Bengal and the United Provinces to make secondary education independent of the Universities by instituting a School Leaving examination, have also failed. The *Leader* states briefly what happened to them in other provinces but, as it does not seem to be aware of what happened in Bombay, we may supply the omission. Lord Sydenham's Government in their determination to make secondary education completely independent, went so far as to make the Matriculation examination of the latter a *disqualification* for the subordinate Government services. We can not go here into the controversy which raged over this reform. It was settled by handing over the School Leaving examination to the University, which, after a decent interval, 'amalgamated' it with the Matriculation. Technical education schemes have likewise been disappointing in their results. "Limiting ourselves to these provinces," says the *Leader*, "we have here a number of technical and industrial schools designed to wean young men from the craze for the services and what are called the learned professions. But outside the artisan class a large number, if not the majority, of the products of these institutions simply seek for employment somewhere." The experience is not peculiar to the United Provinces.

We shall be told that the people do not understand what is good for them, and they should be led if necessary by force to adopt what their betters think good for them. That is the political ideology of Fascism, Hitlerism, Sovietism. Dr. Ambedkar in his latest pronouncement has expressed a longing for a social dictator. Does Sir Tej long similarly for an educational dictator? The other and the more statesmanlike way of looking at the question, is, first, to find out what the difficulties are which prevent people from adopting the reforms suggested by Sir Tej, if they are otherwise desirable. First, as to primary education. We do not understand what is meant by saying that the present system does not sufficiently harmonise with rural requirements. The primary schools teach in the main the "three R's" which are not different in cities from what they are in villages. Further the distinction between rural and urban is largely artificial in this country. Nearly 80 percent of the population of Bombay—one of the few really urbanised areas in the country—is born in the districts. The large disparity between the male and female population shows that a considerable proportion of the population leave their women in the village home. The contact with the country is thus never interrupted. The main difficulty in the way of housing the workers is that they do not accommodate themselves to the conditions of city life. That is one side of the question. The other is, that owing to this uninterrupted contact between town and village, the rural outlook itself is being transformed. Has Sir Tej, we wonder, thought of the tremendous effect which the setting up of a painted petrol pump in the outskirts of a village, has on the villagers?



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mind and manner of living? Less than twenty five years ago Bandra was a peaceful village, more country than town. Today motor cars and buses shriek along from morning to night and the very beasts on their tired tramp to the slaughter house, have learnt to be alert to move out of the way at the hoot of the motor horn. The effect of improved communications and means of transport on administrative theories, long regarded as axiomatic, has not been adequately realised. In Mysore over a hundred villages have already been and a large number of others are being electrified. It means nothing short of a revolution in the rural mind. And then there is the social bond which runs like a thread stringing up town and village together in a wondrous continuity. In the West itself the distinction of rural and urban, is being reduced by the substitution of electric for steam power. We have to make village life attractive to educated men as the first step in the reconstruction of national life. Not long ago, the slogan of the educational reformer was "a broad highway from elementary school to the university," which should be free to every child, whether rich or poor. The new cry is rather patterned on the lines of birth control. Education is to be rationed and admission to schools regulated by a Commissar of Education, according to the number of jobs available at a given moment. Every educated man who happens to be without a paid job, however valuable his work may be to the community, is to be stamped with the stamp of "wastage." The only effect of the present propaganda will be to close a number of colleges and schools with nothing to take their place.

BIRTH CONTROL AND POPULATION.

If Place's treatise on Population is taken as the precursor of the Birth Control Movement—and all the early writers have undoubtedly drawn their inspiration from it—the theory of Birth Control has just about completed a hundred years. During this period attempts have been made by its supporters, on the one hand, to show its necessity from every aspect and by its opponents, on the other, its inadvisability. Since Place had developed his theory out of Malthus, it is but natural that the economic aspect should have first attracted attention and that even today a certain importance should be attached by birth control advocates to it. Briefly stated, this was that population tended to outstrip means of subsistence, that men increased faster than foodstuffs and that unless preventive checks were adopted there would soon come a time when there would be not enough to go round. Malthus contemplated late marriages and self-control before marriage as the main checks. Place advocated physical checks. Malthus had based his theory on one economic fallacy, that the population increase outstrips food production to a tremendous extent. Place and the birth controllers added one more fallacy to this in building up their programme, that the provision of easy methods of birth control will maintain the balance. So far as Europe is concerned Malthus' theory was never held seriously. Ireland which Place refers to as the great refutation of opponents

of Malthus, the 'Promised Land of the principle of population' according to Karl Marx, was shown by Thomas Sadler as early as 1829 to prove that poverty was not proportional to population but in inverse ratio thereto. No European community today thinks of reducing its birth-rate. Many of them are seriously perturbed about the phenomenal fall that has occurred in it. Italy, Germany and France are considering methods to send up their population. "The trivial doctrine of Malthus," writes Spengler in his *Hour of Decision*, "is based on the idiotic idea that economic crises can be surmounted by an atrophied population." So little danger is there of population outstripping means of subsistence, that we have yet to hear of any country in Europe turning from industry to agriculture, as is bound to happen if there were a serious threat of food-shortage. On the contrary, Russia is industrialising and Central Europe shows to less degree the same tendencies. More astonishing still in America, North and South, crops are grown to be destroyed, fish is hurled back into the sea, and, the world over, production is governed not by the economics of use but by the economics of profit. The "Encyclopaedia Britannica" gives the clue to the Eastward trend of Birth Control interests when, after remarking that imperialism and industrialism have rendered Malthus obsolete, it asserts that in the East "the Malthusian principle still seems to reign supreme." Because Europe and America have a declining birth-rate, India and China must also have the same. The obvious method of raising the standard of living which means nothing more, or less, than the scale of living which the average individual considers preferable to marriage, is inconsistent with imperialism. Therefore, birth control methods, which as we will show later, are futile in checking population.

India is supposed to present all the dangers of over-population because the introduction of European medicine has checked disease—one of Nature's ways of adjusting population. In strong conflict to this is the birth-controller's contention that he seeks to check high infant mortality by his methods. This seems to be based on the fallacy that a high birth-rate is the cause of a high death-rate. While Doubleday holds the reverse is the case, Mayo-Smith maintains that there is no connection between the two. But that not enough is being done for the public health of this country cannot be denied. One turns with despair from the record of excellent welfare service and child care in other parts of the Empire to India in George Allen and Unwin's handy reference volume, "The Empire Social Hygiene Year-Book." In the 1935 publication we find the following, "The recent financial crisis has caused a serious set-back. In one Province the post of Director of Public Health was actually held in abeyance for two years and the duties of the post were entrusted to the Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals.....The provision of hospitals in India and dispensaries is as good as can be expected, considering the financial condition of the country, but public health is still in a rudimentary condition except in the larger towns and cities. There is an obvious need for awakening the public health conscience of India. Great differences exist in the policies of the various provinces now that they are independent of central control. Those who are in charge of public health in India have the superhuman task of maintaining the health of people who are undernourished." After this indictment the Year-Book concludes with the astounding remark that the people are undernourished because the production of the necessities of life is not increasing in the same proportion as the population. This is creating a confusion between shortage of food and shortage



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of money. Any student of Indian economics will know that the area under cultivation for food-stuffs is proportionately less today to the land cultivated for, say, cotton than it was fifty years ago. Nothing has been done, so far as we know, to reclaim a proportion of the cotton lands for food production. On the other hand, cotton cultivation is receiving so much attention that food crops are being relegated to inferior soil. Again Dr. Hutton who urged that a society which encouraged "Baby-Week Shows" should also preach birth control, has suggested in his Census Report for 1931 that the pressure on land be relieved by rapid industrialisation. The remarks of the writer in the Empire Year Book are a tacit admission that the State has failed in grappling with the first problems of Indian life. Those who smugly urge India's financial soundness on the ground that her credit is high, will do well to ponder over the admission in the paragraph quoted above that the hospital provision in the country is "as good as can be expected considering the financial condition of the country." It is the height of irony that Mrs. Margaret Sanger should come to a people whose main problem is providing food for undernourished men and women and tell them, as she did in a radio talk last Saturday, that birth control was going to solve the problems of national life and enable India to work out her great role in "influencing the spiritual development of the nations of the world." We should be glad if Western visitors would refrain from a cheap method of gaining popularity in this country. Mrs. Sanger, if she really means what she says, must be a very recent convert. For she wrote in 1929 ("Sex in Civilisation" page 537): "The changing attitude towards contraception...is one of the eloquent indices of the triumph of the new scientific morality. It indicates the laying of a solid foundation for the civilisation of the future. This, I venture to prophesy, will differ from the so-called civilization of the East which has erected its structure on the ugly basis of human slavery and misery. It will be a civilisation of a healthy and happy wordliness."

It has been claimed that birth control has been an effective factor in reducing the European birth-rate. But, to take one instance, the process by which England came to her low birth-rate is interesting and should be instructive to supporters of the movement. It is only necessary to state here that the transformation of a self-reliant community into a parasitic one almost invariably synchronises with the fall in its birth-rate. The proof of this statement exists in three dates in the history of British Imperialism: The year 1857, when the Government of India passing into the hands of the English State instead of an English Company opened up a great field for exploitation to the people; the year 1869, the opening of the Suez Canal and the quick route to India and the East; and the year 1871 from which date Birth Control workers calculate their influence towards family limitation. But the English birth-rate was falling even before 1871. Other factors include the growth of democracy which quickens and extends the desire to rise in the social scale, and the progress of "civilisation" with the creation of fresh needs and desires, higher expenditure, and the consequent postponement of marriage. But the main reason lies in the reduced fertility during the last fifty years owing to the existence of an artificially high standard of living. The case of Russia conclusively proves that before you preach birth control or restriction the people must feel the desire to have small families. What succeeded in Europe because of the aversion to have babies—the remarkable fall in the number of illegitimate births should alone prove this and

we were surprised to hear from Mrs. Sanger's radio talk her emphasis on birth control being restricted to married people—failed in Russia because there the people want to have children. The Russian woman, writes Spengler, will make good in ten years what Russia sacrificed in the Revolution. Romanoff remarks that the proletariat were distinguishable from the educated because the first had a preponderance of children and the latter of dogs. The East which centres its whole social and religious fabric round the family unlike the individualistic Englishman, resembles the Russian proletariat (or Oriental Russian) rather than the educated (or Westernised) Russian, in this matter.

The claim of Birth Control propagandists that the advocacy of their methods has had any serious influence on the birth rate, as well as the fear of their opponents that those methods would result in race suicide, is much exaggerated. The following extract from Dr. George R. Scott's "The Truth about Birth Control" goes a long way to demonstrate it:—"The Fabian Society sent out a questionnaire. Of the 316 persons from whom replies were received 242 were adopting restrictive measures and 74 were letting things take their course. The average number of children per family was, of the first class 2.7, and of the second 2.88. A similar inquiry undertaken by the National Birth Rate Commission elicited 477 replies, of which 287 used restrictive methods. In this case the average number of children in the restricted families was 2.4, and where no restrictive measures were adopted 1.6. The third inquiry was conducted by Lady Willoughby de Broke, and here the averages were 3 1/8 and 2 1/2 respectively. Now the significant point in connection with these inquiries is that in two of them, where contraceptive measures were employed, the average number of children resulting was in excess of the average where no such methods were used." It might be urged that the groups among whom the inquiries were made, were peculiar. In the case of Russia where Birth Control propaganda has not only failed in checking population but has even resulted in sending it up, it is argued that there is really no such propaganda! Fannina Halle, however, confidently asserts that not only is birth control propaganda allowed, it is encouraged by the State. Dr. Scott's remarks on Holland will prove unanswerable. He writes, "The case of Holland is even more significant. It is extremely unlikely that there is any country in the world where birth control is more widely practised than in Holland. It has the distinction of having the first privately instituted birth control clinic, established as long ago as 1885, when, in any other country in the world, it is probable that any such step would have led to the instigator being clapped into jail. There are clinics in all the cities and they are controlled by the Dutch Neo-Malthusian League, which is recognized by the Government and was granted a Royal Charter of Public Utility in 1895. So much for the position of birth control in Holland. Naturally one would expect Holland's birth-rate, if what the Malthusians and the anti-birth controllers say were true, to be the lowest in Europe, certainly lower than that of England where the practice of contraception is still surreptitious, than that of France where it is a criminal offence. But what is the truth? To the everlasting and eternal confounding of the arguments of Malthusians and anti-contraceptionists both, the truth is that Holland's birth-rate stands at 2.38 higher considerably than that of England, of France, of Germany, of the U.S.A." The reason for this seems obvious. Apart from the fact that no cent per cent contraceptive has been discovered,



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apart from the inevitability of human error involved in any man-made apparatus, there is the impossibility of men observing systematically every detail day after day for years on end. It is surprising that birth-controllers who have been realists enough to confront their self-restraint opposers with the case of the man who had intercourse three times during a married life of six years and three children resulted, should fail in advancing birth control as a population check to contemplate the certainty, human nature being what it is, of contraceptive users neglecting precautions three times in six years with the same result.

INDIANS IN EAST AFRICA.

India's connection with Africa is of ancient duration. "Eastern Africa," wrote David Livingstone in his book on the Zambesi, "has been occupied from the most remote times by traders from India and the Red Sea." The connection has continued up to the present day. Writing in 1859 General Rigby British Consul said:—"Zanzibar is rapidly becoming the chief emporium of trade on the East Coast, and it all passes through the hands of British subjects. Nearly all the shops here are kept by Banians and Borahs; this is now the chief mart for supplying all the world with cloves, ivory and gum-coral, and there is a great and increasing trade in gums, hides, oil-seeds, sandalwood, dyes, cowries of which many shiploads are taken to the West Coast, and exchanged for palm-oil. Hostilities here would ruin all this, and impede civilization half a century. The Zanzibar dominions extend for 1,100 miles along the coast; they would break up into a number of petty states, and there would be no check on the slave trade." The following passages taken from the General's memorandum referring to Indians in Zanzibar, will be read with interest:—"The number of natives of India residing in the Zanzibar territories is between five and six thousand, and is annually increasing. They consist chiefly of Banians from Kutch and Jamnuggar, and of Khojas and Bhorhas—Mahomedan sects from Kutch, Surat and Bombay. Nearly all the shops in the Zanzibar bazaars are kept by these people, and almost all the foreign trade of the port passes through their hands. They are gradually acquiring all the wealth and property of the island and the Arabs, from their indolence, and want of honesty and fair dealing, are becoming impoverished. Banians are established in considerable numbers at all the towns and villages on the opposite coast of the mainland, also at Mozambique, Ebou and other Portuguese settlements. The Khojas and Bhorhas have settlements on the west coast of Madagascar, and at the French colonies of Nossi Beh and Mayotta. The Banians never bring their families or females from India, and always look forward to a return to their country after having acquired a competence, but the Khojas and Borahs bring their wives and children, and become permanent settlers. They are a very thrifty, industrious people. A new quarter of the town, entirely inhabited by these Indian Mohammedans, has recently sprung up, and is rapidly increasing; each bungalow from Kutch usually brings a number of Khoja families as settlers. There is not a single Armenian or Jew residing at Zanzibar, and only about a dozen Persians. Several shops have recently been established by Portuguese from whom there is one Parsee, who unites the office of doctor, tin-worker and guildler." The knowledge of the history of the African Continent, is useful and, indeed, necessary to Indian problems in East Africa and part from that, it is obvious that the continent of Africa will add immensely to the

economic resources and solidarity of the world and it is the right no less than the duty of India to make her contribution to it.

Livingstone found that, contrary to the general belief in Europe in his day, the Africans had their own civilization and were industrious and peaceful with a few exceptions. The institution of slavery which has become so closely associated with Africa, was first instituted by the Arabs. But the slaves of the Arabs were domestic slaves and were treated with kindness. "There can be little doubt," writes Mrs. Russell in the *Life* of her father, General Rigby, "that the Slave Trade which stained the world with almost incredible iniquity for less than a hundred years ago, and left the very foulest blot on the history of the nineteenth century, was almost wholly due, at least in its worst aspects, to European impact on the unhappy races of Africa. What does not America, what does not Europe, with all the material advances due to its colonies, its imports and the industries dependent on them, owe to the agonies of the black man without whose labour so much that we white races reckon as civilization would never have been? Never in all History has there been cruelty on a vaster scale, never a more ghastly callousness to human suffering, never greater wastefulness of human life which we regard as the most valuable of all earth's products, than during the years of which the European races, when their thoughts, as almost invariably, are turned only on themselves and their "Progress", are so proud." Mrs. Russell cites by way of illustration the testimony of Livingstone who, during his first visit to the Manganga country, found the whole population engaged in the cultivation and working up of cotton. He had never seen, he said, such wonderful cotton country or such fertile land in his life. But a year or two afterwards he found this same country entirely depopulated and all the huts full of dead bodies. Country he found so thickly populated in 1859 that there were villages every two miles or less, was so changed that, revisited in 1861, he had to cross a tract of 130 miles without meeting a human being. The Portuguese were easily pre-eminent as the worst and most cruel of slave holders. The British Consul at Mozambique in a book which he published in 1860 wrote: "They (the Portuguese) display a refinement of cruelty which I am not aware exists in any other slave-holding communities... The son is made to flog his mother and his sister, the father flogs his daughters and also the woman who bore them for him—all at the command of their owner, who can do with them what he pleases. Women are made to flog—and that under circumstances too revolting to be told." Next to the Portuguese the French were the worst sinners, although the first anti-slavery laws were promulgated at the time of the French Revolution. Persia and Arabia come next in the list. The United States was a great delinquent. During eight months in 1861, thirteen out of seventeen vessels known to have escaped the Vigilance of their Navy with 12,000 slaves, carried American colours. Great Britain notwithstanding her legal prohibition was for long deeply implicated in the nefarious traffic. By 1865-67 Englishmen had erected large factories in Africa and planted estates with sugar cane, and all their workers were slaves. Indians too had a hand in the trade; during 1859-61, 25,000 Negro slaves are said to have been imported into Kathiawar and Cutch. The Rev. S. Waller, writing in 1890, said that the ferocious Arab half-caste who haunted central Africa was perfectly justified in stating to all who would listen to him that the English were only too glad to use slaves when they can. Stanley writing in the *Morning Post* in 1893,

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estimated that 20,000 porters per month left the East Coast for the interior, employed by the British, German and Congo State administrations, the Roman Catholic Mission, the London and other religious missions, the Arabs with their caravans, European traders, Government Agents, agriculturists, tea and coffee planters, hunters and tourists. They were mostly slaves.

CHINESE RECONSTRUCTION AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Among the members of the League of Nations, China occupies a special position. She has suffered most from the political ineffectiveness of the League. In the affair of Manchukuo, all that Geneva agitation achieved was to create a feeling in Chinese minds that international opinion would not tolerate Japanese aggression against her. But Chinese nationalism soon realised it was depending on a forlorn hope. The British Ambassador at Addis Ababa, no doubt, applied the lesson of Manchukuo when he advised the Ethiopian Emperor to make peace directly with Italy instead of troubling the placid waters of Geneva. On the other hand, China has benefitted most from the social, economic, cultural and humanitarian activities of the League. The principle of disinterested international help contemplated by the League in the case of industrially backward countries has been worked to the fullest in China. It is not surprising, therefore, that M. Haas, Director of the Transit Section and Secretary of the League Committee on technical co-operation with China, should have found during his investigations in China (January-May 1935) that Chinese public opinion today gives priority to national reconstruction and economic and technical revival in contrast to the emphasis in 1923 on international status as a fully sovereign state. As a representative of the League, M. Haas went to China to inquire into the present conditions and immediate prospects of technical co-operation between the League and the Chinese Government as well as organisations engaged in the work of reconstruction. In view of the failure of the League to do anything to preserve the integrity of Chinese territory, it would have been futile and farcical for Chinese leaders to have urged the maintenance of her full sovereign status in discussions with him. It might moreover have proved exceedingly embarrassing to M. Haas. There was, on the other hand, much to be gained in concentrating on questions relating to internal administration. It was both courteous and practical of the Chinese leaders who met M. Haas to have avoided the international and stressed the economic problems of modern China.

M. Haas' report on his mission is now available to us and it is of great interest to Indians as a contrast to the manner in which we have received training in Western technique. The growth of European influence in China has been gradual. As Mr. H. N. Brailsford remarked in an article in *The Aryan Path* Westernisation is growing in China along with national needs. Therefore, M. Haas is able to assert that in almost all branches of national reconstruction, in spite of the economic crises, unremitting efforts are being made, sometimes in the face of political difficulties and uncertainties. "It is not enough," writes M. Haas, "to describe the work in progress and the results obtained. An account ought also to be given of the encouraging state of mind of the collaborators of the Central Government associated in reconstruction work; not of all certainly but of many, and no doubt a growing number, of specialists, of modest experts; witness should be borne to their zeal—a zeal devoid of illusions, but nevertheless confident—and to their perseverance in acquiring the

necessary competence. The value of their services is not always sufficiently appreciated outside China or even in their own country. Below the leaders and often far removed from them there is no lack of collaborators who are ardently devoted to the work of reconstruction. To an increasing extent in every technical sphere and doubtless in nearly every part of the country, young men are to be found who are working modestly, courageously, silently, aware of the obstacles and methodically attacking them." In the field of industrialisation, M. Haas observes that room is found for local arts and crafts. The methods of constructing, maintaining and financing a system of roads, the rules for irrigation and for the development of public health in rural areas are adjusted to the needs, habits and social structure of the communities affected. Hence the average Chinese, peasant or proletarian, has no aversion to progress in itself.

M. Haas describes the structure of the economic organisation in modern China. The main development stressed in all the provinces is road and rail construction and hydraulic works and the Central Government, too, attaches much value to this section. The National Economic Council serves as a link between the various Ministries, between public and private reconstruction organisations, and between the various reconstruction departments in the provinces and the Central Government. It was organised in 1931 when the Chinese Government invited League co-operation in its work of modernisation. The Economic Council devotes its attention to road communications, hydraulic works, public health and rural economy. Public health workers are under a system of centralisation and the outstanding success achieved in this department has been largely the result of this co-ordination. The co-operative movement in China has outgrown the hopes of its promoters and steps are likely to be taken for the early establishment of a centre for training and directing workers in this field.

A deliberate effort is being made by the Health Service to train and build up units of specialists, doctors, sanitary engineers, nurses and midwives, for work in the rural areas. "It has been forced to depart," writes M. Haas, "from the practice generally followed in Western countries and, in view of the inability of the majority of the population to pay for attendance and medicine, it has had to adopt the bold conception of the medical profession as a public service." Similar co-ordination does not exist in the other activities of the National Economic Council, the need for provincial initiative in them being apparently considered to compensate for the lack of central control. The wisdom of the Chinese decision to centralise public health has a lesson for Indians, if they need one after the breakdown of the system under provincial control. M. Haas' report is not so much an assessment of work already done as an estimate of the vast potentialities and the ability of the Chinese people to develop their own resources. As such it is most encouraging. "Public opinion," he says, "is already more critical of inertia or timidity than of boldness, of insufficient than of excessive initiative." The nature of co-operation sought for from the League and obtained, is assistance in training the Chinese technical staff and in increasing its efficiency, and in gaining access to the experience of other countries.

It is of interest to see how the Chinese who were rightly distrustful of foreign influence, came to invite League assistance. It would not be far wrong to trace this new trend to the influence of Japanese example. In the Manchukuo affair, China was made

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to feel the uselessness of her being in the right in the face of her disunity and economic backwardness. The argument that Japanese conquest alone could help her industrial progress, necessitated her putting her own house in order. For the same reason which led Abyssinia to invite League co-operation in the face of Italian aggression, China had to take Geneva into her confidence as far as her industrial programme was concerned. Moreover the League method was the only alternative to domination by one or other of the imperial powers that were awaiting their opportunity in China. M. Haas is apparently under the impression that for a long time to come the League will play a part in Chinese reconstruction and even that the scope of its activities will extend. We do not think so. Such a development will inevitably mean the breakdown of the League in a sphere where it is today very successful. Its greatest achievement will be when China has grown out of the need of continuous assistance from Geneva.

THE EVILS OF ECONOMIC NATIONALISM.

The Economic Committee of the League, in a report entitled "Remarks on the Present Phase of International Economic Relations," paints in strong colours the evils that flow from economic nationalism. "Thanks to our cheap and rapid means of communication," the report points out, "the nations are now so close to one another that, in terms of time and cost of transport, the whole of present-day Europe is no larger than the Switzerland of yesterday."

"These are the real dimensions of the economic territory in which we are living, and, when we think of the obstacles of all kinds at present impeding traffic within this limited space, we no longer feel any inclination to smile at the memory of an Italy divided in the days of Mazzini into seven or eight different Customs territories or a Germany scarred, in the time of Goethe, by thirty-nine Customs frontiers."

"The world would be much nearer the restoration of comparative liberty in international trade if everyone were imbued with a conviction of the affinity, one might almost say the blood relationship, existing between our national economy, whatever its form, and what we call external economy."

"If a wall of monetary and commercial prohibitions could spring up by enchantment overnight, between, say, Paris and the Northern Departments, London and Manchester, or Berlin and the Ruhr, a fact of which many people are ignorant or which they refuse to admit, would be suddenly and irresistibly brought home to them."

"In order to make the effects of economic nationalism easier to realise, the report traces the various stages in the impoverishment of the taxpayer that results from economic nationalism. Balancing budgets, it points out, becomes an extraordinarily complicated task so soon as international trade encounters obstacles as serious as those existing at present."

"Amongst the first to suffer from these difficulties are the producers—industrial or agricultural—who work for export. In every modern State, such producers invariably constituted a large element of the population and represent important interests. Now, stagnation need only set in in one sector to be felt throughout the whole national organism. In point of fact, as they lose their foreign custom, exporters cut down their purchases. Textiles buy less from the spinning-mills; the engineering trades buy fewer metallurgical products; agriculturists, smaller amounts of fertilisers and of industrial products. The wave of depression starting at the frontier spreads slowly over the

whole country. First, certain machines come to a standstill, staff is dismissed, a few factories close down, unemployment becomes chronic.

"For the undertakings affected, profits fall, often they dry up altogether. Reserves gradually dwindle to nothing, as it becomes necessary to draw on them."

"For those who have scant or no reserves, it becomes difficult to meet the claims of creditors beset with the same difficulties. Fixed charges—debts, interest on bonds, mortgages, rates and taxes of all kinds, house and farm rent—remain unchanged, but there is a decline in the capacity to meet them. Bankruptcies become more frequent."

"For the budget, there will be two consequences—the weakening of the taxpayers' capacity and the growth of expenditure under the heads of unemployment and other relief necessitated by the economic depression."

The way in which this process operates is traced in some detail in a series of sections entitled, respectively: "Contraction of transport and transport deficits"; "Decay of the tourist traffic"; "Emergency relief to agriculture"; "Shook to the monetary foundations and multiplication of measures of self-defence"; "International financial difficulties create new dangers for the budget." The international economic situation is reflected in the national budgets.

The growth of economic nationalism is traced back to the endeavours in different countries to escape the effects of the economic depression. Production, it is pointed out, is now recovering, but predominantly on a national basis, so that, "while the crisis tends to diminish, the machinery of international trade becomes more and more jammed. Of these two evils, the latter is now the more serious, and calls, accordingly, the more urgently for treatment."

The chief obstacle to breaking down the barriers to international trade is said to be the resistance of private interests.

"In the sphere of commercial policy (apart, of course, from a series of other causes, national or international, monetary or commercial, which may influence or even determine this policy), Governments have to count with the resistance of individuals and groups who, while they are quite ready to talk of the interdependence of peoples, are naturally not concerned with anything but the interests of their own particular branch of production. It is from this necessarily one-sided standpoint that these individuals and groups continually demand the enforcement of the measures the paralysing effect of which on international economic relations has been summarised above."

"For the same reason, the parties concerned see in these measures at the outset only the momentary advantages to their own particular business, while they fail to perceive or disregard the direct or indirect repercussions by which other categories of producers and traders will be primarily affected. The latter will in turn invoke Government help; and there will thus arise in the national sphere between the different classes of producer the very same process of spontaneous generation which has already been observed as between countries in the international sphere."

"It is some time before the collective pressure of all these successive actions makes itself felt. It will continue to make itself felt in proportion as its intensity is increased by the international repercussions (in the monetary, financial, commercial, tourist, railway and budgetary domains) to which reference has been made above."

"In all this (which is no more than the everyday record—the eminently human everyday record—of



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the commercial policy of most countries and which creates considerable difficulties for the negotiators of commercial treaties) there is nothing which can be said to be of decisive importance in periods when international trade is not arrested by insuperable barriers, but in spite of Customs duties pursues its upward way.

"But when a situation develops as serious as the present, where restarting of the international machinery takes precedence of all other needs, it is easy to see the possible consequences of this failure to distinguish clearly between individual interests and national interests. The position calls for the adjustment of a certain number of national policies. That is difficult enough in itself; but it becomes a desperate undertaking if each of these national policies, instead of being based on general principles, takes the form of an inchoate series of separate, and frequently inconsistent, measures. The least that can happen in such a case is that it becomes impossible to see the wood for the trees."

What makes economic nationalism even more intolerable, says the report, is that "in many cases the resumption of industrial activity is, in point of fact, connected directly or indirectly with the manufacture of war material and army reorganisation. It is needless to insist on the dubious and psychologically depressing economic character of such activities."

The report concludes that the situation is now such "as to imply work of the highest importance which Governments alone can carry through and which they cannot delegate to the parties concerned. In many countries this is beginning to be realised, and the fact that this is so is of good augury for the future."

"But, even whilst proceeding with the requisite caution, the Governments must nevertheless realise the fact that a depression so serious as the present one calls for exceptional remedies, and they must accordingly bring home to their public opinion the necessity for accepting certain sacrifices, which will, moreover, assist in creating a sounder national economic system and in preparing the way for recovery."

"For, despite all care and caution, there will always be plenty of people to assert that, if to-morrow the doors were thrown wider open to imports, appalling catastrophes would inevitably occur. If the abolition of quotas were contemplated, there is probably not one branch of producers that would not be prepared to prove to the Government, with figures in support, that such a decision would be bound to result in the ruin of their industry, not to mention increased unemployment and a whole series of other misfortunes which would involve the equally certain ruin of the whole nation. In support of such assertions—of which many would be made in good faith and whose weakness consists chiefly in the fact that they are based on the situation as it is to-day and not on the situation that might arise to-morrow under the influence of a policy of expansion—a whole series of reasons would be adduced, which it would be difficult to resist on account of their honourable character; reasons relating, for instance, to the independence of the country in the event of war, national defence requirements, etc."

"That is why the re-establishment of the essential minimum flow of international trade which alone can arrest the world on the steep slope down which it is slipping to disaster, presupposes nowadays in Governments, especially in creditor countries, a very lofty sense of their responsibility, much firmness and a determination not to allow private interests, however reputable, to paralyse the great work which is indispensable in the interests of the nation."

UNIVERSITY EDUCATION AND NATIONAL LIFE.*

It is just one hundred years since Thomas Babington Macaulay, as the President of the Board of Education, closed a long chapter of controversy about the system of education to be introduced into India, with the recording of his historic Minute which for its unhesitating self-assurance and sweeping generalization, ranks as a remarkable document in polemical literature, and was characteristic of the controversial methods of its author. Amongst other things he said, I shall quote the memorable passage which struck the key-note:—"The question before us is simply whether, when it is in our power to teach this language (English), we shall teach languages in which, by universal experience, there are no books on any subject which deserve to be compared to our own; whether, when we can teach European science, we shall teach systems which, by universal confession, wherever they differ from those of Europe, differ for the worse; and whether, when we can patronize sound philosophy and true history, we shall countenance, at the public expense, medical doctrines which would disgrace an English farrier, astronomy which move laughter in girls at an English boarding-school, history abounding in kings thirty feet high and reigns thirty thousand years long, and geography made of seas of treacle and seas of butter."

None could have clinched the matter (from the European as opposed to Indian stand-point) as could and did Macaulay. Accordingly, on March 7, 1835, just one hundred years back, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, issued the epoch-making Resolution in which it was unequivocally laid down that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India." Well, just a century has elapsed since, and probably hundreds of thousands of Indians have been educated in this fairly long interval according to the system then introduced. About a quarter of a century later, the first three Indian universities were established, which now number six times as many. There can be, therefore, no better way of celebrating the centenary of this tremendous change in the educational history of India than by surveying briefly, in a convocation address, the results of university education in our country, and its influence on our life and activities.

As a matter of fact, the results of University education in India have been carefully examined, from time to time, by highly competent authorities, from different standpoints, and there has been a consensus of opinion that higher education in this country has been, on the whole, a success, and that it has brought in its train wholesome and beneficial results. To confine attention to recent times, Lord Curzon—who was by no means an unqualified admirer of our system of higher education, and who tried to "reform" it according to his lights—speaking (in the closing years of the last century) as Chancellor of the Calcutta University—made the admission that the knowledge imparted by the Universities "had not been shamed by her children." Later, his Government confirmed that view in an elaborate resolution. Another and still more authoritative testimony appeared in 1909, over the name of the then Secretary of State, Lord Morley, (in a "Memorandum on the Results of Indian Administration during last Fifty years") in which it was stated that "with the improvement in education has come a much higher standard of probity and sense of duty, and there has been great improvement in character and attainments in the public services."

* From Lucknow University Convocation Address, November 30, 1935.



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These high official testimonials are conclusive on the point that the results of University education have been conducive to the growth and development of a higher standard of thought and action amongst our educated classes. It goes without saying that its effect on the much larger number of Indians, who have chosen to work in the numerous walks of life, outside the ranks of the public services—in the professions, and in trade and commerce—has been equally beneficial and wholesome. Further, it has brought about that great intellectual ferment which is known as the "Indian Renaissance", but which our unsympathetic critics prefer to call the "Indian Unrest." Lord Morley himself described this great upheaval as "a living movement in the mind of the Indian people for objects which we ourselves have taught them to think desirable."

Later, a distinguished Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab spoke of this "living movement" as follows:—"What is happening in India is not a phase but a new birth, and the proof of it lies in its universal acceptance by all classes of people in that country. This interesting movement is due to a strong desire to rise higher in the scale of nations. 'Why should we lag behind,' is the voice of India from Peshawar to Cape Comorin. And so a new life is new born in India with new thoughts, new aspirations, new standards, new ideals and conceptions of society." The Metropolitan of India, at the time, sketched out the new movement in terms which, I am sure, will appeal to you all:—"One feature of it," he said, "is apparent in educated India—there is life where there was stagnation. The spiritual nature of the Indian thinkers and writers is elevated at the prospect of an awakening East, an 'Indian nation', and a free and an enlightened people. Educated India is tingling with a new life, and though the form taken may be at times crude and even repellent, it is nonetheless life, life, life." It would be easy to multiply equally eloquent declarations, but the latest testimony to the work of our Universities which I may fittingly quote, is that of Lord Lothian, the Chairman of the Indian Franchise Committee.

The Marquess of Lothian, speaking on the India Bill in the House of Lords, said:—"The Indian Universities are teaching the whole mass of Western education, and instructing their students in British constitutional history. They have in them a hundred thousand students, more than twice as many students as are in all the Universities of this country, and practically every one of them is a young nationalist, one and all wanting India to assume the responsibility for its own government." He then went on to ask: "Who are going to be the leaders of India to-morrow?" and he thus answered the question:—"The editors of the newspapers, who are going to be drawn from these students. The people who are going to be elected to the legislature are the people, in large measure, who have had this kind of education. It is the University students who will also find their way into the Civil Service. The leaders of the great Indian Bar will be the products of the Indian Universities. Again, Indian business is being increasingly manned by people who have had a University education. The India which is going to be led by these hundred thousand students, mostly nationalist, will be an entirely different India from that which we have read about in history."

Surely, you could not have more generous appreciations of your work and worth than those embodied in the eloquent passages I have read out to you. It is thus clear that while, like all human institutions, our higher educational system is not perfect, yet it has already rendered good and great service to the cause of Indian progress. I maintain that much of the denunciation of it—even when it is not interested

—is wholly unwarranted, if not irresponsible, as evidenced by the declarations I have quoted from eminent authorities. We may thus safely adopt, and adapt to our purpose, the language of John Morley, (in his famous essay on *Compromise*), that if "every age is in some sort an age of transition, our own is characteristically and cardinally an epoch of transition in the very foundations of belief and conduct." That such a momentous epoch in transition, such mental upheaval and intellectual ferment, should be inevitably accompanied by occasional extravagance, or impatience, on the part of some young people, is not at all surprising. But I assert that the great Indian Renaissance, which is changing, with an almost kaleidoscopic rapidity the perspective, outlook and standpoint of the educated Indians, is a stern reality, which has got to be reckoned with by all concerned.

I need scarcely tell you that my object, in drawing your attention to these authoritative testimonies to the almost phenomenal success of higher education in this country, is that as educated persons you should always bear in mind your great responsibilities in all that you say and do. You cannot, therefore, be too careful not to play into the hands of your captious critics, and I hope that in all your activities you will steadily keep your great responsibilities in mind, so as not to give them a chance to hold up your class, and the system of higher education itself, to opprobrium.

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA.

PROBLEMS OF EDUCATION IN INDIA. *

Without in any degree underestimating the value in our national life of cultural pursuits or without intending to cast the slightest slur upon our universities, I am anxious that the whole problem of education should now be viewed from a different angle. To put it briefly my submission is that the problem of education must now be viewed along with and as connected with the problem of employment. This does not, by any means, mean or imply that we must close our universities or curtail their activities. It does, however, imply that we shall so readjust our entire system of education as to afford, on the one hand, every possible opportunity to those of our boys for receiving university education in arts or sciences who are likely to benefit by it and it also implies that we shall not allow wastage of intellect and opportunity in the case of those who are not likely to benefit at all by academic education at universities or other higher seats of learning. For the latter class we must provide suitable education, vocational or industrial or some other kind, which may enable them to acquire the faculty of doing things at an early stage of their life and earn a decent living. We must give a new bias to education in its early stages.

It seems to me that essence of the whole problem lies in reforming education at the bottom, i. e., in reorganizing (1) our primary education so as to bring it more into harmony with rural conditions and (2) secondary education so as to make it self-sufficient and not subservient, as it is at present, merely to university education. It must mark, in my opinion, a definite stage in the career of a boy so that if he wishes to start in any career, for which he has received the proper training he should be able to do so at the end of his secondary education. No doubt we shall have to provide a suitable kind of secondary education for those who propose to join universities either merely for cultural purpose or to qualify themselves for certain higher branches of public

* Patna University Convocation Address.

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services or certain learned professions. It is only thus that in my humble judgment you can secure on the one hand the true interests of culture and on the other the material interests of a large number of our boys. At the present moment I fear the progress of the really intellectual and culturally-minded boys is impeded by their being associated at the universities with others who act as a drag on their progress. It is only when you have made some suitable provision for the latter class of boys that you will enable the former to render that service to knowledge and culture which will enable India to claim a position of honourable equality among those nations of the world which are making daily contributions to the development of science, philosophy and culture. Further, this will also permit universities to raise their standards still higher. At the present moment I am afraid we talk somewhat loosely of higher education in connection with our universities. It is true that we produce every year men who achieve distinction at certain competitive examinations both in India and in England, it is also true that these men have raised the level of public conduct in our services, nor do I forget that some of these men who join learned professions achieve distinction, but when I think of universities as they are at present I do not think of the limited number of good men they produce but of the very large number of, I shall not say second class but, third class men with very indifferent intellectual equipment, with scarcely developed cultural tastes and with no clear ideas about many things. At the present moment I am afraid it is only too true to say of a large number of our young men—and I say so with profuse apologies to those of my friends who are always insistent upon the claims of culture at the universities—that a university degree is sought after merely as a passport for Government jobs and not out of unadulterated love for knowledge and culture. In the interest of the universities themselves I am anxious that they should be rescued from this degrading influence. Once you have done that there will not be that mass production of graduates which brings no credit to the universities on their cultural side but which is making life more and more difficult for those unfortunate victims of a system which may do good to some but which does, in my humble opinion, no good to the vast majority. My conviction is that we cannot allow to tinker with this problem and leave things to drift for themselves. We must have a definite policy with regard not merely to university education but also with regard to educational institutions at the bottom. I am old enough to remember the bitter and long drawn out controversy which arose out of Lord Curzon's attempt to reform university education. Thirty years later when the whole subject of education has passed into our hands and will pass in still greater abundance under the new constitution, it is possible for us to express a regret that Lord Curzon's great intellect and driving force were not directed at that time towards reforming secondary education or giving a proper start to primary education. If that had been done it seems to me that much of the acuteness of the evils of the present system might have been prevented in good time. But now that we are going to be responsible for educating our own people I think there is no reason why we should not approach the whole problem boldly and courageously with definite and clear ideas as to the future. I am anxious to prevent misunderstandings.

As I have said before I do not wish to discourage university education or curtail the beneficent activities of our universities. I would much rather concentrate for the next few years on a reorganization of our school education. As regards the universities themselves I suggest that the time has come

when each university—and it must be remembered that our resources are not so ample as those of western countries—should select for itself certain subjects of study on which it would lay special emphasis so that special value might attach to its alumni in those subjects. I am afraid as a layman I have no business to go further into this matter, but perhaps you will permit me to say that in the earlier stages of our boys' education I would much rather that their power of observation was developed, that their general knowledge of things around them and beyond them was of a higher character than that their mind should be fed merely on certain text-books and that we should continue to attach so much artificial value to examinations and the result of examinations.

One danger that I foresee under the new constitution is that education being a provincial subject our universities and our entire educational system in each province may tend from a national point of view to become far too provincial or parochial. I sincerely hope and trust that without in the slightest degree interfering with the autonomy of the provinces it may be possible to devise some machinery for the interchange of ideas between province and province and to secure some co-ordination and prevent unhealthy competition.

TAJ BAHADUR SAPRU.

THE TURKISH CONSTITUTION.*

The Turkish constitution is exceedingly democratic. The sole lawful representative of the nation is the Grand National Assembly, which is elected by all citizens over eighteen. Men and women over thirty are eligible for election, but an exception is made in the case of army officers—a provision designed to prevent a military group from dominating the Assembly. The Assembly exercises the legislative power directly, while its executive authority is represented by the President of the Republic, whom it elects every four years. The President appoints the Prime Minister, who in turn chooses the cabinet from among the members of the Assembly. The President has only a suspensive veto, which does not apply, however, to constitutional amendments or budget legislation. Other articles of the constitution recognise the rights of private property, while its whole tenor reveals its contrast with neighbouring Bolshevik ideals. In principle, the sovereignty of the National Assembly is thus a constitutional fact.

In practice, however, Turkey has a dictatorial form of government resembling in many ways the Fascist regime in Italy. It operates through the People's Party, whose outstanding political principle is a one-party system with aggressive leadership. The fact that the army is obedient and loyal to Kamal Ataturk, President of the Republic and leader of the party, enforces dictatorial rule, although many observers hold that Ataturk himself desires to secure the eventual functioning of democratic institutions. The People's Party evolved from the Association for the Defense of the Rights of Anatolia and Roumelia, a political organisation whose guiding ideals of defense of Turkey against imperialistic aggression, abolition of the despotic Sultanate, and establishment of a national, homogeneous state were incorporated in the National Pact. Founded in August 1923, the People's Party officially became "the Republican Party of the People" in 1924, and remains the only political party in Turkey today. Ataturk's attempts in 1925 and again in 1930 to form an opposition party for the purpose of promoting healthy criticism and furthering the political education of the people along true

* Foreign Policy Report.

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democratic lines, proved abortive because the political training of the people was not sufficiently advanced for representative government. The political history of the last twelve years has been one of liberal moves, subsequent abuse of the new liberties, followed by a return to a form of "benevolent despotism." At present, Atatürk has a firm grip on the helm and permits no opposition to the course he has charted.

Atatürk directs the People's Party not only by means of his control over the army, but also by his personal popularity among the people. The party's programme and the deputies nominated for the Grand National Assembly must have his approval. Almost all government officials and influential men and women are party members, and since all legislation is initiated and voted upon in caucus of the party, the Assembly becomes merely a debating body. Congresses are held every four years, at which time future policies are determined. In addition to Kamal Atatürk, three other men exert influence within the party: General Ismet Inönü, the Prime Minister; General Kazim Özalp, former president of the Assembly but present Minister of National Defense; and Recep Peker, secretary-general of the party.

ZENANA MISSION WORK IN INDIA.

The announcement was made that negotiations had reached practically a final stage for the amalgamation of two great humanitarian bodies the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society and the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission. If the scheme goes through the latter Society will be absorbed in the former, which will retain its present constitution intact.

The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society has now been established in India as an individual body for over 55 years. Actually, however, it owes its existence to the founding in 1852 of the Calcutta Normal School for the training of teachers, out of which the "Indian Female Normal School and Instruction Society" was evolved. Its aim was "to reach every woman in India," and it was interdenominational in character.

The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society today conducts 149 Primary, Middle and High Schools with 14,200 pupils, and four normal schools with 60 pupils. It has 8 special schools for the deaf and 3 for the blind with over 650 pupils in them; 10 industrial schools and 12 orphanages with over 300 children. In addition, there are 11,800 Zenana pupils. Six of these schools are boarding establishments. The High Schools, largely used by non-Christian girls, are at Madras, Peshawar and Bhagalpur.

The Society has all along paid particular attention to the medical field and now possesses 21 hospitals and 30 dispensaries, with 11 qualified medical women, 17 Indian medical assistants, 19 nursing sisters and 264 other medical workers.

The Zenana Bible and Medical Mission, which was also founded in 1852, works solely amongst women and children in India. It has 32 schools with 8,483 scholars; 8 women's hospitals and 8 dispensaries, with 204 beds, over 5,000 in-patients and 28,000 out-patients. The attendance at hospitals and dispensaries numbered 96,000 last year.

It also conducts training institutions for orphans; girls, converts and the blind; and Homes for babies. Owing to financial considerations, considerable reductions had to be made both in salaries of Indian and English workers and in grants to the stations.

It is understood that the scheme of amalgamation now awaits the approval of the Charity Commissioners, after which a meeting will be held, and the amalgamation carried out if approved finally by the Church of England Zenana Missionary Society. —Times of India.

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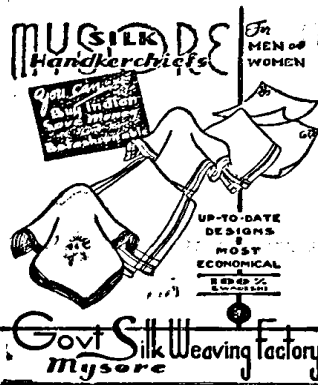
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Training for Social Service:—Some days ago we received the prospectus of a scheme formulated by the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat of Bangalore for village work by graduates. Recently His Highness the Yuvaraj of Mysore, who is President of the Parishat, commended the Itinerant Lectures Scheme, as it is called, to public support in the State. Eight young men are to be selected, in the first instance, and given a stipend of about Rs. 30 a month to visit villages, and to instruct the people in rural sanitation, personal and domestic hygiene, civic responsibility, history of the State and India, elements of science and economics, social questions such as the position of women, child marriages and the harijans, and also topics of wider interest like the League of Nations' activities. The lectures are to be combined with readings and recitations from the Indian classics and interspersed with musical entertainments. In fact, the old institution of religious bards is to be remodelled to suit present-day conditions. The scheme is well conceived but its success will depend wholly on the selection of the right type of men. A more ambitious scheme for training social workers is represented by the Sir Dorabji Tata School of Social Work, Bombay, the first bulletin of which is before us. Dr. Clifford Manshardt, whose work at Nagpada Neighbourhood House is well-known, is Director and Professor of Social Economy. With him are associated Dr. J. M. Kumarappa and Dr. T. Altman of Munich as Professor and Instructor in Sociology. Professor Arthur E. Holt of Chicago University will be Visiting Professor for the academic year, 1936-37. The course will be for two years and only graduates of recognised universities will be admitted. Intending students are warned that being a graduate in itself is not sufficient qualification; they should have a keen interest in and adaptability for social work. The School is open to both men and women. Ten scholar-

ships of the annual value of Rs. 250 each will be available for deserving students. The course covers all main and subsidiary subjects likely to be useful to the social worker. We welcome this pioneer institution. Two observations occur to us. Social work of the American type is highly specialised. A reader kindly sent us a few days ago a Report by Dr. Stuart Carter Dodd, entitled "A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria" published by the University of Beirut. We were struck by the thoroughness and intensity with which every detail was worked out but we also felt that there was too much tendency to standardise. Now, standardising is an excellent thing; it facilitates regularity and the production and supply of "spare parts" but the human touch so essential in social work is apt to fall into the background in the process. We recently quoted from the *New Republic* how trained social workers, when taken on the Relief Administration, failed to make good as executives. The experience of Dr. Manshardt and Dr. Kumarappa will, we are sure, take care that the training in the school gives full scope for the development of sympathy for the objects of social service. The social worker must start with the assumption that the established social institutions fulfil some useful purpose and, as far as possible, his endeavour should be to utilise them in working for improvement. This we think, will be the most difficult part of the training in the School. But if the trained worker starts with the idea that the people's beliefs are all superstitions and the old customs all absurd, he will be able to accomplish much less than he can with an open mind.

Bhopal's Convocation Address:—The Nawab of Bhopal speaking at the Annual Convocation of Allahabad University referred to the junction between the Jumna and the Ganges as symbolical of the confluence between Hindu and Islamic culture. But there is a third, though hidden, stream which lends sanctity to Prayag—the Sarasvati. Even so our modern educational problem involves three, not two, factors. The third is European culture, which will not be left out. The fusion of cultures in our Universities, can not be accomplished except through the medium of modern culture. The point is important. The failure to recognise it vitiates many schemes of Indian progress. For instance, the position which the English language has attained as a



lingua franca is not, when this third factor in Indian evolution is taken into account, in the least derogatory to Indian nationalism. English today is not a foreign language. It is the second language which educated men and women use in political and civil life. No Indian language was found suitable for the purpose. The idea of political and civil freedom was almost alien to them all. English has been the great emancipating influence in Indian life and we do not see anything strange in our using that language in our intercourse with people of other linguistic areas and the world outside. It is obvious even to casual observers that the measure of freedom and the appreciation of it is larger in areas where the knowledge of English is more extended than elsewhere. The difference is especially marked in the position of women in social and public life. It is to the spirit of freedom learnt through the English language and literature that we owe our reform movements. English is not the exclusive property of the Great Britain. There are at least three nations which speak it as their mother tongue outside the British Isles. One of them is now Britain's equal in sea power and her superior in money power. The Asiatic nations with which India has most affinities have made the study of English compulsory in their schools. India's position in international life is alongside of the English-speaking nations. The movement to discard English is a retrograde movement from the national point of view and it has already caused much confusion of thought and deviations from the straight line of national progress.

The Italo-Ethiopian War.—The League of Nations, through its Committees of five and eighteen, has been laboriously working out the details of the sanctions which it has agreed to apply to Italy as the aggressor in the present war. During all this time, France and England have been pursuing a parallel course of devising a settlement which, if accepted by the League, Signor Mussolini and the Ethiopian Emperor would end the war. The two Governments have made out a plan, which is satisfactory to themselves, and have sent it to Rome and Addis Ababa. At the time of writing, it is announced that Ethiopian Emperor has definitely rejected it. He has declared that under no circumstances would he cede any territory to Italy which the League of Nations had declared to be the aggressor and he can not believe that the League would accept it either. News from Geneva is to the effect that the smaller nations are taken aback by Britain and France making proposals of settlement so wholly opposed to the position the League had adopted towards Italy with their concurrence and under their guidance. If, as is stated, Signor Mussolini agree to the Franco-British proposals, even if the League disapproves of them, Britain and France will have to decline to take further part in the application of sanctions and may even support Italy in enforcing compliance with their scheme of settlement.

This can only be regarded as the betrayal of Ethiopia after having led her on to believe that the League was going to stand by her. We trust that the Indian delegation to the League of Nations would make it clear that India does not approve of the settlement involving cession of territory to Italy and the acceptance by Ethiopia of the position of a vassal state in relation to her violator. But whether the Indian delegation is free to do so or not, Indian public opinion must express itself in a way which can not be mistaken, that it totally disapproves of this inequitable and odious treatment of Ethiopia.

The Egyptian Crisis.—Writing in the *Reformer* (November 23) on the trouble in Egypt, we observed that the anti-British demonstrations at that time were not portended by previous information of the causes leading to them. Since then the reason has become plain. The late Secretary of State for India, Sir Samuel Hoare who is now British Foreign Secretary, is obsessed by the idea that he has simply to give orders and the world has to obey. We in India have not forgotten his insolent declaration, 'the dogs bark but the caravan goes on.' In the same spirit he went out of his way at a speech at the Lord Mayor's Banquet in London to declare that he would devise a new constitution for Egypt on the lines, we presume, of his Government of India Act, as the Constitution of 1923 which remained suspended was not satisfactory. This roused political minded Egypt to indignation. The so-called students' demonstrations reported by Reuter were really the expression of Egyptian indignation. The Italo-Abyssinian War had actually brought Egyptian sentiment nearer to the British but the Foreign Secretary's indiscretion effectively dissipated the growing friendliness. In the House of Commons Sir Samuel tried to wriggle out of his false step but refused to withdraw his declaration. He has since, it is announced, gone for a rest in Switzerland on medical advice but he declared to an interviewer that he was looking forward to skating there. Skating may be a cure for some obscure ailment but it seems rather a strenuous one. The latest news is that the Egyptian political parties have united in petitioning King. Fuad to restore the 1923 constitution, his ministers have resigned, His Majesty has granted the demand, and the Residency has informed Nesshim Pasha that the British Government does not object to the restoration of the 1923 Constitution.

Open Door for Women.—We published some time back in the *Reformer* (September 7 and 14), the text of Miss Chrystal Macmillan's presidential address to the fourth conference of the Open Door International for the economic emancipation of the woman worker, held at Copenhagen in August. The proceedings of the Conference have now been published in pamphlet form and can be had for a shilling from its offices in London. It is significant that the very first resolution of the Conference stresses the urgency of solidarity between marom



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ried and single women while reiterating the demand that the woman worker shall have the same right as a man to enter into paid work. The world crisis has compelled the International to protest strongly against a tendency to solve unemployment among men by increasing unemployment among women and to urge improvement in the employment situation for workers of both sexes alike. The Conference asks not only for "equal pay for equal work" but also for equal opportunities for equal work. It opposes policies fixing a minimum wage for women only. In its programme the Conference has to face the opposition of Geneva which has put through many international agreements securing special privileges to women workers and therefore imposing greater liability on their employers. The Open Door objects even to schemes for benefits to women during childbirth which compel them not to work for six weeks after confinement. "Public authorities," declares a resolution, "which provide assistance during the incapacity of the mother as, for example, money, doctors, midwives, creches, help both the mother and the father to carry out their responsibilities. They are relieving both parents." The Conference points out with some justice that direct restrictions on a woman working during the period following childbirth will deprive her of her earnings, or drive her to take up other work less remunerative and more fatiguing than her usual work; while indirect restrictions in the shape of burdens on the employer bring on a lower scale of wages for women or result in their not being employed or in their dismissal as soon as they show signs of pregnancy. The Open Door therefore demands that the woman worker who is incapacitated from her work by reason of pregnancy or confinement should be "assimilated in law to that of any worker who is incapacitated for his usual work on account of accident or illness." The ideals of the Open Door are worth serious study specially by leaders of the women's movement in India who are apt to think in conventional terms. Their emphasis on equal protection for men and women is certain to achieve better conditions for men workers.

Maharashtra Untouchable Castes:—Mr. M. G. Bhagat has published a summary of the results of an investigation into the social and economic condition of the untouchable castes of Maharashtra. Of the material collected in the ten districts of Maharashtra, that pertaining to four is left out of the purview of the present study. There are five main castes regarded as untouchables in Maharashtra, namely, Mahars, Chamars, Mangs, Bhors and Bhangis. The last named are not a Maharashtra caste but immigrants from Upper India. Of the 542 families whose circumstances are set forth in this essay, the large majority were Mahars. Marriage is universal among these castes and the heavy expenditure on marriage festivities is said to account for much of their indebtedness. The statistics of births and deaths compiled by the

author show that these castes are neither worse nor better off than the caste Hindu masses in respect of health conditions. Agriculture is their chief occupation but very few of these castes own lands and Mr. Bhagat makes out that cultivation is not a very profitable occupation to them. Except one family of Bhors whose income is said to be one thousand a month, the average monthly income of the members is less than Rs. 15. The Bhors and Bhangis have the largest incomes owing to steadier occupation. Maharashtra has little grass land and cattle breeding is not paying. Besides, caste Hindus will not buy milk from untouchables and the latter will not buy it from each other. They do not generally keep cows for this reason. Mr. Bhagat records the existence of a custom. The small female calf is given to anybody to be brought up and after it is fully grown into a cow it is to be returned to the owner after taking its first issue. "Thus," he adds, "it becomes convenient for them to have bullocks for agricultural purposes which is their main point in view." The joint family system prevails among these castes also. Another custom which Mr. Bhagat records is that of members of these classes having to serve in the homes of sowcars from whom they borrowed, for a number of years. A Mahar boy of village, Baldapur, got married last year at the age of 15, and borrowed Rs. 100 from a local Muslim sowcar for the purpose. "He has to serve for a period of seven years as a domestic servant in that Sowcar's house and after that period he will be free. During the service, he is to get food and a fixed number of clothes and a pair of sandals." This practice is common in all the Maharashtra districts.

Jesuitical Reasoning:—The *Catholic Examiner* insinuates in a recent issue that the case of Shantidevi, the nine-year old girl who 'remembered' her past life, was a story specially concocted for the purpose of keeping Dr. Ambedkar within the Hindu fold. It writes, "Is it only a coincidence that while Dr. Ambedkar is advising Harijans to give up the religious principles (Karma and reincarnation), which lead to their ill-treatment, a great deal of publicity is being given to a nine-year old girl at Delhi who 'has been telling facts about her previous life?' About 15,000 persons, we are told, were present at a public meeting to see and hear this child, and various Hindu leaders 'explained that the case was genuine.' The outsider can only remark that it supplies a very opportune retort to Dr. Ambedkar's challenge." Dr. Ambedkar has made it perfectly clear that he is changing his religion not for benefits in the next world but for securing justice and fair-play to the Depressed Classes. The perversion of his statements of the doctrine of reincarnation is just that it might link up his agitation to the Delhi incident is typical of a logic which has earned world-reputation as Jesuitical. realpatidar.com



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BOMBAY, December 14, 1935.

MR. JAYAKAR ON UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

Among the Convocation addresses delivered during the last few days, that delivered by Mr. M. R. Jayakar at Nagpur University easily takes high place. It is a careful and illuminating analysis of the conditions of education in India. At the very outset Mr. Jayakar points out, what our educational advisers often ignore, that education is a function of society, its most important function. There is no duty more important than what one generation owes to its successor, to train it in the way it should go in order to preserve what is good in the past and help the present and the future to be better than the past. In normal conditions the State as the organ of Society discharges this function. But in Indian conditions, it is almost wholly taken out of the purview of Society. Mr. Jayakar said that he was aware that educational reform was largely connected with the high policy of the State, but he was not without hope that, under the future constitution, Government will function more than it does as the organ of society in effecting beneficent changes in University education. Many others are not so sanguine but everybody would be pleased if the unexpected happens. Mr. Jayakar spoke of Universities getting into closer touch with Government. But they are now largely controlled by Government and, obviously, the touch which he meant was one arising out of the State's closer union with Society. Control of Universities by a Government standing outside society is, under the best of conditions, harmful to the cause of education. The discontinuity between the State and Society in India, is the greatest obstacle to national growth. We must add, however, that English education, to use the conventional phrase, was the most disinterested gift of Britain to India. The idea of making education subservient to political considerations was a later development. The original idea was to lead India to national freedom. The story has often been told of Briggs' finding Elphinstone in his tent poring over some readers intended for primary schools. "I asked him what they were meant for," wrote Briggs. "To educate natives," said he, "but it is our high road back to Europe." "Then," I replied, "I wonder you, as Governor of Bombay, have set it on foot." He answered, "We are bound under all circumstances, to do our duty to them." If the Universities were originally intended to produce subordinate officials, they certainly belied it in many cases. Gurudas Banerjee, Asutosh Mukherji, Dadabhai Naoroji, Ranade, Bhandarkar, Pherozeshah Mehta, Sir T. Madhav Rao, Ranga Charlu, Seshadri Iyer, were not trained quill-drivers and they were all products of Indian Universities. Gokhale knew what he was about when he fiercely resisted inter-

ference with University education as laying unholy hands on the Ark of the Covenant. The deliberate depreciation of education insidiously began with the first appearance of political consciousness among Indians. By subtle propaganda some Indians themselves began to talk in the language of the propagandists and the cry came to be taken over by the Nationalists who hated everything which was foreign, merely because they were foreign.

The whole trouble with our education now is that large numbers of students outside the old castes with a literary tradition, have in the natural course, sought its benefits. This is a thing which should be welcomed but it has frightened the authorities. They want to control admissions and regulate the entrance of students from one stage to another. Already in some parts of the country, admission to colleges is made on a quota basis—so much per cent for this or that sect or caste. This plan is apparently to be extended within the groups themselves. Every one recognises that there is not enough variety in the courses offered in our education system. Mr. Jayakar's suggestion of "landing places" at different points where those who are unable or disinclined to keep on, can step aside, has the merit of avoiding arbitrary action by some authority. There will be so many sidings to the main line. No objection can be urged against it, except that America, where it comes from, is the land of opportunities while India is of the lack of them. An American boy with only his natural talents can aspire to the highest positions in any walk of life. In India, unless we open up the avenues of opportunity far more widely, young men may find themselves stranded on the sidings instead of on the main line. We come round to the main theme: Education is the most important function of Society. The State is the organ of Society for the discharge of its functions. We must get Society and State in India in line in order that the educational function may be adequately performed. Mr. Jayakar avoided the mistake, too common nowadays, of confusing the issue of unemployment with issues relating to education. In every country in the world, including those whose educational systems are free from the defects of our system, there is unemployment, indeed in some cases more distressing than among educated Indians. It has come to be acknowledged that unemployment is the result of an economic system of which the dominant motive is private profit and public well-being only to the extent that it subserves on private profit and that the true remedy is to alter the system so as to make public interests the first consideration. It is not Bolsheviks only who hold this view. To declare that education must be made to lead to employment is, in the present circumstances, to declare that education must be made subordinate to a discredited system which, every thinking man recognises, must be radically changed if civilization is to endure. We are



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glad, therefore, that Mr. Jayakar wisely refrained from joining in the cry of radical educational reform as a cure for unemployment. In another respect, too, his address is remarkable for its deeper insight. Some of our leaders are prone to seek light on our problems from the wholly dissimilar conditions elsewhere. Mr. Jayakar bade his hearers first to turn to their own ancient lights for guidance. There is no sensational statement in the address but the whole of it is permeated by the earnest desire to help the new graduates to think clearly and act calmly in all situations which may confront them in life.

Mr. Jayakar's suggestion to Nagpur University to create a Faculty of Indian Culture, is a great constructive suggestion. There are, as he said, many points of affinity between the culture and the literature of the several communities inhabiting India. The social and family life throughout the land is moulded on the same broad lines. Where there are differences they are understood and respected. Forces, however, are at work to magnify differences and to deny the existence of a common culture and civilisation distinctive to India. No agency is so well fitted to counteract this mischief as Universities. Among Indian Universities that at Nagpur is especially marked out as the most favoured for the institution of a Faculty of Indian Culture. It occupies a central position, midway between Aryan and Dravidian India, the two basic factors of Indian culture. It has for neighbour the great Indian State in which Indian nationalism is being shaped under enlightened Muslim auspices. The statutory disruption of British India by the new Government of India Act, unless the best minds of the country bend all their energies to provide a substitute for the bond hitherto provided by a unitary form of Government, will go far to undo not only the administrative unity of British India but the ancient cultural unity of the land between the Himalayas and the three seas. In passing, we must express regret that some critics have dealt with this important suggestion in a spirit of offensive levity. There are people whom the word 'culture' throws into fits. But the unity of India which has made her civilisation endure and which will make it endure is cultural and religious. This is a bond which is stronger than that created by political or even economic forces.

Verrier Elwin:— *The Dnyanodaya*, Poona shares with its readers the following letter from Verrier Elwin dated Karanja, Mandla District, Dec. 2: I have just been shocked beyond measure by a report that I am no longer a Christian. It is perfectly true that I have left the Church of England which had denied me her fellowship for several years, but I have never heard before that Anglicanism is synonymous with Christianity. My opinions are not of the least importance, but such an accusation against any servant of Christ ought not to pass unchallenged, and I would be infinitely obliged if you could find a corner in your paper to contradict. Of course, I have never dreamt of ceasing to be a Christian, Christ has for me the one solution of the problems that vex our world.

BIRTH CONTROL AND EUGENICS.

Birth Control being a means and not an end, it affects population to a very negligible extent, if at all. The birth-rate itself is nothing more than an index to the trend of community feeling. Nothing except perhaps State aid to large families can raise the birth-rate, for example, in communities which require a long period to equip the younger generation for earning its livelihood. Nothing can lower it among peoples whose children start earning early in life unless it be legislation against the employment of juveniles, or their promotion through prosperity to the first group. The only connection that can be traced between Birth Control and the birth-rate seems to be that the demand for contraceptives is likely to be greater in a community which has a low birth-rate than in a group which has a high one, provided, of course, the State does not intervene. But this deduction is more useful to the tradesman than to the sociologist. The argument that Birth Control practice will, if generally adopted, be a potent factor in checking war, arises from the population fallacy. But modern wars are waged mostly for markets for surplus products which cannot be consumed by the population at home. Unemployment itself in the present age of plenty is largely the result of the failure of consumption to keep pace with production. The reality of the Italian contention that her aggression on Abyssinia is brought on by the necessity for colonial possession to settle her surplus population on, can best be measured by a study of Italian Eritrea where very little colonising has taken place.

Closely allied to what may be called the 'quantity' argument of birth-controllists, is the eugenic, or 'quality', argument. The main thesis here is that if you have fewer children they will be better children. Apart from the fact that there seems no reason why this should be so, birth control by its very nature would encourage restriction of families among the very types we should all like to see increase while it will fail to influence the thriftless and the improvident. Further, as the provident would have practised self-control in the absence of the new knowledge, the tendency would arise to eliminate from the private life of future generations a much-valued quality. Then again, while most of us know what traits we should like in our posterity, no method has been so far discovered which ensures the dependability of heredity. A miserly parent usually has a spendthrift son and the son of a spendthrift has perforce to exercise the virtues of economy and care. Even the intellectuals fail to reproduce themselves with a moderate measure of certainty. And the stories so often narrated by leaders in business and public life, of their triumphs over early poverty, encourage one to demand an increase in the poorer classes. We can never suffer from a scarcity of the intellectuals because their growth is not confined to any particular class. Under the present profits system, there will always be the rich. As a class the rich are in more serious danger of losing numerically through the greater and greater concentration of money in the hands of a few than from any wide adoption of birth control. "The loss of a hundred and thirty thousand of the best, reputed individuals in the State," wrote Saint-Simon, "would certainly distress the French for they are a kindly-disposed nation. But the catastrophe would occasion sorrow of a purely sentimental kind. It would not cause the community the least inconvenience." But should a leader arise among the labouring classes and influence them toward a lower birth-rate, civilisation would be at an end. The world has more to dread from scarcity in the lower classes



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than in the rich and intellectual groups. The biological analogy fails because, firstly, it overlooks the difference between physical and mental qualities, and, secondly, it assumes wrongly that among animals breeding has been developed with mathematical certainty. The influence of environment is far greater than heredity on the individual as is being increasingly recognised today. Where an argument can be made out, for mentally and physically defective individuals for instance, the sterilisation expert has overpowered the birth-controllists many of whom have gone so far as to advocate sterilisation as a "birth control measure" for such cases. From the eugenic point of view, it does not really matter, therefore, whether a community practices birth control or not.

On the religious issue also, there is nothing to be said either for the birth controllist or his opponent. The religious objection is voiced chiefly, almost exclusively, by the Roman Catholic clergy. It is surprising that, whilst we are told on Prohibition by these religious leaders that there is nothing intrinsically wrong in alcohol, the evil being its misuse, on contraceptives a more rigorous standard is applied. But the discussion is mainly academic and has a limited interest. Closely interwoven with the religious issue is the moral one on which again too much is claimed by both sides. Whilst birth controllists regard changes in the status of women in Western Europe during the last fifty years as fruits of their work, the anti-contraceptionists cite the fall in illegitimate births as proving their contention that instruction in contraceptive use has not been restricted to the married. The reason why Mrs. Sanger asserted with confidence at a Bombay meeting that morals have improved in modern Europe in the last fifty years was probably that by 'morality' she meant something different to what was conventionally understood. But she did not trouble to explain her viewpoint. It is not unlikely that morals in the West are higher today than they were fifty years ago. In fact, Mr. Bertrand Russell wrote in the *New Statesman* that Europe had improved since the days of his grand-parents. That there is still room for improvement—and how bad England must have been fifty years ago if she is better today—is shown by a letter in a later issue of the same journal. We extract the following, "There seems to me to be a large number of my contemporaries who have read some book or other on birth control and feel that something must be done about it, but who lack any sex ethic to guide them. Although unwilling to run the still existing though greatly diminished risk of actual intercourse, they consider all forms of "petting" as an essential part of adult life and, indeed, as the obvious way of spending their evenings and week-ends. I cannot help thinking that this section of my generation will be old and cynical before they are thirty and when they most need the full force and energy of youthful vitality and humour to deal with the problems of the upbringing of children. Even now their restlessness and their thirst for speed, thrill, anything with a "kick" in it, show their inability to appreciate the more static pleasures of life, and their conversation, nervously sex-haunted, betrays their fear that they are missing something." It would, however, be rash to conclude from this that the morals of modern Europe and America, whether one considers them better than in the past or worse, are influenced to any appreciable extent by birth control propaganda. Morally the Western world has grown out of an age of repression into one of exhibitionism. But neither praise nor blame can be apportioned to the birth control movement for the transition. Mrs. Sanger herself has realised the

truth of this since her Bombay address. For replying at a Calcutta meeting to a question from Mr. Krishna Kumar Mitra, the veteran Brahma leader, whether uncontrolled sexual indulgence would not result from acceptance of her advice, she said that if people "took it in a good way, they would find spiritual happiness and religion but if it was taken in a bad light they would all have evil of it." This seems to indicate a change from her earlier attitude (*Sex in Civilisation*, page 525) that the "birth control movement is an active and contributing factor and not a mere passive accompaniment of progress."

THE EMIGRANT RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH.*

The Emigrant Russian Orthodox Church is at present divided into two rival tendencies, but is on the way to reaching amicable reconciliation.

The first of these trends is led by the Archbishop Metropolitan Antonii, who belongs to the Synod of Karlovtsy, Yugoslavia. This trend, which is of a definitely conservative political and religious character (aiming at the restoration of an Orthodox Czar of the house of Romanoff), first made itself felt in June 1921 at Constantinople. The emigrants in question, while awaiting facilities for the resumption of relations with the Patriarch Tihon of Moscow, founded an independent Church and constituted, under the Serbian Patriarchate at Karlovtsy, a Holy Synod, at the centre of which was Archbishop Ievlogii, to whom reference will be made again later.

"Karlovtsy" bishops were established here and there, and this gave rise to juridical disputes with the local Orthodox authorities. On May 5, 1922, the Patriarch Tihon condemned the Karlovtsy Synod, because its political activity was complicating the situation of the Russian Orthodox Churches in the U. S. S. R., which were accused of having sympathetic relations with emigrant monarchists. On the other hand, since 1920 the Patriarch Tihon had appointed two Exarchs to look after the Russians abroad: Metropolitan Ievlogii in Paris and Metropolitan Platon for North America. Difficulties arose between these two prelates and the Karlovtsy Synod.

In 1926 Mgrs. Ievlogii and Platon refused to recognise the authority of the Karlovtsy Synod which, in 1927, dismissed them both and appointed administrators to govern their dioceses, Bishop Serafim in particular replacing Mgr. Ievlogii in Paris. A very small minority of priests and of the faithful recognised his authority. The Metropolitan Ievlogii and Platon declared that they held their authority from the only authentic head of the Russian Orthodox Church: the Patriarch Tihon.

When the last named died, on April 7, 1925, he was succeeded, after a short interval, by the Metropolitan Sergii of Nijni-Novgorod who, after imprisonment by the Soviet Government, had been released. An old pupil and friend of the Metropolitan Antonii, he nevertheless published, on July 29, 1927, a letter declaring that he had obtained from the Soviet authorities legal recognition for the general direction of the Church. In consequence, he denounced as clearly contrary to religious principle any action directed against the political regime of the U. S. S. R. and invited the emigrant clergy to sign a formal recognition of the Soviet Government, or be struck out of the national Church. The Karlovtsy Synod replied on May 9 with a categorical refusal. The Metropolitan Sergii announced on May

* The above article is based upon one by the French pastor P. C. Taurelle, a member of the Oecumenical Youth Commission and a member of the French Council of the World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches.

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9, 1928 that the Karlovoy Synod was illegal and had no longer any right of jurisdiction. The decree remained without effect.

In the decision dated May 9, 1928, the Metropolitan Sergii relieved Archbishop Ievlogii, at his request, of the sentence of deposition pronounced against him by the Karlovoy Synod and confirmed him in the authority which had lately been bestowed upon him by the Patriarch Tihon. Mgr. Ievlogii, on account of his attitude to the Soviets, was declared "schismatic and suspended;" he was then placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople where he still is.

On June 22, 1934, the Metropolitan Sergii, in a letter to the Metropolitan Elefterii of Lithuania, the administrator whom he had appointed for the Russian Churches of Western Europe, renewed the sanctions adopted in 1928 against the hierarchy of Karlovoy. Mgr. Elefterii applied this condemnation, which the Karlovoy Synod rejected stressing that it found it impossible to be sure of legal recognition and liberty for the ecclesiastical authorities in the U. S. S. R.

According to a correspondence published in June 1934 by the *Russkoie slovo*, the Karlovoy Synod seems to have entered into negotiations with the Metropolitan Sergii, with a view to being placed under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Yugoslavia. The uncompromising attitude of the Synod seems to have been due to purely political reasons; to avoid coming under the authority of the Metropolitan Sergii and the Synod of Moscow.

Mgr. Ievlogii went to Karlovoy to make his peace with Mgr. Antonii, and on May 15, 1934, the two Metropolitans pronounced the abolition of their mutual censures; there was no common service, but the ecclesiastical difference of opinion seemed to have entered on a new phase.

In September 1934, Mgr. Ievlogii was invited to sit at the Karlovoy Synod on an equal footing with the other prelates, on condition that he abandoned the jurisdiction of the Oecumenical Patriarchate for that of the Metropolitan Sergii. Mgr. Ievlogii was ill, and unable to go to Karlovoy. On September 10, 1934 a Council met at Karlovoy and lifted the censures which had been placed in 1928, on the Metropolitan Ievlogii and his clergy. Intercommunion was thus made possible from that time on. But the jurisdiction of Archbishop Serafim in Paris was not to be contested and the conciliatory attitude of Archbishop Serafim was interpreted as repentance on his part. On September 24, 1934, Mgr. Ievlogii replied that he sincerely wished for peace; that he felt himself to be in the right and could not therefore recognise the legal position of Archbishop Serafim; but that he felt sure that administrative difficulties would be removed with time.

Mgr. Ievlogii has given particular demonstration of his oecumenical sentiments in his relations with French Protestantism. And it was he who, with a view to the training of priests "armed with all the resources of modern science...educated in the broad aspirations of oecumenism, capable of understanding the other Christian confessions", founded in Paris, in 1935, the Institute of Orthodox Theology. Since then, this institute has won a name for itself and a place of honour in Orthodoxy and in the non-Orthodox Churches. It has at present thirty students, from ten countries. It is passing through terrible financial difficulties, and the students and professors are suffering from malnutrition.

It is the Metropolitan Antonii, whose great theological authority is recognised throughout the Orthodox Church, who could now put an end to the schism. A Council is at present once more sitting at Karlovoy.

THE UNIVERSITY AND NATIONAL LIFE.

In the complexity of the daily work of the University, it is not always easy to keep in view the connection between the character of a society and the nature of its education. Yet this truth is so vital that it can never be too strongly stressed. We are apt to imagine that Colleges are something apart from the social order to which they belong and of which they are the products. In a country like India, which is rapidly changing under the pressure of social and political conditions, it is more necessary than elsewhere to remember this principle. When the older Universities were founded in India, the main need was to supply officials for Public Service, more or less in a subordinate capacity, with ambitions and initiative so regulated and controlled as to serve the main purpose in view. Macaulay's famous Minute was based upon the imperative need of creating a class of "interpreters" between Western and Eastern education. Since the days of their foundation the older Universities have been supplying this want. The time has, however, now arrived when this aim of education must be subordinated to another which will endeavour to create bolder spirits, with a more restless spirit of inquiry, wider ambitions and larger intellectual intrepidity, coupled with an increasing desire to pursue their work in obscurity and oblivion, unclouded by material ambitions, and willing to place at the disposal of the country their priceless gifts and achievements.

Indian education must accordingly adapt its methods and processes to this need. We are living in a typical age where, under the impact of modern science and industry, religious and moral beliefs, attitudes and institutions are fast giving way. The very scheme of the older life is breaking down under this onset. A large quantity of wreckage is the result, which intellectually it will be the duty of the Universities to clear up, rejecting everything not suited to modern needs and conditions. It will therefore be increasingly necessary for the Universities to regard themselves, more and more, as a large experiment room for the entire Province, where the social, intellectual, economic and industrial needs of the Province in relation to the entire country will be examined and tested and solutions found. India finds herself in an increasingly new environment, making it necessary for the Universities to undertake an intellectual planning with bold and creative insight. They must teach a new way of life suited to the needs of the hour.

It is easy to prophesy in this connection that, as we advance in the national aspiration after freedom, our Universities will have to take up the work which some of the younger Universities of America have partially achieved. For instance, the University of Wisconsin made an experiment in finding out what was best suited to the American mind in relation to the contents of study and methods of teaching, so as to determine proper conditions for the undergraduate in receiving liberal education. The end is to use these means called liberal teaching, to produce the "liberal mind," meaning thereby the creation and cultivation of the faculty called "intelligence." By that term modern educationists in that progressive country mean a *Power of self-direction* in the affairs of life. One author of great eminence in matters of education describes it in the following words:—"Intelligence capable of being applied in any field; ability to do what you have never done before." The attempt is to build up in the student the power of taking into his own hand the direction of his own affairs. The whole endeavour rests upon the assumption that, as against the specialized teaching of men for Banking, for scholarship, for an industry, for Art, for Medicine, for Law and the like, there is a



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general liberal teaching of men for "intelligence" in the conduct of their lives as human individuals. The author illustrates the meaning of "intelligence" by telling a story which recounts the difficulties and failure of Buidget, the cook, in the attempt to make good bread. Mrs. Palmer, her mistress, untrained in cooking finding her cook in difficulties, came into the kitchen and created the loaf which in that kitchen had seemed unattainable. Whereupon the author quotes with great admiration Bridget's definition of education:—"That is what education means," she said, "to be able to do what you have never done before." Bridget, it seems, saw at a glance and expressed in a word the peculiar quality of the educated, intelligent mind. That is what education means.

The primary fact in the story is that we find the meaning of the term "intelligence" as applied to teaching. Intelligence, it seems, is "readiness for any human situation. It is the power, wherever one goes, of being able to see, in any set of circumstances, the best response which a human being can make to those circumstances; and the two constituents of that power would seem to be: (1) the sense of human values, and (2) a capacity for judging situations as furnishing possibilities for the realizing of those values." The attainment of this quality would seem to be easier, were we dealing with a simple system of homogeneous intellects or studies; but with our diversity of systems, intellects and cultures in India, the problem would appear to be more difficult. The Indian system of education, taken in its broad outlines, resembles an educational ladder, commencing from the Primary School, going through the Middle and Secondary Schools and terminating in the apex of a College degree or Postgraduate studies. Millions enter, few reach the top, or even pass through the last stages. All intermediate stages are, by a great mistake, regarded as merely preparatory for the final stage and not being a preparation in themselves. Large masses of students who never expect even to approach the final stage and would, by reason of their training and environment, be incapable of taking an interest in concerns at the top, obtain no benefit from the training during the intermediate stages. Speaking of such a system of education, an American author remarks: "we must remember," he says, "that, in the main thing, people climb the first stages of the educational ladder, not with the purpose of making their way to the top, but in the expectation of finding, beside the ladder, here and there, landing places, from which they may climb by other ladders in other directions and towards quite different goals, and if these other goals and directions are not clearly seen in their relations to those of the school, then the whole scheme of teaching becomes unintelligible—a chaos of diverging and irrelevant activities."

This defect of education, which is partially inherent in all schemes where the Primary, Secondary and College stages are regarded as preparatory for the last, is more particularly operative in the Indian system, because of many political and social conditions which it is unnecessary to detail here.

No system of education can be suitable for a vast and poor country like India, with its teeming millions and varying grades of culture, with different economic and industrial needs, social conceptions and religious beliefs, unless it takes note of two requisites:—(1) the creation of many "landing places" where the student may appropriately leave the main educational ladder and climb up another in a different direction and leading to a different goal. Many such intermediate and subsidiary ladders can be imagined. They would teach skill in some limited field of activity, for instance, Commercial Arithmetic, Type-writing, Stenography, Book-keeping, Home Economics, Music, Painting, Sculpture, Agriculture,

Mechanical and Electrical Engineering, Law, Medicine, etc., etc. In all these branches of activity, though in some cases the subject may be similar, as for instance in Law, Engineering and Medicine, to a higher course in post-graduate studies, the aim is to cultivate in the student the ability to ply a trade or profession and master any one of the special enterprises in which human beings engage. The endeavour is not to teach the pupil in the higher and general sense, but to develop his practical skill in the limited activity.

The second requisite is that these subsidiary ladders should not be interdependent or interconnected. Each goes its own way and attempts to prepare the student in his own special interest or vocation. The pupils being drawn into these subsidiary branches comparatively young, the teaching is not expected to be so fundamental, far-reaching or scholarly, as, for instance, that provided in the Postgraduate School for the same branch of knowledge.

Our present educational system provides few such landings and subsidiary ladders, where the student, finding himself unable to proceed up the main ladder for want of means or capacity, can leave it and take to another ladder without totally sacrificing all that he had previously learnt. Our primary aim, therefore, should be, if we wished to bring the educational system into conformity with the modern requirements of Indian life, to carefully plan out suitable landing places, to decide where they would be located in relation to the main educational ladder and to see that the instruction which the student received before he came to the landing place was so devised and arranged as to enable him to halt at the landing place and take to the other ladder, making fullest use of the instruction previously received.

If we must have the "landing places," I have described above, where the unfit and unwilling can leave off the main ladder, opportunities must be created for hundreds of persons who enter College, for seeking swift employment, first by creating new avenues of such employment and then by providing exits at which the aspirants can get out with adequate training and without sacrificing the benefits of what they had learnt. I am aware that this reform is largely connected with the high policy of the State, involving the employment of Indians in increasing proportion in many avenues where their entry is barred or discouraged at the present moment. But I am not without hope that, when Universities get more and more into touch with Governments, as I am confident will be the case under conditions to be established by the new Constitution, a united attempt will be made to relieve the pressure, in which the Government and the Universities will take their adequate share. In such a united effort alone lies the proper cure for unemployment. Neither the Government alone nor the people by themselves can ever effect a lasting solution of that problem. I am tempted to say all this to your University, because it is new and will not hesitate to adopt bold experimental measures, if they are needed, for the advancement of the people.

M. R. JAYAKAR.

The Rev. R. M. Waiz.—We regret to announce the death at Lahore of the Rev. R. M. Waiz (80) of the Church Missionary Society, Punjab, on December 10. Mr. Waiz who was the father of Mr. S. A. Waiz of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, was a well-known poet, evangelist and author. He had contributed some articles in the *Indian Social Reformer* last year on the position of Christians in India which were marked by his sympathy for the Indian Christian masses and for his breadth of outlook.



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SIR MIRZA ISMAIL ON UNIVERSITIES.

While some eminent Indians seem to be sleepless of nights frightened by the increase in universities and graduates, the Dewan of Mysore, Sir Mirza Ismail, struck a refreshingly bold note in his speech at the Jubilee celebration of the Bangalore Central College, "India needs more universities," he said, "and ought, in course of time, to be able to maintain them. For great work has to be done in the next fifty years and the cry is for more men to do it—more educated men, men of culture, men of character and sound commonsense, men who can plan and bring to fruition the great ideal of a new, happy and united India—an India where every man is first and foremost an Indian, with common rights and responsibilities, common ideals and aspirations, making common history, without undue emphasis on caste or creed or sex or rank or whatever else it is that separates men and women from sharing a common humanity. It is a Herculean task for which education and ever more education, "in widest commonalty spread," is the one sure and basic remedy. I am not afraid of more education, of more educated men. I am not daunted by the glut of graduates on the market, by the vexed problem of unemployment. Not that I am heartless or do not sympathise with the youths who are wearing their hearts out without something to do and the parents and guardians who have given their all to see their children well established in life. But I feel that the trouble is only a passing phase and that the sky will soon brighten. There is no easy and ready-made solution, but we must all unite and attack the problem on all fronts, the Government and the general public, the individual parents and the young men themselves, whose education ought to be a strength unto them, and not a weakness, and help them to combine and organise to bring into play their grit and their spirit of enterprise, to open out new avenues, to find a way or to make it. National development in all its aspects—social, political and economic—so essential for India's freedom and the achievement of her rightful place among the nations of the world—requires that her sons and her daughters should be educated sufficiently to realise their great heritage and their no less great responsibilities to future generations. For this great work we want men—as, of course, we want work for the men we have educated. Remembering that nine-tenths of our miseries really consist in looking forward to future miseries, let us go on with full and fresh hope for the future."

THE VICEROY AND THE BYCULLA CLUB.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Your comments on the open letter to the Viceroy seem to imply that the chief object of Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's letter was to request Lord Willingdon to make his final speech outside an exclusive club. Reading this second letter with Sir Chimanlal's previous appeal to the Byculla Club authorities, it is clear that the admission of Indians into the Byculla, Yacht and Bombay clubs is stressed more than the Viceroy's speech.

There are Indians who have declined to become members of English clubs, even when very specially invited to do so. To such this episode is very embarrassing.

I fail to see how the Europeans can be accused of treating Indians as Pariahs, if they choose to have their clubs exclusively to themselves. They might well say that they would not force themselves into an exclusive Indian club in England.

Not all the European members of all the exclusive clubs in India will be admitted as members into all the exclusive clubs in London where there was once a proposal to start a club known as "The Leave Us Alone Club."

When the Indians boast of having lunched and dined with the King in England, why should they complain if dining in European clubs with ordinary Europeans is denied to them in India? It is unreasonable to credit the European club members with royal qualities.

Referring to the clubs in Bombay, a European writer of repute says in his book; "Why it should be a matter of pride that the most ordinary, partially literate, European salesman may enter a club from which a prince of ancient lineage is excluded, requires explanation." Against this opinion, Major General Woodyatt, son of a clergyman of the Church of England, in his book, "Under Ten Viceroys", traces much of the political troubles in India to the failure of Europeans to live exclusively in this country. This opinion will prevail with many European club members. "Moorkha vadamtu kartavyam."

The political speeches, many of them uncomplimentary to Indians, are made in European clubs between dinners and dances. If the speeches are not distasteful to self-respecting Indians, few of them can do justice to the other two items. Daksha's daughter's self-respect prompted her to destroy herself when she found the proceedings connected with the *yaga* in her father's house derogatory to her husband, Shiva.

I submit that the Viceroy is bound to give the final account of his rule exclusively to the Europeans whose representatives in England are the electors by whom his and his successors' administrative acts are controlled, and not by Indians.

A correspondent says in the *Madras Mail*, dated November 22, that Mr. Cursetjee Jamsetjee was a member of the Bombay Yacht Club in 1850. This may be quoted in subsequent applications for admission of Indians into the Byculla Club.

Sylvan, Coonoor { Yours, etc.,
December 4, 1935. { M. G. JOSEPH.

HINDU MAHA SABHA AND CASTE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In view of the important developments in the social and political life of the country the deliberations of the ensuing annual sessions of the Hindu Maha Sabha to be held at Poona are bound to have important and far-reaching effects on the Hindu Society. The resolution of the Depressed classes held at Yeola has also shaken the Hindu Society in a way it had not been done before. The interviews that Dr. Ambedkar gave to various deputations have also to be taken into serious consideration. The opinions expressed by many prominent Hindus including the untouchables on the Yeola resolution deserve careful consideration at the sessions.

The ensuing sessions of the All India Hindu Maha Sabha to be held during the last week of this month will have seriously to consider all these problems and give a lead to the Hindu Society in clear and unambiguous terms, as it has not so far defined its aims and ideals as regards the reconstruction of the Hindu Society to suit the present-day conditions in the country.

The workers of the Hindu Maha Sabha in Bombay therefore deemed it necessary to focus the attention of the Hindu Society on some of these pressing



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problems that are likely to come up before the Conference at Poona, so that the delegates that arrive from all parts of India may have sufficient time to consider calmly as to their solution. At a Conference held for the purpose by the workers of the Bombay Provincial Hindu Sabha and its branches in the City, the following important resolution was passed almost unanimously:

"Whereas the caste system based on birth as at present existing is manifestly contrary to Universal Truth and morals, whereas it is the very antithesis of the fundamental spirit of the Hindu religion, whereas it flouts the elementary rights of human equality and whereas Varnashram of the Shastras from which it derives its authority is today non-existent in practice, this All-India Hindu Maha Sabha session declares its uncompromising opposition to the system and calls upon the Hindu Society to put a speedy end to it."

We hope the resolution will be seriously and dispassionately considered by all the well-wishers of the Hindu Society and particularly by the delegates that assemble at Poona and persuade the Conference to accept it as its aim and ideal in the reconstruction of the Hindu Society. Such of the delegates who approve of the idea underlying the resolution will kindly communicate their view in advance to the undersigned.

The aforesaid resolution has been forwarded to the Reception Committee of the Poona Sessions of the Conference for being placed on the Agenda of the Conference.

Hindu Colony, Dadar, } Yours etc,
Bombay. M. B. UDGAONKAR.

UNTOUCHABILITY AND HINDU SHASTRAS.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,
The editor of *Harijan* has rightly referred to the attempts made by Mahamahopadhyaya Shridhashastri Pathak and Prof. P. V. Kane, to show that untouchability as practised today has no foundation in the shastras and is only an unhealthy excrescence on Hinduism.

I should like to bring to the notice of all concerned, some more attempts made in Marathi literature by scholars—no less learned and renowned—in the same direction. One is the book written by Prof. Nath Hari Purandare M. A., of Poona and published by the Maharashtra Provincial Untouchability Board. The name of the book, translated in English is "Untouchability and the Temple-Entry (Consideration from the Hindu Dharmashastra point of view)." The book almost covers the same ground as covered by the Mahamahopadhyaya and very forcibly refutes all arguments advanced by orthodox people including the Sankaracharya.

Another attempt is made by Mr. Narayan Govind Chaphekar. He is a retired First class sub-judge in the British service and is at present the High Court Judge in the progressive Oudh State. Like Prof. P. V. Kane he is also a great scholar of Smriti literature and a leader of the orthodox Hindus. He is at present writing a series of articles reviewing in detail Prof. Kane's book in the *Kesari* and in the 7th article of his series published in *Kesari* of the 8th November he discusses this topic of untouchability and comes to the conclusion that it has no sanction and place in the Vedas.

There are various other booklets and articles written by oriental scholars, Mahadevashastri Divekar

discusses the subject with the same conclusion in his book on Dharmashastra. You will thus see that Mahatma Gandhi was perfectly justified when he wrote in *Harijan* of 12th January 1934, "One of the conclusions I have reached is that there is no warrant in the Shastras for untouchability as it is practised today. My conclusion is supported by Shastris no less learned than those who challenge my conclusions and the former claim to be just as good Sanatanists as those who hold the opposite view."

It will be seen therefore that the social reformers need give absolutely no heed to the oft-refuted silly objection raised by the so-called orthodox people who worship only custom as their religion. These people will ever continue to cry in vain that their religion is in danger even when an attempt is made to further the cause of social reform strictly in conformity with the spirit of the Hindu Shastras.

Satara City, } Yours etc.,
27th November 1935. K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.

"THE MOTHER OF GOD."

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,
May I crave the hospitality of your columns to express my views on Jesus Christ's attitude to his mother? It is significant that those who heard him address his mother did not regard his action as reprehensible. It does not seem to have unfavourably impressed his disciples. It must be remembered that among the Jews dishonour to parents was considered to be one of the greatest of sins. Then how is it that if Jesus really dishonoured his mother, this fact could have escaped the censure and disapproval of his contemporaries? The very disciple who records the incident at Cana says, "And the word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, the glory as if the only-begotten of the Father), full of grace and truth." (John. 1: 14). The apostle Peter, another disciple says of Jesus, "Who did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth." (1 Peter 2:22). In fact, the sinlessness of Jesus has been a cardinal tenet of Christianity. And I do not see how the disciples could have proclaimed such a tenet, if Jesus had really and in public, dishonoured his mother. For in such a case the enemies of Christianity could have held up Jesus' attitude to his mother as giving the lie to the disciples' assertion. But this they did not do, for the simple reason that they had no case. When Jesus asked, "Which of you convicteth me of sin?" nobody answered, though Jesus was all the time being watched by his enemies, who were trying to find fault with him.

When the rich young ruler asked him about the way of life, he (Jesus) told him to keep the commandments and quoted among others, this, "Honour thy father and thy mother." (Matt. 19: 19). If Jesus himself had broken this commandment publicly, it is passing strange that none of his enemies taunted him with having done so. They might have said "He taught others to honour their parents, but himself dishonoured his," as they said while he was hanging on the cross, "He saved others; himself he cannot save." (Matt. 27: 42).

No, there is no question of his having dishonoured his parent. Such a thought never entered the minds of his contemporaries, who were best qualified to judge of his look, tone, and manner while uttering the words in question. There must be some other explanation. There is an incident in the gospels, which throws some light on the matter. On one occasion, while Jesus was teaching



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"a certain woman" of the company lifted up her voice, and said unto him, "Blessed is the womb that bare thee, and the paps which thou hast sucked." But he said, "Yea; rather, blessed are they that hear the word of God, and keep it." (Luke 11:27, 28). In the realm of spiritual values fleshly ties count for little as qualifications for spiritual preferment. The fact that Mary was the mother of Jesus did not entitle her to any special spiritual privileges. She, as well as others must hear the word of God, and keep it, if she is to be blessed. If she failed to come up to this spiritual requirement, she would be just as reprobate as anybody else. This was a lesson Mary was apt to forget. She was naturally proud of her son, and occasionally presumed too much on her relationship to him, not remembering that what mattered was not the natural but the spiritual relationship, and that "when engaged in his Father's work, merely human bonds must give place to higher obligations." (See "Life of Our Lord," by S. J. Andrews, pp. 290, 291).

The life of Jesus was dominated by the thought of his Father's will. (John 4:34). He would await the Father's bidding before doing anything. That is why he gently rebuked his mother at the feast of Cana. It was necessary for her to learn this, for it would not only teach her rightful position with regard to her son, but would also set her own mind at rest from worrying about his actions. It was, therefore, an act of love on the part of Jesus to remind her of this at the very outset of his career. (For some excellent remarks on this incident, see Dean Farrar's "Life of Christ," pp. 119)

It is a great comfort to know that those who do the will of God are more closely related to Jesus than those who are related to him by blood, but do not do the will of God. Jesus is the Elder Brother of all those who do his father's will, no matter what their race or colour may be. There is no nepotism in the kingdom of God. It is a democracy. The only qualification for entrance to this kingdom is spiritual fitness, doing the will of God, not fleshly relationship. (2 Cor. 5: 16).

Bombay, } Yours etc.,
4th December, 1935, } H. W. NISSANKA.

[This subject has been discussed threadbare and we do not intend to publish any more correspondence on it. — Ed., I. S. R.]

THE END AND THE MEANS.

Freedom and efficiency always go together. You cannot have freedom simply because you want to have it. You must be fit to be free. The fight for freedom is but a process of reorganising yourself into a free life. It is not a negative movement but a positive march. It cannot be achieved through constituent assemblies or orations or debates. No society, no nation could be ever free as long as it could not stand as an organic whole against foreign aggressions or internal betrayals. Freedom is the achievement of that harmonious life actuated by internal law and order, internal social justice. Neither economic nor political freedom is possible in any country as long as it does not possess the fitness or efficiency to maintain that freedom or utilise it for its growth. The true meaning of Swaraj is efficiency.

India is a country surrounded by a halo of ancient glory, spiritual achievements and great and successful religious movements. It is a land of great experiences and meeting scene of various cultures. It is the home of Vedas and Sankara and Kalidasa. Great monarchs have ruled over this land, including Asoka and Akbar. Love, heroism, intellect and spiritualism have reached their zenith

in this country. But unfortunately, the bulk of Indian humanity was always kept out of these achievements. The majority lived and died almost untouched by that greatness, or that greatness never reached the average man. It is all due to the elimination by various means of the majority of its people from the open rivalry of life, keeping the fields of thought as well as action to a reserved few who monopolised them with a hereditary right. And the voice of the woman who is the representative of the ultimate human ideal and in whom mankind sacrifices the present for the future, is completely shut out. It is this organised social injustice meted out to the greatest number of our people that is the main cause which killed social efficiency and made us slaves.

The majority of people do not know what is actually going on in this country. They were never interested either in your political arguments or economic debates. Invaders came and went, they did not bother about it. They did not differentiate between the French diplomat and the British tradesman. They are not aware how modern civilisation was imported and how it massed in the great cities of their country. They do not know of what stuff are made our rulers, indigenous as well as foreign. But what are they doing? They are waiting, indefinitely waiting for action. They are something like a reservoir of human energy waiting to be utilised for constructive growth and liberation or to break the banks that hold them in a violent revolution. All types of oppressors must be prepared for such a catastrophe or yield even now. They have to become selfless, they have to become wise.

The change is imminent. But the hope lies in the accumulated wisdom which might lead the oppressed people through a constructive revolution towards perfect justice. Wars might threaten us and nationalism might grow into a more feverish jealousy but we, as living people, need not take notice of all these, for they do not belong to us. They belong to the selfish few who see the necessity of the existence of poverty which alone can supply enough soldiers for their growing armies, who see the necessity of colossal ignorance, which alone can conceal their sinister motives.

Most of those who attempt at social reconstruction, who devote their lives for social reform, unfortunately are satisfied with small scale patch-work, leading the people nowhere. Among themselves there is neither unity of thought nor unity of action. With the best of intentions they do not conduct their movements on scientific principles but on their sentiments, their own likes and dislikes. Each leader is a dictator in his own institution and he protects his will against all possible 'assaults' of reason. As long as the reformation or reconstruction work is not based on scientific principles, there can be no united action, and without unity no large scale work is possible, no thorough-going reorganisation towards complete freedom of mankind. "I do my bit" philosophy is the origin of a wrong satisfaction and a discouragement to greater work. Imbued with that and similar other philosophies, we and our politicians go about and to the villagers who labour without rest throughout the day, who drag their lives in unventilated huts, without any sort of recreation and with not even a pair of clothes to wear preach diligence, prudence and economy. Alas! We are not ashamed of ourselves.

Whither India? Pandit Jawaharlal has answered, "Surely to the great human goal of social and economic equality, to the ending of all exploitation of nation by nation and class by class, to national freedom within the frame-work of an international



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co-operative socialist federation." But this is not a complete answer. An answer that does not include an answer to the 'how?' which immediately follows is not complete. The ideal placed before us by the Pandit is not a new one. We are acquainted with that since the time of Plato, although we owe our gratitude to him for reiterating and drawing the attention of all the active leaders and politicians to it. Social, economic and international equality demand a more comprehensive and thorough-going action than is possible in the field of politics. You must start your work with the people. No high class philanthropy nor middle class ideologies can save the country. You must approach the poor man. In his hands lie the keys of the future. Liberating him from all sorts of oppression, religious, social and economic and bringing him into the open rivalry of life is the only way of achieving efficiency. You may say you cannot do all or any of these unless you control the existing government. But it would be easier and safer to run the government when you are fully prepared for it. Nor is it safe to postpone your other work until you achieve self-government. After all running the government is the least part of our task ahead.

The main source of efficiency of a society is its moral capacity, its character. We are slaves to the extent we are lacking in that moral wealth. A society which kept its women perpetually behind the Purdha, which produced a class of millions of untouchables, which is the home of various sorts of communal jealousies and bickerings can claim to possess anything but character. During the process of unending social oppression, all our great qualities have been thwarted, even murdered. We are wanting in heroism, in courage, in that noble aspiration for freedom, because in the very beginning we have killed ourselves, we have killed our soul. Intellect we had enough, we have enough. But intellect divorced of great quality may be able to produce great scientists, great businessmen and politicians but it cannot produce free men, it cannot produce a free society.

The only way open to us now is to take back the oppressed people into national, economic and social life by means of an organised movement. This principle should be the basis of all our social reconstruction activities. And the aim should be to establish social, moral and economic equality in society. For equality is the greatest of moral traits of a society and inequality the greatest of social vices.

All altruism, all love for the poor should take the shape of an organised movement and here, no personal sentiments no personal likes and dislikes should come in. The power that is greater than all military powers and governments that are based on them is sincere constructive work. Trade and commerce, industry and production in whose hands the destinies of the modern world lie, are neither the monopoly of the imperialist nor the capitalist. They are the property of those who work for them. Those sincere workers who have identified their lives with the life of the society should join together into an organised body in order to monopolise or socialise all the economic activities on its behalf. To use a more correct word, they have to moralise all its economic activities. They can easily compete with all the existing monopolies for their activities are devoid of the personal profit motive. The proprietor and the ultimate beneficiary is the society itself. And if it is conducted on proper lines it would absorb all the young men and women in the country as its social workers and unemployment would automatically cease to exist.

But the leaders of such a movement should take care that the movement does not end there. After all

man is neither complete matter nor complete divinity. He is an alloy of both. Economic emancipation is only a means by which you would provide the members of the society with leisure and relief to pursue intellectual happiness, for education is the greatest equalising force. Take two graduates. There may exist still some intellectual inequality between them for their training was not complete and was not based on their psychological inclinations. But morally they are equals. They feel there is a common ground between them and that they should treat each other as equals. Along with the economic movement you should conduct an intellectual movement which would raise all the members of the society to a standard of intellectual equality, at the same time enabling them to realise the responsibilities of citizenship. Thus moralising economic activities and education are the two main conditions of efficiency. And efficiency is the content of freedom, the soul of Swaraj.

Allahabad,

M. N. RAO.

HINDU SOCIETY AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.*

(BY PRAKASH NARAIN SAFRU.)

The fundamental institution on which Hindu society remains founded is caste. It is unnecessary to speculate into the origin of this most amazing system, which Hindu India has developed and perfected. It would be equally futile to enter into any historical discussions as to whether caste, as it existed at one time in our history, was defensible. Certain it is that it has eaten into the vitals of Hindu society, degraded man, exalted priesthood and made the priest the dominating factor in the life of the individual and the Hindu community. It hampers today and has done so in the past the development of the civic spirit and co-operative capacity needed for working democratic institutions and it is undoubtedly inconsistent with the principle of the fundamental equality of man. For the basic idea underlying it is that what fixes a man's status for ever in life is his birth and that this birth has been determined for him by his actions in a past life. A society founded on an institution, which is based on this rooted belief, cannot be a dynamic force in a changing world—a world which is moving fast towards newer and higher conceptions of social solidarity and social responsibility—for the evils around us.

The mistake so far in the Mahatma's campaign has been to regard untouchability as an isolated phenomenon to be tackled separately from any attack on the basic institution which gives it vitality and keeps it going. The problem of social reconstruction has to be viewed as one whole and the removal of untouchability is but part of a larger movement the object of which is to renovate and purify society and free the individual from the thralldom of ages. Hindu society, if it is to function as a live force in India, must therefore accept the position that attack on caste and all that caste implies has become urgently necessary. A good many of us will be prepared to admit the theoretical validity of the arguments against caste but when it comes to breaking its bonds in personal life we fail. To imagine that in our attack on caste we shall be able to carry the more orthodox of our friends is to delude ourselves. It is certain that the more conservative sections of Hindu society will not be with us in any organised campaign against caste. But we cannot allow our pace to be dictated by the ultra-orthodox. Who has ever heard of a real reformation in a society emanating

* The Twentieth Century, December 1935. realpatidar.com



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from the leaders of the orthodox church itself? Everywhere it is the few who give the lead to the life and thought of a people and if the few are clear in their minds in this country then what educated India thinks today, uneducated India will begin to think tomorrow. We have to accustom our people, therefore, with the idea that the structure of our society requires fundamental change and that that fundamental change cannot be achieved without a concerted attack on the institution which hampers our progress and arrests our development.

The Mahatma, though in his own life he has shown that he follows none of the rules laid down for caste, has not yet openly associated himself with any direct attack on it. Dr. Ambedkar would have been right therefore in insisting that the time has come for Hindu leaders to take a bolder stand towards this institution and that the attack should be more insistent, more vigorous and more direct. Success in the direction of abolition of caste will not be easy. Where the great reformers of the past failed we are not likely to succeed without much effort, much sacrifice and much individual suffering. Caste has a wonderful hold over all classes and sections of Hindus. The depressed classes are themselves divided into numerous castes and sub-castes.

It would be a pity indeed if in our attack on caste we were to get entangled into metaphysical controversies and discussions. We have as Hindus to teach the Hindu what he understands today very imperfectly that religion is not metaphysics, that it is something purely personal, and that caste is not an essential part of it. Realising that the integrity of Hindu society is essential to the advancement of this land, that Hindu solidarity is worth having in the larger interests of Indian nationalism itself, we should concentrate our attack as reformers on the most fundamental institution of our society and seek unity among ourselves on this basis.

The plan suggested indeed is not new. It dates back to Mr. Ranade and the strenuous efforts that he made through the Social Conference Movement to renovate Hindu society. The true lines of advance were indicated by him very nearly 59 years back in his masterly addresses to the Conference, and we need to have something of that old spirit to guide us in the troublous times ahead of us. I am not pleading for a new Protestant sect but I am urging that on these social issues, at any rate, whatever our individual attitudes in regard to metaphysical and theological questions might be, we should as Hindus who have a heritage to preserve and enrich, take a decisive line and work wholeheartedly for a more radical cure than the mere removal of physical untouchability. For until we can do this, there is, it strikes me, little hope for Hindu society, split up as it is into endless castes and sub-castes. It is to be regretted that the Social Conference Movement which promised so much at one time and which in the earlier years of the national movement did much to educate public opinion on vital matters has almost ceased to function. The old Social Conferences which used to accompany our political gatherings were useful for the purposes of stock-taking and it is a pity that they have gone out of fashion.

The social problem must be viewed as one whole and not piecemeal and the untouchability issue cannot be considered apart from the wider problems raised by the existence of caste itself. What gives vitality to caste is not the restrictions against inter-dining which are in practice disappearing but the privileged position of the priest and sentiment against intercaste marriage. Fortunately with the emancipation of women accompanied as it is with an intellectual awakening among them, in both directions a change in public sentiment is slowly taking place.

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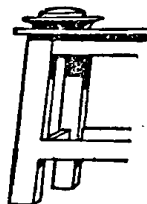
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

India and Lancashire:—In our leading article last week, it was remarked that English education was the most disinterested gift of Britain to India. The very reverse of it may be said of the policy followed in regard to industry and commerce. The facts are fairly well known. Those who wish to refresh their memories may refer to "the Ruin of Indian Trade and Industries" by Major B. D. Basu, a third edition of which has been published by Mr. Kamananda Chatterjee, Editor of the *Modern Review*, Calcutta (Rs. 2-8-0). We are loth to rake up old annals but the mentality which inspired the old policy has not altogether disappeared, as shown in the proceedings in Bombay during the examination of the Lancashire deputation by the Tariff Board, appointed to enquire into the claim of the Indian Textile Industry for adequate protection from outside competition. This is the first time that an English deputation has been invited or admitted to appear before an enquiry set on foot to consider the conditions of an Indian industry. We do not know if an Indian deputation will be allowed to have its say in matters similarly affecting a British industry. However that may be, the present arrangement is an improvement on the old practice of Lancashire bringing political pressure to bear on the Indian Government through the India Office in London. We assume, of course, that the old, bad practice has been given up once and for all, and that, having placed their case before the Tariff Board, the deputation will loyally abide by its conclusions. We doubt, however, whether another deputation will face an enquiry of this kind. Mr. Fazl Rahimtoola, the senior Member of the Board, though not its Chairman, brought to the notice the members of the Lancashire deputation the obvious truths which they seem to have overlooked. He politely pointed out to them textiles cannot be said to be overproduced

so long as India had to import them to complete her requirements. He also pointed out that at an enquiry into the need for giving further protection to the home industry, there can be no question of reducing the existing import duty which was felt to be insufficient.

Rationale of Protection:—To the plea that the superior quality of goods produced by Lancashire did not compete with the goods produced at present by Indian mills, there are two obvious answers. First, though Indian mills do not now produce the better qualities, they can, as Mr. D. N. Sirur remarked, easily do so by importing Egyptian cotton just as Lancashire does. It will save the Indian consumer the freight on cotton from Egypt to England and, then, the freight on the cloth from Lancashire to India, which he pays now in the price of Lancashire cloth. Secondly, it will give more work and wages to Indian mill workers which, after all, is the main consideration. The consumer whose interests bulk so largely in Lancashire representations, himself wants to consume only Indian-made goods and is prepared to pay for it even a little more than what the imported cloth costs. He realises that the import duty is necessary in order to keep his own people at work and that, if foreign cloth is allowed to capture the market, many thousands of men and women will be thrown out of work and that he will have to bear the cost of maintaining them either by taxation in prison or by private charity in their slums. This is the well-known argument for protection to home industries and a well-tryed one also. It is surprising that the hard-headed men from Lancashire should have supposed that Indians would be unaware of it. But the most sensational statement in favour of dispensing with protection, came from the Calcutta Chamber of (Foreign) Commerce. That powerful body maintained that India had no natural facilities for cotton manufacture and should require no protection! This, of the most ancient home of the cotton industry! Britain, of course, is, in their opinion, the natural home of the cotton industry, although she grows not an ounce of cotton!

Demand for more Universities and Colleges:—Notwithstanding the fulminations of the Commissioner of Education with the Government of India, the demand in the country for more Universities and more colleges is becoming insistent. Orissa has formulated a scheme for a



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Utkala University; Kerala has appointed an influential committee to negotiate with the Madras, Travancore and Cochin Governments for a Federal University covering the area anciently designated as Kerala; Sind is making as yet inarticulate noises expressive of a desire to have a Sindhi University. Ahmedabad, which has a full-fledged Government College of Arts and Science, has formulated a scheme for a second one and has applied or is about to apply to Bombay University for affiliation. This is preparing the ground for a University embracing Gujarat as well as the Gujarat States the idea of which has been in the air. Jalgaon in Khandesh has three High Schools and is planning to have an Arts College. The promoters of these schemes are non-officials and they are not at all considering the question from the point of view of employment. Their desire is to conserve the culture of their province and link it with the new culture. This is a laudable desire and, when it is borne in mind that University education is the best solvent of our social perplexities, it will be obvious that this movement is a vital factor in social progress. Higher education alone provides us with the means of reconstructing society on a non-caste, non-communal basis. As pointed out by the Hon. Mr. P. N. Saprú in his article in the *Twentieth Century*, from which we made excerpts in last week's *Reformer*, it is only then that the institution of *antayajas* will make its final exit. So long as there are castes there will be outcastes, if not of the current, then of some new type.

An Orthodox Entente:—We reprint today a part of an article in the *Modern Review* written by Pandit Jawharlal Nehru during his detention in Almora prison. Putting together certain orthodox Hindu demonstrations against the Sarda Act and Sir Mahomed Iqbal's commendation of it and call to Muslims to stand on their ancient ways, the Pandit conjures up a future India in which the Hindu priest and the Muslim Moulvi will control the fate of the country. "I do not think that I shall get on at all under the joint regime; I may even land myself in prison. I have spent a long enough period of my life in prison under the British Government and I see no particular reason why I should add to it under the new dispensation," writes the Pandit. India is a land of religions. Her history is predominantly one of religion and philosophy. Her greatest achievements are in that realm. Her inspiration is derived from religion. She can not move hand or foot without a religious reason. In this land, karma or kismet has planted one who proclaims that he has no faith in and no use for religion. Neither has he faith or use for the secular British Government which considers him so dangerous that it not only puts and keeps him in prison but carries on a propaganda against him in its Administration on Report, which has evoked protests in the British Press usually averse to any criticism of

the doings of the man on the spot. The *New Statesman*, indeed, accuses the Governor of Bengal of hitting the Pandit below the belt.

Groundless Fear:—The Pandit's fear that he may have to spend the remainder of his days in prison under a coalition of Hindu and Muslim orthodoxy, is groundless. Hinduism allows wide latitude of belief and disbelief. Even as regards conduct, it absolves the sanyasin of all restrictions, and the Pandit will, we fancy, come under the *Gita* definition of a sanyasin as one who is disinterested in his actions and not one who merely gives up religious rites and dons the orange robe. He may even be elevated to the rank of an avatar like Gautame Buddha one of whose sayings the Pandit cited in another recent writing of his. Every idea can be worked out into a logical absurdity. The Pandit himself admits that his picture might prove to be a somewhat exaggerated picture of what might happen. It is a highly, grotesquely exaggerated picture. As a fact, his picture of the future may well stand for a picture of the past. A fusion between Hindu and Muslim in thought and life was in progress and had made notable progress when the British came on the scene. This was the theme of Ranade's memorable address to the National Social Conference held at Lucknow in the last year of the last century. The process has been interrupted temporarily but historical processes can not be interrupted permanently and this too will be resumed as soon as the obstacles in the way disappear as they are bound to do. An understanding between the conservative elements in the communities of India which Pandit Jawharlal dreads, is the best hope for the future of the country. Unity can be permanent only if it rests on the stable part of human nature, which is conservatism.

The Problem of Religious Education:—In the current number of *Visva-Bharati*, Dr. Rabin-dranath Tagore has contributed an interesting article on "Religious Education." He describes the problem confronting the modern Hindu as follows:—"Our educated communities in India, at the present time, are faced with the same problems which beset the peoples of Europe. Our intellect and our will are forcibly attracted outwards, and our soul is left dormant in a world of emptiness. Owing to our absorption in the external, we have not even the time to realise the gaping disproportion between our inner and outer life. Such religious activity as still remains to us represents the inertia of habit; it continues because we ignore it by our conformity which is too lethargic to question itself. Meanwhile our present secular education is busy plying the axe at the root of orthodox beliefs. In our sacred books, as well as in those of Europe, we have medieval theories of creation and antiquated views about history and geography. These are so mixed up with the doings

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Adjustment Impossible:—Dr. Tagore continues: "Not only in the case of the *puranic* stories, but also in that of *Shastric* injunctions and social practices, adjustment to modern knowledge and experience becomes impossible. It is hopeless to bring science, history or modern business requirements, within the old scriptural pale. In these circumstances, there cannot but ensue in India as in Europe, a fight to the finish between modern secular teaching and orthodox religious teaching. Indeed, whether we are conscious of it or not, such a struggle is already in progress in our country. It is possible for the orthodox to stand outside the conflict altogether. If they do not object to blind belief, or loose thinking, if, in their view, a strenuous endeavour to apprehend the truth is not an essential requisite in the formation of human character, they need not face the problem at all. But, in the case of *us*, we believe, moderns, who are as much *our* children as definite acquired a scientific *to* the question, the question acute of Sir Samuel Hoare:—Sir we to give tare has resigned the Foreign religiouship in the British Cabinet. We are Dr. r for Sir Samuel Hoare. His speech at the League of Nations Assembly on September 11 on the Italo-Ethiopian War was a really great speech, notwithstanding his attempt to camouflage his Indian constitutional reform as a grant of self-government to this country. It raised him to a pinnacle in the estimation of the world. But the position has not been sustained and the terms which he, with M. Laval, drafted for presentation to Signor Mussolini and the Ethiopian Emperor as an equitable arrangement for concluding peace, have met with general condemnation. These terms which included a cession of territory to Italy and other concessions, by Ethiopia evoked a storm of protest and Mr. Eden—Sir Samuel Hoare being advised to take rest by his doctors—had to tell the League Committee that they were not sacrosanct and could be modified even League. Signor Mussolini made a may north in inaugurating the new town of disease. amounted to a contemptuous—Hoare peace proposals. given a reply which

Racial Issues in South Africa:—In spite of the claims of the Oxford Group Movement that racial feelings have improved since the Buchanites took out a team to South Africa, there is little evidence to show a change for the better. Recently, on the other hand, a deputation of the South African Indian Congress called on the Minister of Health, Mr. Hoffmeyer, to protest against the expropriation of land owned in Mayville by Indians under the Slums Act. Mr. Hoffmeyer had emphasised during the debate on the Act in the South African Parliament that the Bill was merely intended to remove slum conditions, irrespective of the colour or race of owner or tenant. But expropriating land owned by Indians and eventually evicting them. In the Mayville area thirty-six Indian property-owners have been cleared because, according to the report of the Health Officer, the site represents a non-European salient penetrating into a good class European area. What Mr. Hoffmeyer probably meant was that the European ownership of attractive areas occupied by Indians would not keep the White Government of South Africa from expropriating and reserving them for their own use. There is no moral basis for the action and, therefore, there can be no appeal for fairplay. That it will not be long before this White position becomes impossible, makes the race all the more anxious to attempt consolidation of its position with the illusory security of expropriatory acts.

Indian Opinion's Lead:—An important lead to the Indian community has been given by *Indian Opinion* in regard to the race issue as it affects them. Commenting on a recent donation for an Indian ward in a general hospital in Pretoria, it says: "By building these wards, Indians are once for all tacitly accepting the principle of segregation. Why should separate wards for Indians be necessary in General Hospitals? Have not Indians paid towards establishing them equally with other communities and are they not paying to run them by rates and taxes which are imposed on them equally with other sections of the community?"



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BOMBAY, December 21, 1935.

AN EXPERIMENT IN VILLAGE HYGIENE.

We referred in an editorial note last week to the report on "A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria" by Dr. Stuart Carter Dodd. In order to acquire the requisite background for the experiment, Dr. Dodd went through a very arduous and strenuous preparation. He went to live for several weeks at a time in the villages of Northern Syria. He also visited Bedouins in the desert and the Kurds in their tent encampments in the mountains, and villages in Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Persia. His knowledge of Turkish enabled him to communicate with the people of the Turkish speaking villages. With Arabs he spoke through an interpreter. He accompanied the doctors of the itinerant clinic of the Near East Foundation on their visits and their systematic medical and physical examination of every soul in two villages. He slept in the homes of the village people and in their tents and observed the habits of the family as to washing, defecation, sleeping, eating and other routine patterns of life. As the result of this exhaustive study of the villagers' life, he gives many useful hints as to what to avoid in working among them. All folk practices, he says, are not to be rejected as superstitions, and all western medical advice is not to be accepted as sound in every given situation. He mentions, as an instance of a sound folk practice, the use of pumpkin seeds for worms. As an instance of conventional western ideas which might backfire in some situations, he refers to taking baths in the village. The Syrians' idea of a bath is the Turkish steam bath which requires special provision for slow cooling off after the bath. Hygienic slogans like "bathe often", he says, are, therefore, to be discarded, or followed up with a new and detailed technique of bathing which adapts the rule to the local culture. Practices connected with personal cleanliness are, in many matters, according to high medical authorities, better conceived in the East; and the Westerner who sticks to his, is likely to alienate the feelings of those whom he wishes to serve.

Dr. Kellogg of the Battle Creek Sanatorium narrates in one of his books a story told him by a Christian Missionary returned home after many years service in India. The Missionary was once interrupted, while holding service in a Bengali village, by a native who rose up and shouted "This man isn't fit to preach. He wipes off with paper." The entire audience, he continues, fled as though from a leper. An Australian judge who visited India some years ago and wrote a book of his observations, remarked that the sage or saint who taught the Indian that the way to heaven lies through cleaning his teeth first thing in the morning, was a great benefactor of his

race. In personal hygiene the Indian has little to learn from a Westerner. On the contrary, as Dr. Kellogg observes, the latter may learn not a few lessons in self-respect and personal cleanliness from these "benighted children of Nature." The social worker should carefully note these practices and be careful to observe them himself. Personal cleanliness in the East is not next to godliness. It is godliness itself. Dr. Dodd warns social workers in Syria against disregarding definite religious and social prejudices. He alludes to the murder at the last Syrian Census of two enumerators because they enquired with insufficient tact into the personnel in the harem, the women's quarters. Even in Armenian Christian families a wife may not open her lips to utter a word in the presence of her husband's male relatives. As in India, the appearance of a man with a note book and pencil was enough to scare away the villagers and to make them tell lies without any purpose. Medical relief, especially by women doctors, was found to be the readiest way to cultivate the goodwill and win the confidence of village people. This is a point which the Karnatak Sahitya Parishat should take note of in its scheme of village lectures. In the Syrian experiment, except the American nurse, the rest of the party allotted to a village were all natives speaking the principal vernaculars of the country.

We have recited all this from the Report because we should like to clear any misapprehension that might arise from our reference, in the editorial note last week, to the specialised character and standardising tendency of American methods. It is evident that the leaders of the Syrian experiment are doing every thing humanly possible to put themselves in the skin of the Syrian villager. Their object is purely humanitarian. They are not out to make proselytes. Religion and politics are blotted out of the picture of Syrian life with which the experiment is concerned. Syrian workers freely quote the authority of the Holy Koran and the Christian Bible wherever possible in support of their propaganda. Dr. Dodd and his colleagues are concerned solely with the hygiene of the villages, Hygiene being defined to mean all the knowledge, practices and environmental conditions which tend to increase the health as measured by decreased morbidity and mortality rates and increased longevity. "It is not health itself but only the known causes of it and those which are under the control of the individual or the community," they explain. The seven villages which formed the area of this experiment in hygiene, are situated in a Syrian State under the French Mandate of the League of Nations and they would seem to be economically better off than most villages in those country. The average income of, of creation (family?) is estimated to be 80 dollars and geogr rupees. An adequate supply with the doings water and an ample



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are mentioned among the outstanding good features in three of the villages. One of the rare specimen of colourful writing in the Report, reads: "While villagers share the only universal democracy of possessing twenty-four hours a day, they have less with which to fill them. So the whole pace of life is leisurely, with no hurry to overtax the nervous system. Insanity is extremely rare, although feeble-mindedness was suspected several times." The villagers spoke in appreciation of the workers but actual progress during the period under review was slow. Miss Slack in her reports to the Near East Foundation speaks occasionally of individuals who have learned occasionally to wash their children's faces or sweep their dooryards, or to "de-gas" their babies after nursing. The villagers in one village promptly repaired a well when they were supplied with cement by the Near East Foundation.

It is difficult to estimate whether this method would yield better results in an Indian village. Personal hygiene, as already pointed out, is fairly good here. No persuasion is needed to teach the people to bathe daily, for instance. Provided water can be had, every one would like to bathe as often as possible. The provision of an adequate supply of pure water is the main problem of many Indian villages. Next in importance is the removal of illiteracy which is the principal cause of the backwardness of villagers. The best results are to be hoped for by social service by people who seek to learn as well as to teach. The evils of 'standardising' creep in when the social worker assumes his type of behaviour to be in all cases preferable to that of the people among whom he works. The question is, whether in the same conditions, climatic, economic, educational and political, he would have done otherwise. Every little counts and even the attempt to isolate and deal with one particular item in human behaviour apart from others, which together form 'environment', has its use. But in the nature of things it must be slight and fluctuating. This Dr. Dodd fully recognises. Referring to the economic depression which affected Syrian villages during the period, he observes: "In so far as hygiene is an effect of wealth (in the interaction of the two), the decrease of the wealth factor would tend to lower the hygiene status. Further more, whatever effects these economical factors of rainfall, crop production prices, road improvement, and tax rebates may have had, they operated equally on experimental and control samples." In villages which enjoy the advantages of pure water, good milk and freedom from contagion as the Syrian villages do, personal hygiene may go far to increase hygienic conditions as defined by Dr. Dodd. Where these are wanting as in many Indian villages, even a high standard of personal cleanliness may not ensure to the people immunity from disease.

THE CASE FOR BIRTH CONTROL.

Birth Control influences neither the population nor the breed nor the morality of a community. Therefore neither economist, eugenist nor priest as such should have any special interest in the matter. Much of the confusion in which the birth control issue is steeped today, is due to the failure of propagandists to disentangle the movement from the complications brought on by the advocacy or opposition of enthusiasts from one or other of these three groups. To them have been added the conflicting voices of doctors. The medical profession has for years been divided on the birth control issue, the supporters urging the use of contraceptives as a necessary, and even only, compromise between the extremes of continence and excessive child-bearing and their opponents enthusing over, according to the exigencies of the moment, either the virtues of self-restraint in building character or the beneficial effects of pregnancy on the normal woman. But it is in the arguments of the dissenting medical world that one finds defined the limits within which birth control can make a real contribution to human well-being. The birth control supporter is advancing an unanswerable argument when he pleads the cause of those women whose lives have been worn out by excessive child-bearing. His opponent has reason on his side when he points out that 'the sexual instinct of women is unduly stimulated without those periods of natural quiescence induced by pregnancy and attention to the newlyborn infant.' And both together present the strongest case against the existing conditions in which the sale of contraceptives is a trade unconnected with the medical profession.

The failure of medicine to assimilate the birth control movement has been a deplorable one. Dr. A. P. Pillay, editor of *Marriage Hygiene*, felt it necessary to start classes in 1934 for demonstrating the technique of contraception to doctors. It is a disgrace, to say the least, to let loose on a society in which every chemist's shop deals in contraceptives and every dealer shouts his wares at the public through the medical, and even general, press, medical practitioners who are ignorant of the elements of the subject. This is not peculiar to India. Even in England the contraceptive trade has outstripped the birth control clinic. Dr. Harry Roberts in his "Everyman in Health and in Sickness," feels called upon to utter a serious warning. "It must be emphasized," he writes, "that each case should be considered individually by a doctor...A method which is suitable in one case may be quite useless or harmful in another...Advertisements of contraceptives usually make unjustifiable claims for the success and suitability of the advertiser's own particular products, and it is unwise to use either a soluble chemical contraceptive or a mechanical appliance except on the advice of a doctor"; and he adds, "who is experienced in the technique of contraception." In the United States, the "traffic" in birth control is, if possible, worse. In January 1934, the supporters of birth control met in conference at Washington to organise the dissemination of birth control information through proper channels, i. e., the doctors. They also found it necessary to warn the public against the increasing flood of contraceptive products openly sold all over the country by pedlars. Miss Elizabeth Garrett wrote in an article (*Reformer*, February 17, 1934):—"Peddling is on the increase and the methods employed are often highly unscrupulous...One concern has been sending its saleswomen among the very poor to peddle a certain intra-uterine device that is dubious enough even when fitted by a physician and is almost sure to cause serious trouble when placed by the woman herself. Mrs. Sanger made the nation birth-control



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conscious. And in so doing she prepared the way for the commercial exploitation that was to come. To bring the control of contraceptive methods and products, into the hands of those best qualified to possess it and out of the hands of the commercial exploiters, Mrs. Sanger formed a National Committee on Federal Legislation for Birth Control."

Mrs. Sanger had realised, therefore, in her own country the evils of propaganda among people who are not yet ready for it. The proper thing for her and other supporters of birth control would have been to get the medical teachers and practitioners to adopt her view before launching on her campaign. Her first approach to the American public to create opinion and then overawe the medical profession into accepting her views, was excusable as she herself could not foresee all the consequences of her propaganda. But her repeating the entire procedure in India again without a warning of the evils it has brought down on the United States, can only be compared to the firing of houses to produce roast pig. Mrs. Sanger is welcome to this country as a woman who has laboured more than most others to relieve suffering in American homes. But her visit would have been of real value to us if she had told us of the difficulties she had to encounter and the weaknesses of the birth control movement in her home country. The stock arguments in favour of a similar movement in India can be turned out by any Indian enthusiast who goes through her written works, and even adapted to Indian conditions better than she could do. It is most unfortunate that she has not thought us worthy of this courtesy. And the tour through India will serve merely to rally admirers around her meetings. But the real work which has to be done behind the meetings and conferences will be left undone.

Every married couple must decide, and whatever the propaganda of birth-controllist or larger-family propagandist might urge, will decide for itself whether it is going to use contraceptives or not. We do not think that any woman who decides against having children and persuades her husband to her view is guilty of any heinous offence against society. But it is certainly necessary that those who proclaim birth control as a means of bringing about a new heaven and a new earth, should take some trouble first to ensure that their propaganda can be supplemented by competent medical advice. That is the urgent task of the birth control worker. It is not to be solved by the immediate establishment of birth control clinics, by educating our doctors on the technique and by having contraception on the college syllabus of medical students. The methods of the purveyor of patent medicines must be given up for a more scientific approach. Birth control will not solve every national problem that confronts us today. But as a relief to women suffering from the ravages of too frequent childbirth, it has a valuable contribution to make. It belongs to the maternity clinic and should never have been allowed to break loose from it. We trust that the birth control supporters in this country will concentrate on achieving this in the near future.

THE LATE REV. RAHMAT MASIH WAIZ.

Rahmat Ali was born on the 11th May, 1856 at Narowal, District Sialkot, Punjab. He came of a noble Muslim stock. The Mughal Court at Delhi conferred on his ancestors the hereditary title of Mian or Prince. His grand father, Mian Faiz Ali, was a man of great wealth, influence and learning and was so much respected by the people that when the Province came under the rule of the Sikhs the hereditary title was decreed to be continued and he was made a courtier in the court of Maharaja Ranjit Singh at Lahore.

Mian Husain Bakhsh, Rahmat's uncle had turned Christian before the Mutiny. His father, Mian Ali Mohammed, along with his two sons, one of whom was Rahmat, and two daughters embraced Christianity in 1870. Rahmat, at the time, was about fourteen years of age and he assumed Rahmat Masih as his Christian name. This revolutionary religious conversion in a leading Muslim family created a sensation. It was entirely due to the saintly Christian life of the late Rev. Bateman, the first Missionary of the Church of England at Narowal, who lived amongst the people, adopted their dress, language and mode of living. However, owing to popular opposition to the family of the new converts, they were obliged to leave their home and also willingly surrendered their rights to the properties. After their exodus many other families turned Christian and antagonism against them died down and Rahmat with his parents, brothers and sisters were happy to return to their home.

After passing out from the local Mission school Rahmat was sent to Lahore for a medical course. He remained in the medical school for about two years, but his spirit loved freedom and being of a religious trend of mind he felt a call to serve Christ in the apostolic manner. He went, independent of any agency, from place to place spreading the message of Christ, but owing to his youth he did not receive encouragement from any source. He had a natural aptitude for journalism. When an opportunity offered itself he was appointed the Editor of "Vakil-e-Hind," the first Urdu weekly at Amritsar in 1882. Since then his interest in journalism never waned. He was entrusted with the Editorship of "Nur-e-Afshan" in 1887, which he discharged with distinction for ten years. He dictated his last article a week before he died.

All these years he had a craving to serve Christ as an independent evangelist. He joined the Divinity College at Lahore. On the completion of his studies, he was offered a post under the Church Missionary Society, which he refused. He was a great admirer of Guru Nanak and Kabir. He became a Christian Sadhu and roamed all over the Province and came in touch with leaders of other religions. He was welcomed by the Arya Samajists, loved by the Sikhs and respected by the Muslims. When Chet Ram, the founder of the "Chetramis"—a Christian Sect in the Punjab—died, the See of Chet Ram was offered to him, but he declined it. He spread the Gospel of Christ in every village and hamlet in the Kangra Valley and worked with the late Dr. Pennell of Bannu, who too donned the saffron cloak of the Indian Sadhu, and toured the Bannu Province on foot. In his later years, he was a close associate of Sadhu Sunder Singh.

He persistently refused to be ordained because he felt that his movement in the service of Christ would be restricted. But eventually the Bishop of Lahore prevailed upon him and he took orders in 1914. He had the honour of being presented, as an Indian Christian representative, to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in 1922. He retired from Service in 1929 and died at Lahore on the 10th December, 1935. His death is a high land-mark in the history of the Christian Church in the Punjab.

The late Rev. Waiz was a staunch Church of England man. He believed in all the orthodox dogmas of the Church, but Christ, the "Name Supreme," was his religion. He remained a true son of India to the end. Western civilisation never appealed to him but, correctly reading the signs of the time, he did not deny his children the benefit of western education. His noble life was a result of the contact between true Christianity and Indian, particularly, Muslim culture and heritage. He had no



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use for the modern method of missionary work in India. He often said that so long as the Western Missionaries did not identify themselves completely with the Indian life, the evangelisation of India was a hopeless mission. He was mainly responsible for Indianising the mode of worship in the Indian Christian Churches in the Punjab. He believed that by trying to convert the Indian masses the Christian missionaries had adopted the course of least resistance. He was a fearless critic of the work and policy of Western Christian Missions in India. But he was deeply grateful to the Missionaries for bringing him to Christ.

The late Rev. Waiz was a poet of no mean calibre. His Ode in Urdu on the Death of Queen Victoria was one of the most beautiful pieces that was written on the occasion. His "Rahat-e-Dil" (Delight of the Heart) is the only popular Hymn book used by the Punjabi and Hindustani speaking congregations in Northern India. His versified account of the death of John the Baptist and the story of the Good Samaritan are known to every Christian boy and girl in the Punjab. He twice revised the Urdu translations of A & M Hymn Book.

He translated into Punjabi the four Gospels, the Psalms and the Common Prayer Book.

His "String of Pearls" a series of twelve booklets in Punjabi on the mysteries of life are found in every Christian home in the Punjab. "Pleasant Stories", "Sweet Stories" "150 Interesting and Instructive Stories", Lives of Samuel Morris, Rev. Warisuddin and "A Christian Lady" are among his other several publications.

"He being dead, yet speaketh."

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE IN INDIA.

The *Parsi Marriage Bill*, as amended in Select Committee, has been published at page 70 of the U. P. Gazette of October 12, 1933. Section 31 runs as follows:—

"If a husband or wife shall have been continually absent from his or her wife or husband for the space of 7 years, and shall not have been heard of as being alive within that time by those persons who would have naturally heard of him or her, had he or she been alive, the marriage of such husband or wife may, at the instance of either party thereto, be dissolved."

The waiting period of seven years seems to me to be too long. I think three years should be quite sufficient. Presumably young men were in a hopeless minority in the Select Committee, for young persons alone can realise what it means to waste full seven years of the most precious period of their lives in dry and useless waiting. As mostly young men alone go out of their homes for service, business or war, desert their wives or abscond to avoid arrest, this section will cause great hardship to young wives only. Will the Parsi youths rise in a body to protest against this gross injustice that is going to be perpetrated on Parsi women and agitate to the utmost to get this period reduced to three years? This long period of seven years will land a youth in the twenties married recently to almost middle age at its end, with much reduced chance of securing a suitable match. Furthermore, this period of forced continence will either cause all the numerous harmful effects—both physical and mental—which attend the repression of sex energy and suppression of sex activity, as enumerated by hosts of modern sexologists, or sexual lapses, resulting in obvious scandals, diseases, crimes and social evils.

Section 32 (e) provides that any married person may sue for divorce if the defendant has, since the

marriage, infected the plaintiff with venereal disease. Why not nip the evil in the bud by adding a section before Section 6 to the effect that the persons desiring to contract a marriage shall get themselves thoroughly examined by a qualified (*i. e.*, one holding a degree from a recognised Medical School or College) and registered medical practitioner, *nominated by the other party*, who shall conduct the examination in the same manner and fill up a certificate form similar to that a doctor has to do when examining a person going to insure his own life? Among other matters the certificate should state specifically whether the person is suffering from venereal disease, tuberculosis, epilepsy, insanity, imbecility, impotence, or infantile genitals (*i. e.*, inability to consummate marriage). The women shall have the right to claim to be examined by a lady doctor in case she lives at or near a station where one is available. The doctor's fee shall be paid by the party examined. The medical examination shall be arranged after all other preliminaries had been settled and the marriage had been agreed to. If any party backs out after the medical examination, on any ground except medical, based on the nominated doctors' certificate, he or she shall have to pay the medical fees incurred by the other party.

It should be laid down that the officiating priest shall not solemnise any marriage without receiving these certificates which he shall countersign and forward to the Registrar along with the marriage certificate, as provided in Section 6. The latter shall keep them for ten years.

According to Section 30, "In any case in which consummation of the marriage is, from natural causes, impossible, such marriage may, at the instance of either party thereto, be declared to be null and void." Surely there is no wisdom in contracting a marriage without first ascertaining whether any party is, from natural causes, incapable of consummating marriage, discovering it thereafter, then going to a court to annul it, causing thereby mental shock, waste of money (spent for marriage and litigation) and public scandal for both the parties. The medical examination as suggested above will do away with any such contingency.

Besides, it will be very difficult, even for experienced physicians to make sure in some cases whether actually the defendant or the complainant himself or herself had infected the other party first, as will appear from the following quotations from 'Sex and Love Life' by Dr. William J. Fielding of New York. (16th printing 1933).

"Many men, thinking themselves cured and then marrying, have later infected their wives. This sometimes results in bitter recriminations as well as physical suffering from the disease. It may happen that a man will in this way infect his wife, without experiencing any symptom himself, and she in turn will pass on to him an active or virulent case of gonorrhea. Many a woman has thus been unjustly accused of having contracted the disease before marriage, or of being guilty of infidelity after marriage, and picking up the infection in this way." Page 253. Again fortunately for them, many women have the disease in so mild a form that they are but little inconvenienced, probably not enough to seek medical attention, and have not realised that they were infected with the germs of a destructive disease. In cases of this kind, however, when the disease may be said to be latent, the woman is quite capable of infecting others. While she does not suffer herself, she is a 'carrier' and may give a virulent case to any one whom she infects, either in sexual congress or by spreading the germs on bed clothes, sponges, towels, syringes, etc. P. 256.



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It is high time that the Hindus, Sikhs, Christians and Muslims too should try to amend their out-of-date marriage laws. But if it is not possible to do so at present, these being very large and heterogeneous groups, the educated, thoughtful and progressive sections thereof should try to get up to date, equitable and eugenic marriage and divorce laws enacted for them. The backward and conservative elements will follow suit in time.

Lucknow

NIRMAL CHANDRA DAY.

HINDU IDEALS OF EDUCATION.*

(BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE)

It is the same all over the world. Here, man has hidden his true welfare behind the veil of antiquated custom; there, in his attempts to grow bigger by acquisition and accumulation, he has allowed his self to eclipse that which is greater than self; everywhere, whether it be by inert slothfulness or by unmeaning activity, he has been lost to the sense of his greatest good.

From its very birth, (and every time it has gained fresh life by shaking off the bonds of orthodoxy,) Hinduism has been characterised by its efforts to rescue itself from the depths of such forgetfulness, to rouse the faculties of man to their greatest power by making men realise themselves in their relation to the Infinite. The unshackled Hindu mind has always proclaimed this freedom of joy as the true object of man's religious striving. And whenever any particular scripture, temple, philosophy or ritual has usurped the place of such grand freedom, it has done so contrary to the spirit of truth and necessarily therefore of true Hinduism.

This much already becomes evident, that religious teaching of this character cannot consist merely in prescribing formulas to be learnt by heart, or rites to be repeated. At the same time, the difficulties due to the absence of that kind of definiteness which comes from outward forms, must not be shirked. We must not allow ourselves to be moved by regretful longing for those facilities of sectarian religion, be it Hindu or any other, which make the problem easier. What is the good of trying to make religion easy? Dust is easy to get, not gold.

Just as health is a condition of man's whole body, so is religion of his whole nature. Health cannot be given in the same way as money is put into one's palm. But it may be induced by bringing about suitable conditions. Religious teaching, likewise, cannot be left to a school committee to be put on their syllabus along with arithmetic and Euclid. No school inspector will be able to measure its progress. No examiner's blue pencil can assign it proper marks. An appropriate environment must be created in which religion may have its natural growth.

Men, who have attained realisation, have themselves told us that the way is not through the intellect, nor vastness of erudition. That is to say, religion is not a thing to be taught and learnt, in the ordinary meaning of those terms. But no great man, up to now, has been able to tell us exactly how he arrived at his enlightenment. Seers have simply exclaimed: I have known Him; those who know Him attain immortality. How He comes to be known is a truth of such intimate mystery, that it is not even patent to the knower. Had any seer been able to disclose the mystery, the problem of religious education would have ceased to exist.

It is true, there have been cases of enlightened men who have advised a definite religious procedure for their disciples. One set of these has said: "Purify

your mind: avoid sin: make your inner self worthy of receiving the enlightenment, which shall come from within." Others have counselled the recourse to outward observances. Some of the latter prescribe the performance of rites; some enjoin the repetition of formulas, or meditation on symbolic images. But history has shown us how, whenever the religious effort is thus directed outwards, the door is thrown open to error; the imagination runs riot; the disciple, fascinated by the alluring comfort of lazy credulity, loses his way. Thereupon ensues self-delusion and the deluding of others. Nevertheless, there can be no question that many of those who give such advice have gained truth themselves. It would be wrong to charge them with a deliberate desire to mislead. At the same time, the fact that they have gained realisation for themselves does not preclude their being honestly mistaken. It is one thing to have arrived at enlightenment, and quite another to have a correct analytical idea of the path by which it was reached.

While many wise men recognise this and seek to combat the tendency to make too much of habits, there are others, born and bred therein, who cannot get rid of a certain dependence upon and affection for them. Though, as a matter of fact, the latter have become great only by inwardly transcending such habits, they do not realise that fact. On the contrary, even if they are driven to admit that such popular customs are not essential to a people's spiritual perfection, they persist in justifying them as having been initially useful in the case of their own temperament. The result of this is that lesser men, who have no inborn genius, imagine that they too have achieved greatness because of their adherence to the same customs; they wax intolerant, and cannot concede greatness to be possible where these observances are absent. For them, truth and conformity to custom become one and the same thing.

Attainments, which do not have their origin in external habit, but are the result of the unfolding of the inner nature of man, cannot be gained by artificial methods. They depend on favourable conditions. If religious feeling is not considered a mere sectarian accomplishment, but rather the fulfilment of humanity itself, then it must have a suitable environment for its exercise, and sufficient leisure for its growth. The surrounding light and air must be so ample that the soul may gain fresh life with every breath it draws. This amplitude is what the forest universities of ancient India offered for the spiritual education of her children. The ideal of perfection preached by the forest dwellers of ancient India runs through the heart of our classical literature and still dominates our mind.

The forest *Asrama* was the sacred abode, where human activity, in cadence with that reposefulness which is in universal nature, mingled in the discipline of man's pure disinterested endeavour. The spirit of the universe and the soul of man united to build up a temple for worship. This worship itself was service, unfettered by the bonds of self-seeking. It is this spiritual unity which was set forth so truly and so purely by the great thinkers and teachers of ancient India in their forest *Asramas*; and it is this same ideal which we need for our religious growth today.

The religion of the modern time which does not ascribe any particular form to the subject of its worship, nor attributes any special efficacy to particular rites, but rather believes that outward observances carry with them a certain danger to man's intellect as well as to his moral nature,—such religion cannot be expected to keep a permanent hold over the minds of men by the mere preaching of its ideals.

* The *Viveka-Bharati*, November 1933.



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The atmosphere of the *Asrama* is needed if the religious spirit in the modern age is to find its inner harmony and its living power. For, in the *Asrama* life, such a harmony exists. There are no artificial barriers between men and nature. Men and women and little children come naturally to regard bird and beast, tree and creeper, as their kith and kin. The subtle allurements and endless appurtenances of worldly comforts do not constantly distract the mind. The search after God is not merely an act of meditation, but is continued throughout the daily life in acts of sacrifice and compassion. Conscience is not imprisoned by any personal consideration of expediency. Its urgency is ever towards the higher ideal of universal good as the only final sanction.

There are truths which are of the nature of information, that can be added to our stock of knowledge from the outside. But there are other truths, of the nature of inspiration, which cannot be used to swell the number of our accomplishments. These latter are not like food, but are rather the appetite itself, that can only be strengthened by inducing harmony in our bodily functions. Religion is such a truth. It establishes the right centre for life's activities, giving them an eternal meaning; maintains the true standard of value for the objects of our striving; inspires in us the spirit of renunciation which is the spirit of humanity. It cannot be doled out in regulated measure, nor administered through the academic machinery of education. It must come immediately from the burning flame of spiritual life, in surroundings suitable for such life. The *Asrama*, the Forest University of ancient India, gave for our country the answer to the question as to how this Religion can be imparted.

It was in the *Asrama* where the harvest of religious thoughts, reaped in a great period of Indian History, was garnered in the Upanishads. These had nothing to do with any institution; they never harboured any creeds, nor built rigid walls round them of logical consistency; and therefore people brought up in the atmosphere of some sectarian religion consider the texts contained in them merely as so many seeds of religious philosophy. But there can be no doubt that these seeds came out of the fruit of a true life of religion, fully lived. Such religion contains the true spirit of liberation in its essence of spiritual truth because it is free from the bondage of sect.

SECOND INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE WORLD FELLOWSHIP, LONDON.

The Second International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths will be held in London, in July, 1936. Outstanding representatives of the great faiths of Persia, India, China, Japan, Europe, Australasia, America, and other lands will be called together—to give men an idea of the direction which the human race should take and of the world-order after which it should strive.

The First International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths, which was held in U. S. A. in 1933-34, was guided in its activities by the three governing ideas of:—

1. Working for fellowship;
2. Welcoming the necessary differences among fellows in any fellowship;
3. Uniting the inspiration of all Faiths upon the solution of man's present problems.

The British National Council, in organizing the Second Congress to be held in London from July 3rd to July 18th, 1936, would accept these ideas as their guiding principles, but would wish the attention of

the Second Congress to be concentrated upon the solution of one specific problem, leaving subsequent Congresses to deal with other problems. And the subject it has chosen for discussion is:—

Fellowship implies unity, and the sense of fellowship is latent in every man—of fellowship with his fellow-men, and of kinship with all living things and with the whole universe. But what is merely latent needs first to be positively realized and then intensified till it is consummated in beneficent action. For, until the unity is actualized, the equally fundamental diversity of men is apt to bring them into harmful conflict rather than enlightening contrast. So the Congress will focus its efforts upon emphasizing the fundamental unity.

The main hindrances to the establishment of any worldwide, or any intimate fellowship between men of different faiths, and of different races, nationalities and ways of looking at things, may be stated as:—

- (a) Fear, suspicion, hatred and other forms of spiritual instability which lead to wars between nations and conflicts between individuals;
- (b) Nationalism in excess or defect;
- (c) Racial Antagonism and Race Domination;
- (d) Religious Differentiation;
- (e) Class Domination;
- (f) Poverty;
- (g) Ignorance;

How these obstacles to forming any true fellowship can be overcome, whether it be by the aid of:—

- (a) Education (literary, scientific, philosophic, or religious);
- (b) Improved economic conditions;
- (c) Drama, music or other forms of art;
- (d) The examples of saintly and heroic lives held up for emulation;
- (e) Prayer;
- (f) Concentrated meditation on the supremely perfect things in life;
- (g) Sharing spiritual experiences;
- (h) Common pursuit of Truth, common enjoyment of Beauty, common worship of a God common to all mankind, common deeds of Charity,

or by any other means will be the one problem before the Congress.

To help in finding a solution of the selected problem, representative spokesmen of the leading Faiths of the world will be invited to deliver addresses open to discussion to the Congress. Every such spokesman will not be expected to deal with all the above-mentioned hindrances, or with all the suggested aids to overcoming them. Each will be invited to deal only with that particular one, or with those few, with which he feels himself most competent to deal. But taken together these addresses should give a good basis for the discussion of the problem. And, to make the discussion the more fruitful in results, the twenty selected writers would be asked to have them ready by January, 1936, so that they might be published as a collection and be available for the use of members well before the Congress assemblies. Groups could then meet in preparation for the Congress and discuss the problem. At the Congress itself, besides the hour allotted for the formal debate of each of the twenty addresses, opportunities would be afforded for further informal group discussion. And at the final meeting of the Congress the results of the debate would be summed up by some competent person.

Then, besides these addresses (followed by discussion) on the solution of one of man's present problems, six addresses by a Confucian, a Hindu, a Buddhist, a Jew, a Christian and a Muslim, respectively, will be delivered at two public meetings on "The Supreme Spiritual Ideal." These will not



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be followed by discussion. But, as in the case of the other series of addresses, a summing up of the main conclusions will be made at the final meeting of the Congress. As a result there may, perhaps, emerge some common ideal after which humanity is now faintly groping and towards which it may more consciously strive in future.

By these two means we should hope to obtain a valuable conspectus of opinion as to how the spirit of World Fellowship may best be promoted.

But something further may be expected. During the progress of the Congress itself the sense of fellowship should all the time be developing. For, previous to each meeting, a short devotional service will be conducted by a representative of one of the great religions—on one day by a Hindu, on another by a Jew, on a third by a Christian, on a fourth by a Muslim, and so on. The meeting for a common object—and that the highest possible—should in itself engender such a spirit of fellowship among the assembled spiritual leaders of the world as will gradually leaven the whole body of mankind, and there work till it finally eventuates in deeds of lasting benefit to the race and to every single member of it in his own individual, personal, and most intimate life.

Patriotism, nationalism, racialism may indeed, continue—but continue only as they all allow themselves to be included in and transcended by an all-embracing love of humanity. The nation, or race, will regard not itself alone: it will work for that wider whole, the whole of humanity, in which it is included as a component part.

And the fellowship we would have in view would be something profounder than what is usually spoken of as the Brotherhood of man. Brotherhood suggests a mere blood-relationship. The fellowship intended is essentially a thing of the spirit founded on a sense of kinship with the divine. It is a divine fellowship—a fellowship of the Holy Spirit. For each of us is in some degree a manifestation of God—most in very small degree, a few in very high degree, but all in some. And in all the glow of the divine is capable of being stirred into blazing, fervent flame.

To create this Divine Fellowship is the high adventure into which we all—both young and old, Christian and non-Christian—will now throw our best energies. It is the one great need of the world—the final solution of every problem. Given a Divine fellowship between nations as between individuals and all else follows. That, therefore, it is for which, above all else, we will work. That it is, and that alone, which will bring joy and serenity to the world—and great peace at the last.

Among the many supporters in Great Britain of the Second International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths are:—

Sir Norman Angell, The Master of Balliol, Rev. Dr. Sidney Berry; Canterbury, The Very Rev. The Dean of; Davies, Sir Walford, Drummond, Rev. Dr. W. H. Garvie, Rev. Dr. A. E. Haldane, Dr. J. S. Halifax, Viscount, Heath, Carl, Henderson, Rt. Hon. Arthur, M. P. Jacks, Dr. L. P. Lal, Sir Shadi, Mattuck, Rev. Dr. Israel, Montefiore, Claud, Murray, Professor Gilbert, orwood, Rev. Dr. F. W. Noyes, Alfred, Quadir, Sir Abdul, Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, Ross, Sir Denison, Royden, Dr. Maude, Rutherford, Lord, St. Paul's The Very Rev. The Dean of; Samuel, Rt. Hon. Sir Herbert, M. P. Shaw, Dr. Martin, Sheppard, Rev. Canon; H. R. L. Southwork, Right Rev. The Bishop of; Thorndike, Dame Sybil, Wrench, Sir Evelyn, Younghusbaad, Sir Francis (Chairman), Zetland, Marquis of; Zimmermann, Professor Alfred,

ORTHODOX OF ALL RELIGIONS, UNITE*

Nearly twenty-two years ago, before the War, in January, 1914, the Aga Khan wrote an article in the *Edinburgh Review* on the Indian situation. He advised the Government to abandon the policy of separating Hindus from Muslims and to rally the moderate of both creeds in a common camp so as to provide a counterpoise to the radical nationalist tendencies of young India, both Hindu and Muslim. In those days extremism was confined to nationalism and did not go beyond the political plane. Even so the Aga Khan sensed that the vital division lay not along religious lines but along political—between those who more or less stood for British domination in India and others who desired to end it. That nationalist issue still dominates the field and is likely to do so as long as India remains politically unfree. But today other issues have also assumed prominence—social and economic. If radical political change was feared by the moderate and socially backward elements, much more are they terrified by the prospect of social and economic change. Indeed it is the fear of the latter that has reacted on the political issue and made many a so-called advanced politician retrace his steps. He has in some cases become frankly a reactionary in politics, or a camouflaged reactionary like the communalists, or an open champion of his class interests and vested rights, like the big Zamindars and taluquaders and industrialists.

I have no doubt that this process will continue and will lead to the toning down of communal and religious animosities, to Hindu Muslim unity—of a kind. The communalists of various groups in spite of their mutual hostility, will embrace each other like long lost brothers and swear fealty in a new joint campaign against those who are out for radical change, politically or socially or economically. The new alignment will be a healthier one and the issues will be clearer. The indications towards some such grouping are already visible, though they will take some time to develop.

Sir Mohamad Iqbal, the champion of the solidarity of Islam, is in cordial agreement with orthodox Hindus in some of their most reactionary demands. He writes: "I very much appreciate the orthodox Hindus' demands for protection against religious reformers in the new constitution. Indeed this demand ought to have been first made by the Muslims." He further explains that "the encouragement in India of religious adventurers on the ground of modern liberalism tends to make people more and more indifferent to religion and will eventually and completely eliminate the important factor of religion from the life of the Indian community. The Indian mind will then seek some other substitute for religion which is likely to be nothing less than the form of atheistic materialism which has appeared in Russia."

This fear of communism has driven many liberals and other middle groups in Europe to fascism and reaction. Even the old enemies, the Jesuits and the Freemasons, have covered up their bitter hostility of two hundred years to face the common enemy. In India communism and socialism are understood by relatively very few persons and most people who shout loudest against them are supremely ignorant about them. But they are influenced partly instinctively because of their vested interests, and partly because of the propaganda on the part of Government, which always stresses the religious issue.

Sir Mohamed Iqbal's argument, however, takes us very much further than merely anti-communism or anti-socialism and it is worthwhile examining it in some detail. His position, on this issue of suppression of all reformers, is, it

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should be remembered, almost the same as that of the Sanatanist Hindus. And even a party which presumes to call itself Democratic or Nationalist (or perhaps some other name—it is difficult to keep pace with the periodic transformations of half-a dozen worthy gentlemen in Western India) declared recently in its programme that it was opposed to all legislative interference with religious rights and customs. In India this covers a wide field and there are few departments of life which cannot be connected with religion. Not to interfere with them legislatively is a mild way of saying that the orthodox may continue in every way as before and no changes will be permitted.

Sir Mohamad would go further for Islam; according to him, it does not believe in tolerance. Its solidarity consists in a certain uniformity which does not permit any heresy or non-conformity within the fold. Hinduism is utterly different because, in spite of a common culture and outlook, it lacks uniformity and for thousands of years has actually encouraged the formation of innumerable sects. It is difficult to define heresy when almost every conceivable variation of the central theme is held by some sect. This outlook of Islam is probably comparable to that of the Roman Catholic Church; both think in terms of a world community owning allegiance to one definite doctrine and are not prepared to tolerate any deviation from it. A person belonging to an entirely different religion is preferable to a heretic, for a heretic creates confusion in the minds of true believers. Therefore a heretic must be shown no quarter and his ideas must be suppressed. That, essentially, has always been, and still is, the belief of the Catholic Church, but its practice, has been toned down to meet modern 'liberal' notions. When the practice fitted in with the theory it led to the Spanish Inquisition, the *autos da fe*, and various crusades and wars against Christian non-conformists in Europe. The Inquisition has a bad odour now and we shiver to think of its cruelties. Yet it was carried on by high-minded, deeply religious men who never thought of personal gain. They believed with all the intensity of religious conviction that the heretic would go to hell if he persisted in his error, and with all their might they sought to save his immortal soul from the eternal pit. What did it matter if in this attempt the body was made to suffer?

I wonder how far Sir Mohamed Iqbal would accept Cardinal Newman's dictum, applying it to Islam of course. I imagine that quite a large number of both Hindus and Muslims would agree with the Cardinal, each thinking in terms of his own religion. Indeed I should say that most truly religious people belonging to almost any organized religion would agree with him. Personally I entirely disagree with him because my outlook is not that of religion. But I think I can dimly understand the religious outlook and to some extent even appreciate it. Granting the supreme importance of certain dogmas and beliefs the rest seems to follow. If I am absolutely convinced that a thing is evil, it is absurd to talk of tolerating it. It must be suppressed, removed, liquidated. If I believe that this world is a snare and a delusion and the only reality is the next world, then the question of progress or change here below hardly arises. Because I have no such absolute convictions, and the beliefs I hold in matters of theological and metaphysical religion are negative rather than positive, I can easily pose as a 'tolerant' individual. It costs me nothing in mental suppression or anguish. It is far more difficult for me to be tolerant about other matters relating to this world in regard to which I hold positive opinions. But even then the opinion has not got the intensity of religious

belief and so I am not likely to favour inquisitorial methods for the suppression of opinions and beliefs I consider harmful. Not being interested in the other world, whatever it may be, I judge largely by the effects I observe in this world. I am unable therefore to find a supernatural sanction for inflicting cruelty, physical or mental, here below. Perhaps also most of us of the modern world (Fascists and Hitlerites excluded) are far more squeamish in the matter of causing pain or even watching it with unconcern than our stout old ancestors were.

Thus we make a virtue of our indifference and call it tolerance, just as the British Government takes credit for impartiality and neutrality in matters of religion when in reality it is supremely indifferent to them so long as its secular interests are not touched. But there is no shadow of toleration when its administration is criticized or condemned. That is sedition, to be expiated by long years of prison.

Sir Mohamad Iqbal could thus like to have, so far as Muslims are concerned, a strict uniformity and conformity enforced by the power of the State. But who would lay down the common standard which was to be followed? Would there be a kind of permanent commission of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema advising the secular arm, as the Roman Church used to advise the princes of Europe in the days of its temporal glory? Sir Mohamad, however, does not seem to approve of the present generation of Moulvies and Ulemas. He says that "in the modern world of Islam ambitious and ignorant mullaism, taking advantage of modern Press, has shamelessly attempted to hurl the old pre-Islamic Magian outlook at the face of the twentieth century." On the other hand he expresses his sorrowful contempt for the "so-called 'enlightened' Muslims" who "have gone to the extent of preaching 'tolerance' to their brethren in faith."

The election or nomination of a competent authority to interpret the ecclesiastical law under modern conditions will be no easy matter, and it is well known that even the pious and the orthodox often disagree amongst themselves. Orthodoxy ultimately becomes one's own doxy, and the other person's doxy is heterodoxy.

If such an authority is established it will deal presumably with the Muslims alone. But Islam is a proselytising religion and questions touching other faiths will frequently arise. Even now doubtful cases arise, especially relating to girls and women who, with little thought of religion, marry a Muslim or elope with him or are abducted by him. If they slide back from the strict path of the faith are they to be subjected to the terrible punishment for apostasy?

JAWHARLAL NEHRU.

PEACEFUL CHANGE.*

(BY JIRI F. VRANEK, B.A., PH.D.)

It may seem, perhaps, out of place, or at any rate premature, to speak of Peaceful Change at a time when the press informs us daily of a war in progress in Africa, of clashes between the frontier forces of two great Powers in Asia, of the possible renewal of hostilities in South America, and of the inevitability of a conflagration in Europe. Yet all these conflicts and the show of violence are the result of much deeper causes which threaten to prevent orderly relations between states, such as we were led to hope for during the last sixteen years. It is true that the question of sanctions is uppermost in the minds of everybody to-day. But the problem of *peaceful*

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change is the problem of the future—if there is to be any future for our civilisation at all. Sanctions may restore international peace now, but only a process of peaceful change can prepare a permanent peace by establishing orderly international relations. These relations will not be necessarily *peaceful*, but *orderly*. We must therefore clear our minds of the confusion that still exists on the question of peace and war. The distinction between peace and war seems to be an obvious one—so obvious that it obscures the real issue. From the point of view of relations between states, the difference between peace and war is only one of degree, not of category. A sovereign state, which does not recognise any higher authority, can have no other relations with its neighbours except those of peace or war.

But what is *Peace*? The Oxford English Dictionary informs us that peace is "*freedom from war*," that it is "*cessation of war*." This definition logically assumes that peace is something negative, the absence of something more fundamental, namely *war*. And the same dictionary gives the following definition of *war*: a "*state of open hostility*." Again, logical deduction would assume that the other kind of hostility, the *subdued hostility*, is the more general relationship which usually passes under the name of peace. In the unorganised, anarchical world, therefore, peace and war are only reverse and obverse of the same bad coin, of unorganised relations between states. They are both based upon the will of sovereign states who are their own judges.

The true distinction lies not between peace and war but between an unorganised world in which these are inevitable, and an organised world of states. In such a world there would still be the use of force, not for the selfish ends of one section of the community, but for the preservation of order. The state of peace may then be described as a state of international co-operation, and the state of war as the application of military sanctions. We are forced to use these rather inadequate terms, for international law has not yet developed sufficiently to provide us with better terms.

The establishment of orderly international relations involves another problem. We live in a dynamic world. As human beings, we are part of a process of continuous change. There is no need to stress the importance of the philosophical system of Heraclitus, in which the world is presented as one continuous flux. It is one of the earliest philosophical generalisations and perhaps the most profound one. We see, then, that everything human—even human relationships—are subject to the same laws of change or, to put it more specifically, the natural law of rise and decline. It was a philosopher, not a lawyer, who defined politics as "the art of readjusting institutions to the changing needs of mankind."

Our next question is, why, if everything changes and nothing is static, do we still recognise a difference between evolution and revolution; between peaceful and violent changes? The reason for this lies with man himself and his dual existence, physical and intellectual. While man's body follows the laws of nature, his mind, although subject to change, is yet capable of conceiving the immaterial, the immutable, the eternal. The first impact of man's mind on the outside world is to control it, to stabilise it. That desire for stability is prompted by yet another impulse—the need for the material security of man's existence. That security can be achieved only through man's control of his material environment. By controlling matter he can become more and more independent of it. In order to perpetuate this favourable condition, man's relationship to inanimate objects and to his fellow beings alike must be regularised and stabilised. The highest expression of this process is the creation of the State—an institution

which by its very etymology suggests something static, unalterable. Within that institution, man's relations are embodied in a system of laws. Laws, however, and all institutions within the State, must be adjusted from time to time to the changing needs of the society. This is done by politics, through the medium of the legislative powers of the government. Laws are the expression of certain relationships at a given time. But the continuing operation of these same laws under changed circumstances results in injustice. We are familiar with this phenomenon. Laws usually lag behind conditions, because the machinery for their adjustment works slowly. In democracies the process involves the persuasion and conviction of either a majority of the electorate, or, at any rate, the majority of their representatives in the legislative body. This method of changing the laws of a State is an entirely respectable, constitutional process. It is carried on openly by individuals, societies, political parties—some of them disinterested, others with an ulterior motive. Reformers in democratic countries are sometimes looked upon as impractical idealists, but, for all their desire to change the law, they are not regarded as law-breakers.

In the international sphere the situation is entirely different. The legal system which regulates the relations between states is embodied in international treaties. Until recently in theory, and in practice even to-day, each sovereign state is the sole judge of its actions. Consequently it must rely only on the force of arms to carry out its policies. The existing rights of states are also based upon force, and are therefore established by those treaties which establish the relation of these forces, namely, by peace treaties. Peace treaties are the result of an armed conflict, and perpetuate in a legal form the "*status quo*" of the moment. Peace treaties are contractual obligations. It matters not whether they have been concluded voluntarily or "under duress." As they are the expression of a given state of relations, and as those relations are based on force, the more or less ethical problem of "will" does not enter into consideration.

But we are concerned with another character of peace treaties. They are perpetual. Their validity has no time-limit. When, therefore, circumstances change—when the relations based upon a certain balance of forces is altered in the purely natural way of an organic growth—then the demand for change becomes irresistible. There is, however, no organisation in the international sphere to which a State could appeal under such circumstances. There is no international government, no international parliament. There is no possibility of changing peace treaties by such methods as are used for changing the laws of a country.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL AND BENGAL GOVERNMENT.

With reference to Paragraph 18 in Bengal Government Administration Report for 1934-35 in which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was accused of carrying revolutionary activities in the guise of anti-untouchability activities and with Harijan Funds Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sent the following statement to the press in India: "A friend has just drawn my attention to the following paragraph appearing in Bengal Government's Administration Report for 1934-35. "During the third week of January Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru paid a short visit to Calcutta and after consultation with leaders of most of the subversive movements in Bengal prescribed a militant programme based mainly on his own extreme socialist views and designed primarily to attract the peasant masses. This agitation was to be carried on under the guise of anti-untouchability activities and with the money"



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collected for Harijan work. He was eventually prosecuted before the Chief Presidency Magistrate in respect of three violent speeches. The Pandit did not defend himself beyond attempting to deliver a further seditious speech from the dock and was sentenced to two years simple imprisonment on 16th February."

This paragraph contains a number of errors and insinuations but realising, as I do, that the Bengal Government and I are as poles apart in regard to ideas and outlook it would serve little purpose for me to argue these matters with them. But there is one specific statement in it, that I was attempting to carry on an agitation under false cloak of anti-untouchability activities and with money collected for Harijan work which I cannot in fairness to my colleagues in Bengal Harijan Seva Sangh and myself allow to pass uncontradicted. The statement is an absolute falsehood which neither had nor could have had the shadow of a foundation. Whatever else I might be guilty of I hope that I have never indulged in duplicity in my work. A definite and unequivocal statement having been made by Sir John Anderson's Government in Bengal and having been contradicted by me it is desirable in the interests of public morals for them either to justify it or to withdraw it publicly and express regret for it.

There are certain things which are not done by decent people, and if an error is committed an apology is forthcoming. An error in my case may not matter much, for the opinions that my countrymen form of me are not based on Bengal Government's views on the subject. But a Government has the tremendous power of the State's apparatus of coercion behind it and its errors are likely to affect the lives and liberties of vast numbers of people.

ENGLISH PRESS OPINIONS.

A special cable to the "Hindu" says:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in a letter to "The Manchester Guardian," vigorously repudiates the passage in the Bengal Administration Report describing his visit to Calcutta and attributing to him the prescribing of "an agitation to be carried on under the guise of anti-untouchability activities, with money collected for Harijan work." Pandit Nehru characterizes this as an amazing and astounding lie without the shadow of a foundation and says he cannot allow such a falsehood to go unchallenged in fairness to the Harijan Seva Sangh. Pandit Nehru adds: "I have many failings but I hope duplicity is not among them."

Editorially, "The Manchester Guardian" hopes that the attention of H. E. Sir John Anderson will be called to Pandit Nehru's protest and adds, "It is immaterial whether Pandit Nehru disclaims subversive activities, but when it is a question of misappropriation of the untouchables' funds, other considerations arise, as the Pandit comes from a family, distinguished for patriotism culture and a fine sense of honour." "Such things may occasionally creep into administration reports, but our faith in the trustworthiness of such publications would be partially revived if the charge against Pandit Nehru were either substantiated or expunged."

The "New Statesman" commenting on the communication from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru wherein he refers to a passage in the Bengal Administration Report of 1934-35, in the course of which he is accused, during his visit to Calcutta, of advocating that a programme of agitation should be carried out on a false pretext with funds collected for quite other purposes, agrees with his demand that in the interests of public morals, the statement should either be justified or publicly withdrawn. The paper adds that the Governor of Bengal ought not to hit below the belt or be suspected thereof.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

A Beacon of Hope:—The categorical repudiation of the Hoare-Laval proposals for ending the Italo-Ethiopian War by the British Government and the enforced resignation of the British Foreign Secretary responsible for them, are an unprecedented departure from British tradition. For a parallel commentators who are interested in precedents have had to go a long way back in English history. These events have to us in India a deeper interest than the fate of Ethiopia. They restore to some extent the belief, which Indians cherished for long, that the British people are at heart lovers of justice and fair play and that they would not tolerate wrong if they were not misled by political subterfuge. More than that, these events have restored to many their wavering faith in the Divine ordering of the Universe and the supremacy of the moral law. The part played by Sir Samuel Hoare in this discreditable episode is in character with the Indian constitutional reform with which his name will be associated. Apart from the scheme itself, his attitude towards educated British Indians and their opinion, revealed the true nature of the man. There are some things which should be forgiven but cannot be forgotten.

India and the Rejected Proposals:—The *Hindu*, which is not apt to nurse petty grievances, begins its leading article on Sir Samuel Hoare's resignation by recalling his famous saying about caravans and dogs. It is clear, it adds, that Sir Samuel put forward his so-called peace proposals in the same spirit in which he offered the India Bill to the British and Indian public—take it or leave it. The *Hindustan Times* points out that this was not Sir Samuel's first commitment as Foreign Minister which had to be repudiated by the British Government. His declaration in his Guildhall speech about the

Egyptian constitution of 1923, was not publicly repudiated but was quietly over-ruled by the British Minister in Egypt being instructed to inform the Egyptian Government that His Majesty's Government did not oppose the restoration of the 1923 constitution. Mr. Baldwin said in the House of Commons that the leakage of the Laval-Hoare proposals in France made impossible any other course but an open repudiation of them and the consequent dropping out of Sir Samuel Hoare from the Cabinet. To take liberties with India, does not involve any immediate risks and may be tolerated. But the Foreign Office is a dangerous sphere and while it is probable that Sir Samuel's career is only interrupted, it will be many years before he is entrusted again with the foreign portfolio.

National Congress Jubilee:—Fifty years ago today the Indian National Congress met for the first time in the premises of the Gokuldas Tejpal High School, in this city. The occasion is to be commemorated this evening in the same premises. It is a happy idea of the President of the Bombay Congress Committee to invite men and women of all shades of politics to gather together to express their felicitations on the attainment of its fiftieth year by this historic institution. The enthusiasm created by Lord Ripon's administration gave the first impulse to the establishment of an annual Assembly representing the aims and aspirations of United India. Lord Dufferin, who succeeded Lord Ripon, suggested to Allan Octavian Hume the desirability of having an All India organisation to which Government can look for an authentic expression of Indian opinion on questions relating to the administration. The National Congress was thus started as more or less an auxiliary to Government. As its criticism became effective and extended to policy, Government ceased to regard it as an auxiliary and began to treat it as a hostile movement. Within the Congress itself, two currents of thought manifested themselves, first, faintly, then with increasing force and volume. The main body of the Congress represented by the leaders, accepted British rule as a process in Indian evolution and their criticisms were directed to accelerate its pace. An energetic minority chiefly from Maharashtra and Bengal, on the other hand, stressed the alien character of British rule and favoured a nationalism which would be self-contained and self-directed by natives of the country.



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Surat and After :—The concussion between the two ideas first showed itself in the attempt, five years after the birth of the Congress, to dissociate it from the sister organisation, the National Social Conference, on account of differences on the right of the British Indian Government to initiate social legislation. The minority continued to gain strength and was able to create the split at Surat in 1903. On the death of the two great leaders, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale, both in the year, 1915, the control of the Congress passed out of the hands of those who continued to hold the old creeds. Nevertheless, the old ideas did not completely cease to influence the policy of the Congress until the death of Mr. Tilak, at the moment when the issue of non-co-operation hung in the balance, shifted the Congress completely out of its old moorings. Divergent as these phases seem on the surface, they are all to be regarded as stages through which the Indian people became alive to their destiny as a nation and to the difficulties which beset the path to its realisation. There is no use of and no room for recrimination. All have contributed to the development of the national consciousness. The country has reason to be proud of the National Congress. The time is opportune to remove the restrictions unconnected with politics, which prevent many people from joining the Congress. The party system of parliamentary politics has become discredited even in the land where it produced in the past signal results. In India, too, we should aim at forming a national party and, indeed, there is greater reason to do so here than in Great Britain. We trust that the Jubilee celebrations will pave the way towards this most desirable end.

The Central Educational Advisory Board :—After the inaugural oration of Sir Girja Bajpai, which is the subject of our leading article, a heavy curtain descended upon the proceedings of the Central Educational Advisory Board at Delhi. Enterprising newspaper correspondents communicated to their journals, as the result of their attempts to peer through the fog, that the discussions revealed strong differences of opinion in composing which Sir Girja who presided had to exercise all his tact, patience and ingenuity. The Press communique issued by the Board, the substance of which is reprinted elsewhere, fully confirms this surmise. It contains the text of the principal resolution passed by the Board almost concealed in a lengthy exegesis telling the reader what it all means. The resolution is a hotchpotch of all the suggestions recently made in Convocation and other addresses. The University representatives strongly resented interference on the part of the Board. The resolution, therefore, concerns itself chiefly with secondary education and proposes to make itself contained, whatever that may mean. The fundamental error of this idea, is that the three principal stages of education correspond to the pupil's stages of mental growth,

the elementary to the child mind, the secondary, to the period between childhood and adolescence, and the higher to adolescence when the intellectual and spiritual faculties are verging to maturity; and they cannot be kept distinct because childhood, youth and manhood run into one another and cannot be kept distinct from one another. The primary stage can not be carried further than 12 years of age and what are the jobs which await the thousands of lads whose education, according to some recent suggestions, is finally and irrevocably to end there? The compulsory school age is being advanced in other countries as one means of relieving the Labour market. Here, on the contrary, we try deliberately to "divert" young people from schools as a part of a scheme to find jobs for the jobless.

More Experts :—In order to carry out this fantastic transformation some experts are to be brought out from Britain whose economic and educational conditions are the complete antitheses in every respect of those of India. The English educational system is adapted to the needs of a small, over-industrialised country which, in order to assure its manufactures of raw material on the one hand and a market for their products, is obliged, whether it likes it or not, to hold and administer a vast colonial Empire in conditions of what has been aptly termed "economic servitude." The British educational system has, for its main object, the turning out of personnel for "colonial administration." India, on the other hand, wants educated men to carry out the ordinary duties of life in a society which is assailed from many sides by divergent forces and which has to face them all at the same time, while her power of resistance is weakened by economic and political subjection. The English experts can not therefore help India to solve her educational problem. But the importation of these experts seems to be the only tangible result of the joint Board's deliberations. The shelves of the Government of India and the Provinces are groaning under the load of reports of Experts on all conceivable subjects and the four horsemen of the new Educational Apocalypse will write a Report which, in due time, will find a place in this honourable and dusty region.

Hindu Social Evolution :—The learned article which we publish today on the vicissitudes of the law of Succession among Hindus may be found stiff reading by several of our readers. It is, however, important for more reasons than one. In the first place, our learned contributor belongs to one of the foremost orthodox Sri Vaishnava families of Southern India and the perfectly objective manner in which he discusses the motives of the great Rishis who are regarded as inspired authorities on Hindu law, shows that Hindu orthodoxy at its best is untrammelled by the scrupulosities of the professional priesthood. Secondly, the article completely disproves the fond belief of the average Hindu that all the laws and customs to which he is subject, are identical with



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those observed by his Vedic forbears in the pre-historic past. Thirdly, Mr. Tatachariar boldly affirms and clearly shows that the Hindu law owes its liberalisation, still far from finished, particularly in regard to women's rights of property, to Dravidian influence, Aryan policy not recognising any rights in their favour. The old theory that India was a land of primitives before the Aryan conquest, is crumbling in the light of the knowledge which is accumulating from the study of ancient remains by archaeologists. Even in the realm of religious philosophy the great Acharyas, Sankara and Ramanuja, both Southerners, owed a great deal to their Dravidian Gurus and they have acknowledged their obligation. Ramanuja, in particular, incorporated much from Dravidian sources into his teachings and religious organisation and he made Tamil a second sacred language side by side with Sanskrit. Tatachariar, as a direct inheritor of his tradition, insists on the debt which Hindu law and custom owe to Dravidian inspiration.

Belief in Jesus and Baptism :—Perhaps the greatest of Christian Missionary educationists who served in this country was Dr. William Miller whose name will ever be associated with the Madras Christian College. He held that the diffusion of Christian ideals was the main task of Missions and proselytisation was a mistake, as it obstructed such diffusion. O. Kandaswami Chettiar was one of his favourite pupils. Kandaswami was greatly influenced by Dr. Miller not only in respect of ideas but also in regard to outward manner. He has throughout been a devotee of Jesus Christ. He believes in the divinity of Jesus. Probably, he also believes that the Jesus incarnation is unique and has had and will have no parallel. In all the beliefs which constitute a Christian he is one. But he has not become a convert. He has not undergone baptism. He has remained a Hindu in all outward things. He still wears a dhoti, a long buttoned-up coat and a turban. His household arrangements are just those of any other educated Hindu. Recently at a friendly gathering of Christians near Madras, at which he was present, the position of believing in Jesus but refraining from baptism, seems to have been the topic of discussion. The majority view would seem to have been that the position was anomalous and belief in Jesus should go hand in hand with baptism into one of the sects of Christianity.

Mr. Kandaswami Protests :—In his letter which we print in another column, addressed to the Convenor of the Red Hills gathering, Mr. G. Solomon, Kandaswami vigorously combats this conclusion. He points out that Quakers and Salvationists do not baptise and they are certainly Christians. Belief in Jesus has no logical connection with baptism. The true test of belief is behaviour—the conduct which issues from it. Baptism is a superimposed ceremony. Many baptised Christians, indeed, the majority, show little

trace of Christian behavior, which shows that baptism is something superficial, a form, not a state of mind. While we think with Kandaswami that it is intolerable that every one who believes in Jesus should be baptised or submit to be called a moral coward, we also think that it is wrong to judge Hinduism by the behaviour of the mass of Hindus while attaching to Christianity an idealistic, Sermon on the Mount, meaning which few Christians understand, fewer less practice. Speaking generally, Christianity, while it has produced exceptionally fine types of individual men and women, has been far less effective to influence the mass mind than Islam, Buddhism and Hinduism. Individuals who believe in Jesus, therefore, may well hesitate to identify themselves communally with a population consisting predominantly, of mass converts. Few Missionaries themselves do so.

Hindu Mahasabha :—The seventeenth session of the Hindu Mahasabha meets today in Poona under the presidentship of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. The Chairman of the Reception Committee is Mr. N. C. Kelkar who was closely associated with Mr. Tilak in his journalistic and political activities and has written a very readable biography of him. The present session is important in that even publicists who used to treat the Hindu Mahasabha as beneath notice have come to recognise that it alone can deal with certain problems which have proved intractable to political methods. We are glad Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has agreed to preside notwithstanding his recent poor health. There were some differences which, for some time, prevented the Pandit from taking direct part in the Sabha. They have evidently been got out of the way. We earnestly trust that this session of the Mahasabha will put aside minor issues and concentrate on the essential need of Hindu society, namely, vigorous propaganda for the removal of many popular misconceptions of Hindu religion and its promulgation in its purity and simplicity as set forth in the Bhagavad Gita which is recognised as authoritative by all sects. The Sabha would be wasting its opportunity if it spent its time in discussing the Communal Award or Dr. Ambedkar's ultimatum. The Nemesis which watches over human affairs has overtaken the author of that Award. "I never have seen a man so near collapse," said the driver of the train in which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald travelled to London after the polling in his constituency. The Award will remain on the statute book but it will be deprived of its power to do harm if Hindus cease to be afraid of it and believe in themselves. As for Dr. Ambedkar's challenge, it is really a challenge to Hinduism to reform itself and the Sabha can best meet it by starting a propaganda such as we have suggested. So long as this work remains unattempted, piecemeal reforms are only possible and they are never certain or durable.



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SIR G. S. BAJPAI ON THE
EDUCATIONAL BOARD

Addressing the graduates of Patna University a few days ago Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru observed that the one danger which he foresaw under the new constitution was that education being a provincial subject, Indian universities and the entire educational system in each province might tend from a national point of view to become far too provincial or parochial. This admission by one of the architects of the new constitution, should carry great weight with the public and all who, in any measure, are in a position to influence opinion in moulding future policy. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, acting Member for Education of the Government of India, on the other hand, declared, in his speech inaugurating the Central Board of Education at New Delhi last week, that one might as well attempt an educational pan-Europe as to centralise educational initiative and control in India. This was an unfortunate analogy; unfortunate not only in its application to education but, worse still, in its implications over the whole range of Indian nationalism. The centralisation which the Hon. Education Member regards as unthinkable has actually existed since the time when an educational system was adopted in British India; particularly in University education which was governed by statutes of the Imperial Legislature until the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms fifteen years ago. Even now the Benares Hindu and Aligarh Muslim Universities are under the direct control of the Central Government. Whatever results the Indian educational system has achieved, it has achieved under centralisation; while the provincialisation of education has, in the opinion of competent observers, not only lowered the standard but has also retarded the pace of educational expansion. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's fear that the provincialisation of education may lead to its becoming parochial is only too well founded. For our part, we would have liked University education at least to have remained a central subject. But the die is cast. The question is, what can be done now to counteract the tendencies to provincialism and parochialism which are sure to be let loose by the new constitution. Is the Central Board of Education inaugurated last week, likely to prove effective for the purpose? The Board is not a new device. It was tried soon after the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms and it was discarded after a year or two. The provinces of British India alone were then concerned. Under the new constitution, they will be legally independent of the Central Government. And there are now the States also in the picture. Are they likely to be more amenable to a Board at New Delhi even for the limited purpose defined by Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai?

He defined the main function of the Central Advisory Board to be "to test, sift, and cohere the current educational thoughts of the day and impart to what may result from such creative effort the lasting impulse of progressive policy." Sir Girja Shankar had no doubt some definite picture of this process before his mind when he formulated this object but we may be forgiven for not being able to see in it more than a cloud of words. There is nothing "creative" in testing, sifting and cohering current educational thoughts. The operations indicated are rather of a mechanical character. They can be performed quite as well by the Provinces themselves and should be.

Young people on the threshold of life eagerly look to their elders, who have risen to the higher rungs of life's ladder, for words of hope, encouragement, good cheer. What do they get? Said Sir Girja Shankar, "Educated men are unemployed; many of them show an invincible disinclination for any work other than the drudgeries of literacy, a pathetic incapacity for even moderate proficiency in that mechanical pursuit, a tragic lack of aptitude for anything else." This is surely too sweeping to be correct as a character-sketch of Indian youth. Employment and unemployment do not by any means constitute a test of character or capacity. In many cases they are due to causes beyond the control of individuals. But the other items in Sir Girja Shankar's indictment, are much too serious to be passed over. Every one must, of course, judge from the samples which he has happened to come across. Sir Girja Shankar has, no doubt, come across types such as those described in the words quoted. But we too have come across quite a number of educated young men and women, and we have no hesitation in saying—indeed we feel bound to say—that his description is incorrect, unfair and indefensible as a general proposition. We say that the younger generation of educated Indians is, as a class, more resourceful in dealing with situations, less calculating in responding to the call of an ideal, more straightforward, more capable, more ready to make sacrifices, to incur responsibilities, to face the world as men and women who have a work to do without asking any body's leave, more truthful, faithful, more steadfast, in every way better than their predecessors. Their very independence is one cause of unemployment in several cases within our knowledge. We write with some feeling because Sir Girja Shankar occupies a great official position and his estimate of the younger generation cannot but affect their future. It should not, therefore, be allowed to go without emphatic contradiction, much as we respect Sir Girja Shankar's ability and accomplishments. After all, every administration, every business, even every pastime requires vast "drudgeries of literacy" to keep it going nowadays. If the clerks in a Department or Store or Industry struck work for a day, the machinery would



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come to a standstill; while if the bosses stayed away to attend horse races or cricket matches, the wheels will continue to revolve as if nothing happened. If educated men are not willing to drudge as clerks on small salaries for long hours, Government will have to conscript them for the purpose. Otherwise the administration would collapse like a house of cards. It is for employers, who will be helpless but for these literate "drudges," to see that the work is not more soul-killing than it need be and that the workers are provided with amenities to lighten their drudgery.

We realise fully that something effective has to be done to counteract the tendencies apprehended by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. The only way that we can think of is to start a great post-graduate Research University to which the best brains from Indian and foreign universities will be attracted by ample facilities for original work in all departments of knowledge. Such an institution will automatically set the standard for every University and College in the land. Incidentally, the field of employment for educated men and women will also be enlarged. To make employment the end of educational reform will lower the standard but may not appreciably reduce unemployment. One thing more has to be borne in mind. Reduction of facilities either by curtailing admission or closing institutions will injure immediately and primarily the backward classes who are just emerging from their apathy to education. The literary classes will educate their children because to do so has to them the force of a religious duty. But the masses who have hitherto remained unlettered and who do not yet appreciate the value of education, will find it difficult to educate their children, even more than they do now, if in all the stages there is not a large and steady increase in the number of schools and colleges. We want not fewer but more schools and colleges and a greater variety of them.

Women and War:—That the Open Door (*Reformer* December 14) ideal is gaining ground is shown by Madame Ellen Horup in an article on "War and Women" in the current *Calcutta Review*. She writes:—"In Sweden for example a movement has been started: the women's unarmed revolt against war. Its first move is directed towards protection from gas. Here it has taken up the only right standpoint on a humane basis: We will not be protected if all cannot be protected. "If we save 50 out of a hundred we are plentifully rewarded for our trouble," says the French General Superintendent for the protection of French land. But which 50 shall be rescued and which sacrificed? War is the most palpable acknowledgment of the rights of the strong and the power of money. So they let the poor and defenceless be sacrificed whilst the rich save themselves. Men who want to protect their women and children have only one thing to do: prevent war."

THE HINDU LAW OF SUCCESSION: A PRODUCT OF EVOLUTION.

"*Śruti* and *Smṛiti* are mine own commandments, whosoever transgresses them, is a law-breaker, and traitor unto Me; and though he be My devotee, he cannot be termed a Vaishnava." Such are the words recorded to have fallen from the lips of an Avatar of Vishnu. In the light of those very commandments we, the Hindus, have been regarded to have bound ourselves to act, these two or three thousands of years. And the benign British Government has not dared or chosen to thwart our personal law these one hundred years of their sovereign rule in India. Manu is at once *Code and History of Hindu Law*. As a Code, it contains all enactments, amendments, and repeals at once, even according to so early a sage as Brihaspati. In this very form, Manu is also a true and accurate History that speaks for itself. To one who has an eye to a historical evolution of things in general, and of law in particular, Manu covers a distinct period of at least four successive generations of men on the soil of ancient India. If Kautilya's *Arthashastra* should form a landmark and take us to the reign of Chandra Gupta Maurya in the last quarter of the 4th century before Christ, we can safely conclude that the age of the great Acharyas or leading Dharma Sastra writers was already long past or just over, and the present Manu was then in existence, with all its various amendments. Kane's History of the Dharma-Sastras takes a different view; that the period above-mentioned covers a full thousand years from about 600 B.C. to 400 or 600 A.D. I cannot claim his vast and varied range of study, and research-work in the field of *Smṛiti* literature, nor his able marshalling of facts and reasons for his conclusions. But I propose to take the reader through much easier short-cuts and bye-paths to the different conclusions of mine based on reasons to be shortly stated.

I may, before proceeding to detail, at once state and give the gist of my conclusions so far as relevant to the question of Inheritance or Succession. In Aryan patriarchal societies women had no place or rank; large estates or "gotras" descended primogenitively in the male line only; if the male line became extinct, recourse was had to the fiction of adoption or other representative sonships. The huge Dravidian population of Hindustan and South India had many things in ideals, ideas and culture to convey to their Aryan superiors, such as partition, female inheritance, slavery, (the real origin of caste and depressed classes in India), sale, including marriage by sale as distinguished from barter, including exchange of brides between different gotras, etc., notions of hell or Naraka, and of Moksha, as distinguished from the Aryan paradise or Swarga, besides the art of writing with or without its application to the preservation of sacred lore, and the cult of Bhakti as a means to attaining Godhead here or hereafter. What the Rishis from Manu to Vyasa did was to engraft upon the Aryan Vedic Common Law all the *Smṛiti* rules and principles of equity drawn from Dravidian sources, for very sound or palpable reasons to be found in the Aryan Law itself. For instance, Manu does not refer to a father's power to divide the property among his sons or between himself and his sons. Nay, other sages rule it atrocious for a son to drive his father to a partition. But Manu says that sons may divide it among themselves, or remain joint under the headship of the eldest brother or member, and that if they separate, there is room and reason for greater acquisition of merit on the whole, by



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separate performance of yajnyas or sacrifices in every home, and indirectly by the greater chances for Aryan acts of religion whose permanence and perpetuation are thereby assured. Equal division is ordained for the Sudra classes, even if the sons number a hundred, while the old partiality for the joint family system is shown by extolling it to the skies and by special favour shown to the eldest on partition, of an extra or preferential share over and above his due share in compensation for his lost right of primogeniture. Other sages say that Manu himself showed the way by partitioning his huge estate among his sons as a precedent for others to follow as a vidhi or a rule of usage or practice. Having multiplied tiny estates in the place of old impartible ones, the sages had to find a way and means to ensure the perpetual succession to the same even as the unwieldy estates of old had so long endured. They had to indent upon all the old kinds of sonship that were perhaps still lingering with them, and for the contingency of all of them failing, they had to draw upon the current Dravidian institutions of female heirs and their children succeeding to the property. Acceptable reasons therefore had to be sought for in the Vedas, Sastras or popular notions. A daughter could be, even as Daksha first set the example, appointed to rear issue for the father who had no male issue, by stipulating with her husband at the time of her marriage that her first son should be handed over to her father to supply his want of a son to redeem him from hell. If the issue of the marriage prove an only son, then he became son to both his own father and maternal grandfather. If he should die or were not born at all, then his mother (the appointed daughter) took the father's and husband's estates as well; for a daughter or wife was as good as a son, being born of or becoming by marriage union the same flesh and blood. When she died without issue, after her father Manu would allow her husband to take her father's property on his death without hesitation or discussion though in another place he would, as of old, allow the father and brothers to succeed. But later sages came to the rescue of the wife of the deceased and gave the succession to her before the father or brothers; and finally still later sages gave her the priority also over the daughter and her son. And now the order as finally settled, was the reverse of the original order of their recognition as heirs. It was now the widow, daughter and then the daughter's son. The respective reasons were easily found in the wife becoming one with the husband at the time of marriage, the daughter becoming the source of perpetuation of lineage and her son offering *pinda* to her ancestors as well as to his father's. And the various events that contributed to this issue lend a peculiar colour and significance to the history of the law of succession, that is, of the three new heirs above mentioned that are thrust in between the male heirs (son, grandson and great-grandson) preceding and those (father, brothers, their sons, etc.) succeeding them in the list of heirs to a deceased Hindu. And during the study of this question the chronological order of the sages that lived in the distant past becomes also evident. It would show that the 100 or 150 years preceding Kautilya was a great period of legal activity in ancient India under the rule of the Imperial (Sudra) Nanda dynasty of Mahapadma and his eight sons. The Mahabharat shows that the Kali age had already begun with the Nandas' accession, which confirms Brihaspati who says that men of his (Kali) age could not take to various kinds of adoption for reasons of fast diminishing powers etc. It appears that the institution of adoption of all sorts of sons for perpetuation of

families and estates was itself the outcome of the Mahabharata War that occurred just before the advent of Kali, even as we witness similar attempts of Germany to rehabilitate her disastrously diminished population, by recourse to reduction of taxes for a married couple having more than a prescribed number of children, to additional registered wives allowed to a man (?) and to provision of hospitals to receive all orphans and abandoned infants without questioning their parentage, and to rear them as State children, and to the new law fixing women to the home and care of children. The fearsome necessity of depopulation being over, King Vena's provisions allowing Kshetraja and other sons were gradually looked upon with horror.

The original law of succession to a man leaving no son or son's son or son's son's son was as follows:—Manu says that father and brothers only take the estate of a sonless man. This was not far removed from the rule of primogeniture in such a contingency. Baudhayana, Apastamba and Gautama uniformly rule that Sapindas and Sakulyas take it; while Apastamba would include the daughter in the alternative, Gautama would add that the widow takes evidently in trust for issues (to be) begotten on her if she is willing to rear up a son by Niyoga for the benefit of her husband. Baudhayana mentions "either Putrika-putra or an ordinary daughter's son in the alternative" in his list of secondary sons; but towards the end of the list he mentions the former only as one of those who take the property, perhaps meaning that a daughter's son, though no heir, is competent to perform Sraddha. Vasishtha would give the third place in his list of heirs to the Putrika herself, that is, the appointed daughter, in anticipation or in the place of the expected son by her. Vishnu agrees with Vasishtha, with this difference that on failure of a son by the appointed daughter, she herself takes. So far it is clear that, after her son, comes the daughter. But the same sage states that the sonless man's property goes to the widow, daughter, (and a daughter's son according to another version) father, mother, brother, brother's son, Bandhu Sakulya, co-student, and lastly to the king except in the case of a Brahmin's wealth. Narada mentions the Putrika-putra in the list of secondary sons as the third, on failure of all sons, gives the unappointed daughters but not their sons the right to succeed before the Sakulyas, Bhandhus, oastemen and the king. Brihaspati gives the second rank in the list to the Putrika and her son; and allows the widow, daughter and daughter's son in this very modern and (to us) familiar order to succeed to the sonless man before his father, mother, brothers, their sons (being uterine), Sakulya, Bandhus, disciples, Brahmins in general and the king. Katyayana states that the sonless man's heirs are the widow, daughters, father, mother, brothers, their sons, step-mothers, and father's mother in this same order of succession. He would, as usual with, his predecessors, allow the king to take only after setting apart enough for the funeral expenses and for the maintenance of the deceased's women and dependants. Sankha says that the Putrika-putra is the third in the list of sons, and that the estate goes to the brothers, parents, or to the eldest widow. Devala gives the second rank to the Putrika-putra, and allows the unmarried daughter born in approved forms of marriage to succeed, failing whom comes the father, brothers of equal caste, mother and widow in order. But Harita puts the Putrika-putra as the fifth in the list but allows the widow, if young and ascetical maintenance for life. Yagnyavalkya is well-known to rule that the widow and daughters only, and then, the parents, brothers, their sons, etc., succeed

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to the sonless man's estate among all castes whatsoever. There is quoted a prose passage of *Parasara* to the effect that an unmarried daughter, failing whom a married one, succeeds. And Kautilya ranks the Putrika-putra as second only to an Aurasa, being equal to him in every way; and allows succession to the daughters born of approved marriages, then the father, brothers, their sons, and, lastly, the king, excepting as to the amount required for funeral expenses and life-long maintenance of the deceased's women.

Manu, who waxes so eloquent over the Putrika and her son as to give a right to the Putrika to go in shares with an after-born son without, of course, a claim to the preferential share always due to the eldest-born son, has clean thrown her and her son overboard in his list of sons, six of whom inherit to the father only and the other six to his collaterals also. Manu does not also refer to her own or to her son's share in competition with a Kshetrāja who is said to compete with an Aurasa for a half or fifth or sixth share, as we find in Brihaspati. This tends clearly to show that in Manu's days in Krita-yuga neither Putrika nor her son was ever an heir and that Daksha-Prajapati, son of Manu's son, Prachetas, started the precedent of adopting a Putrika for a son whom Gautama had to recognise and rank as the last but one at least in his list. Harita gives him the fifth rank while the later sages raise him to the third or even the second place. His special history clearly shows that he was originally nothing in the maternal grandfather's family, that, next, he rose rapidly in the ladder of sons, first for mere purposes of taking the maternal gotra and doing the *śraddha* in that family with a simple right to maintenance and with a very remote chance of getting a fourth share in the maternal grandfather's estate on failure of all other sons in the family and, lastly, that he rose to the position of an equal sharer with an Aurasa son in Brihaspati's time. Here is an instance in clear illustration of the Mitakshara principle of "First get the inheritance and then do the *Śraddha* next," as opposed to the Dayabhaga rule of "First do the *Śraddha* and then in that right or capacity take the inheritance." The Putrika and Putrika-putra, it is abundantly clear, were not incorporated into Manu until after Brihaspati who alone of all others gives them an equal place with an Aurasa son. And we have only to look at the various *arthavadas* used in this connection both in Manu and Brihaspati. And we are struck with the characteristically Brihaspatian spirit that is breathed into Manu; nay, some of the verses resemble each other very much. While we find Sukracharya's verses in *Ausanasas Smṛiti* transported verbatim and in groups into our Manu in about 75 places, we find only paraphrases of Brihaspati's verses adopted in Manu though not altogether depleted of all his (the former's) characteristic vigour and spirit. The reason is not far to seek. Sukra was in the State service of the Sudra dynasty of the Nanda, while his rival Brihaspati was only in some provincial service or under the feudal tributary of the Nanda emperors. And the way in which and the object with which this incorporation in Manu was achieved and the indifferent or promiscuous manner in which we find the words Putrika and Putrika-putra and the words Duhita, and Dauhitra wilfully or carelessly used in Manu, are just enough to show how the Mitakshara definition of Sapindaship, meaning relationship by blood, asserted its superiority over the Dayabhaga one, meaning religious competency to offer *Pindas* or oblations in *Śraddha*. This Dravidian triumph over the Vedio spirit could only be possible during the Sudra suzerainty of the Nanda Emperors and

under the powerful spell of their Buddhist persuasion that laid the greatest stress on the head and heart of man than on the outward form and dry bones of stereotyped rituals and observances.

R. V. V. TATACHARIAR.

INDIANISATION AND THE BRITISH SOLDIER.

I was all by myself in a five-berth compartment at Bori Bunder. But I was none too pleased when an Anglo-Indian railway official entered at Kalyan with his little son and occupied one of the vacant berths. For the other four were all booked and, a little before the train steamed out, four British non-commissioned officers stepped in to claim their reservations. In spite of my having reserved my accommodation, I was a trifle startled at the presence of this army contingent and prepared for a determined assertion of my rights. My railway companion, I could see, was also adjusting himself to the altered situation. The soldiers were loud in their protests against intruders who had invaded 'their' compartment and angry glances were cast in our direction. The Anglo-Indian established contact with the least aggressive-looking of our new companions and explained with a degree of reasonableness that astounded me, that his son did not want a separate berth but could sleep quite comfortably on the floor of the compartment. He eventually succeeded in persuading the others that the reserved berth was his. During the long journey between Kalyan and the next halt, it was obvious that I was generally regarded as an intruder and it was not an enviable position. As I had no desire to get involved in a squabble over my berth and since I could not enter into ordinary conversation before this question of accommodation was settled, I took up a book and was very soon absorbed in it. But not to so great an extent as to be unaware of the rising indignation of my military companions who felt an additional grievance against me for being unsociable. The atmosphere of the carriage grew thick with cigarette smoke. At the next halt the soldiers enlisted the aid of the station-master who scrutinised the reservation-card on the compartment and assured them that I was all right and that they also were entitled to their berths. Strange to say, the Anglo-Indian managed to elude attention as no one thought of questioning his presence there. I felt much more interest in the possibilities of the situation now that my berth was assured to me. As sleep was out of the question—it would have been vindictive to have cleared my berth of its two other occupants—I settled down to my corner. I did not exchange a word with the others but I was somewhat annoyed when I saw, before turning in, the railway official settle down to sleep in a usurped berth. One of the soldiers in spite of a last friendly hint from the railwayman that he could without danger slip into the neighbouring first class and travel in comfort, as no 'ticket-inspection takes place at night,' decided to stay up the night reading. The display of so much consideration by one whom I had expected to be most undisciplined and disorderly in civil life so surprised me that I was several times on the point of allowing the soldier to relax his vigil and use my berth for part of the journey while I sat up reading. But prudence overcame my good impulse and the fear that I might not find it easy to get back my berth once I gave the use of it to my companion held me back.

In the morning we were all feeling more friendly towards each other. A good beginning was made by the most ferocious of the military batch who stuck his head out of his berth and greeted me across the compartment with a cheery 'Good morning.' In



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half-an-hour I was listening to a discourse on the problems of the modern army. The men were returning from the training-school at Belgaum and were full of their subject—poison-gas and remedial measures. One of the four was really anxious for a war which, he urged, would be more humane than the last one as the gases used would be for the purpose of disabling temporarily and not killing the opponent, and would be of shorter duration as the objective will be attained by attacking the civilians by air raids. The others were against war but deplored the monotony of military life in India, relieved only by occasional riotings. The war-enthusiast, however, regretted that the only contact between the British soldier and the civilians among whom he has to stay, was in these riots which he thought could very well be allowed to blow over without intervention. He turned to me and said that the country was a wonderful one and the people most law-abiding but there was not enough education and too much over-education for a few. He expressed a desire for greater meeting occasions between army men and civilians and added that, because there were a few bad men in the army, all were tarred with the same brush. I was not much interested in the trend the conversation was taking but I felt that any attempt to turn it to a particular point would rouse suspicion. All four men had been seven years in India and were near the conclusion of their first term of enlistment. They were trying to get into civilian life and told me they would only enter on a fresh term if they failed to do so. The war-enthusiast suddenly turned to me and remarked that in another ten years Indians would be governing themselves—"except," he added, "of course, the army." I had been waiting for this and I asked him what he thought of the Indianisation scheme. He knew nothing of it in the abstract but he said he had met some of the new officers from Dehra Dun and they were very good. He expressed the readiness of the British soldier to take orders from Indian officers and added, "You may believe it or not. But the British soldier will do things for an Indian officer which he will not for a British officer." I was not prepared for this and I remarked that we were told just the reverse. He laughed as he assured me I could take his word for it. He said that the army was free from race prejudice and although a few of the older men were anxious for prestige the younger ones were eager to be friendly with the people. As they got off at their destination shouldering their luggage he made his contribution to current politics with the comment that there were no chances of a war at present although there were skirmishes in Africa. On Indian affairs he felt that the civilian had more to fear from the police than from the military. As if to demonstrate this, his vacant seat next to me was immediately occupied by an inspector of police who carried himself in a stiff starched manner. His luggage was carried by policemen who stood solemnly around the door to bid him good-bye. With an effort he turned round and looked at me. A brief inquiring glance and we both knew we would not hit it off. Once more I sought refuge in my book. As the policeman got down for a studied stroll on the platform of a wayside station, the little Anglo-Indian boy asked his father, "Daddy, why is he so unsociable?" When I looked up, the gentleman remarked to me, "The tommies were fine fellows. One of them spoke even to you for two hours but this man is stuck-up." The return of the inspector restored quiet to the carriage.

There were more soldiers on the way back. With the first of these I travelled a good distance alone. He was younger and even more radical in his views.

He had been up on the Frontier and he said, "Frankly, I don't know why we are defending this dusty track. It would be sensible to retire behind the Indus and use it as a natural boundary. The trouble is," he went on, "the hostile tribes are jealous of the assistance we render the friendly tribes and seek to harass them in order to obtain certain benefits. We, having established friendly relations with the lower tribes, have to support them against these attacks. Any way," he concluded, "you fellows will have to grapple with these problems very soon." I asked him what he meant. "Why not?" he said, "Why should you not guard your own frontiers?" I informed him that much of the political agitation was summed up in his sentence; and I asked if his views were generally held in the army. "Of course not," he flashed out. "No one will quarrel with his bread and butter. You mean to say, if I could have got a billet in Britain I would have come out here?" He too wanted to see more of Indian life. He told me there was one good change now brought about in the Indian army. English had been made the medium instead of Urdu. I asked him when this had taken place and he told me it was six months back. Then I asked why it was done but he could not enlighten me beyond saying that this would increase possibilities of contact between Indian soldiers and British. The next halt saw more soldiers and one of them, rather old, got into our carriage. I looked at my companion. Not a flicker of recognition crossed his face as our eyes met. But he commended me to the new arrival as he left us two stations later. This gentleman had been thirteen years in the army and was a much domesticated self-centred man. An intimate discussion on the treatment of sties drew us together. Before half-an-hour was out, I knew all about his "mehsaheb" and his three-year old son. He complained bitterly that a military man was treated worse than a "mehhtar" in Bombay, presumably by civilian Europeans because he did not strike me as likely to associate with Indians very much. He explained that the British soldier's knowledge of Indians was confined to the army contractor who made money out of him and so there was much prejudice against the people of this country. He put down all the political unrest to unemployment but apparently regarded his position as secure as long as he wanted to remain. But, he concluded, the treatment given to a soldier out here was not what it used to be and therefore there was a likelihood of the career failing to appeal to young Englishmen. But he was really more concerned about an increase he was expecting early next year. He had spoken to me not out of friendliness but because keeping silent would have killed him. As I left him at Bombay, I thought more kindly of his young colleague who had felt impelled to disguise his acquaintanceship with me.

S.

CONSOLIDATION IN RURAL INDIA.

At a time when the uplift of villages is occupying every active mind, it is not improper to consider a problem closely connected with it. The lifeblood of India, the seven lakhs of villages, is at present in a stage of transition following the decay of a time-worn system of land tenure and due to the encroachment of new ideas. Both the *Zamindari* and the *rayatwari* systems which now obtain currency in India are full of defects which more elastic systems could easily have removed. The village is chained to the fields that surround it both for its economic, as well as social, prosperity. Whereas formerly it was self-sufficient, today it is on the high road to

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internationalization, losing its self-sufficiency of the past and becoming linked closer with the outside world.

India is still a country so ultra rural that her problem is largely a rural problem. The villages, as they are at present, must necessarily enter into a programme of useful changes to recuperate their lost vitality, and to retain their individuality as units of administration in British India. One of the defects from which it has long been suffering and which demands immediate remedy, is the minute sub-division and fragmentation of holdings which has been going on for centuries together. This has brought in its train some lamentable consequences. The growth of individualism aided by the impact of Western civilization and the great idea of private property which was greatly influenced by the judgment of English judges and jurists has produced convulsions in the joint family system. The latter has been compelled to divide its holdings of cultivable and waste land among its members, and this division has continued from generation to generation. Where the *Zamindari* system obtains vogue, the land has been somewhat spared of this cruel mutilation; but where the system is *rayatwari*, the body has been cruelly mangled and the bits scattered. The peculiarities of the Hindu and Mohammadan laws of inheritance also have been a potent factor in furthering this sub-division. The unstable and rather dangerous position of landowners who held their property during the pleasure of the reigning princes in the earlier centuries, made them eager to bestow upon their relatives as much land as possible so that if a calamity should fall on the head of the chief member, the others at least might have a means of subsistence.

A visit to villages, for example, in the Tanjore or Tinnevely District in South India, or in U. P. or in Bengal must convince anybody how widespread the evil is. Speaking of South India, the fields are owned by a huge number of tenants and their possessions range from less than half an acre to ten or twelve. Holdings of more than twenty acres are very few, and in a whole village one or two may own more than fifty acres. Dr. Horace H. Mann of Deccan fame says, "that in the last sixty or seventy years the character of land holdings has altogether changed. Now the number of holdings is more than doubled and 81 per cent of these holdings are under ten acres while no less than 60 per cent are less than five acres." If a man is able to scrape together a few hundred rupees, he secures for himself a fraction of an acre from some less fortunate individual and has not the wherewithal to buy more. The holdings of a single person are often separated from one another sometimes even by miles. Such distribution, in fact, is only too common.

The tillers of the soil, who have adhered to old ways of cultivation, have suffered hardships of incalculable magnitude due to this process. Their cost of ploughing, fencing, watering, sowing and reaping have remained uniformly high, owing to intermittent work and conveying of the agricultural implements from place to place. This has been responsible for the backwardness of agriculture in India. Dr. Mann, who has been in South India for a considerable period, observes that "it prevents the use of machinery and labour-saving methods," and "on the other hand, it hinders the adoption of really intensive methods of cultivation" which India wants badly at present. There are many other difficulties which the small cultivator has to overcome, as the digging of separate wells, investing more capital but receiving only lesser returns etc. Valuable ground is lost in laying boundaries. "This destroys enterprise, results in enormous wastage of labour, leads

to a very large loss of land owing to boundaries;... and presents the possibility of introducing outsiders, with more money, as tenant farmers or purchasers of good agricultural property."

A *prima facie* case has been established for consolidating together such fragmented pieces of land by most writers on Economics and on the subject of Rural Reconstruction in India. Consolidation aims at improving the lot of the overstricken peasant and at extricating him from his present difficulties. Like co-operative and agricultural credit, it is advocated for the redemption of the small cultivator. It has its effects on agricultural credit also. With a single plot of large land in one place instead of little bits lying isolated here and there, the chances of better utility of the same amount of money are more and the cultivator will surely exercise judgment in this case. He is benefitted in every way for he can adopt improved methods of agriculture, rotation of crops and can concentrate his attention on one spot.

Consolidation is sought to be effected by amalgamating all the various pieces a person may hold together into one whole. It is impossible to act alone and a whole village must be taken up at each step and the holdings reconstituted by an authorised officer with the concurrence of the local government. The village *Panchayats* can do good work in this direction. Legislation must sanction compulsory expropriation of existing holders and compulsory reconstitution of these on sound lines with due regard to the losses which may accrue to individuals out of natural advantages. Of course, the good will of the people will move a lot. Such a procedure would certainly further the interests of the agricultural community and though some initial opposition may be expected, the people are bound to appreciate the wisdom of such a step.

Many may doubt the possibility of practical success to this plan but even if only partially successful the step is well worth trying. But I may point out here that definite success has been achieved in those few places where this had been carried out. In Punjab, due to the energetic efforts of Mr. F. L. Brayne, C. I. E., I. C. S., Commissioner for Rural Reconstruction, consolidation has been made a success in many villages. Such rural reconstruction centres must be started wherever possible and definite steps taken.

Consolidation has been recognised to be the backbone of rural reconstruction. Without it attempts at increasing the prosperity of the villager are bound to be futile. There is a danger to consolidation, which must be prevented early enough. The reconstituted holdings must be made indivisible and also immune from seizure for debts. There is also the danger on the other side—combination. Such reconstituted holdings must remain single in all cases, allowing for a maximum and a minimum limit. When these preventive measures are taken, consolidation is really desirable and the landlords should make a move of their own accord. When the initiative comes from them matters will be much simplified.

Madras.

V. VENKATACHALAM.

HINDU MAHASABHA'S OPPORTUNITY.

The Editor

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

When oppression becomes unbearable in any sphere of life high-souled and intelligent men in their respective spheres vehemently protest and threaten action and thus open the eyes of the lay public. At all times regeneration, re-orientation, and reformation have come like this only.



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Dr. Ambedkar's threatening and warning is one such. The Hindu Mahasabha is meeting shortly under the undisputed high-souled leader Panditji. Will it seriously consider the doctor's protest and warning by taking practical and sure steps or will it simply pass some resolutions and forget them till it meets again?

Of all communities and groups in India it is the Hindu community only which is not organised well on the religious and social side. An average intelligent young Hindu almost ignores or allows to pass without a protest any foolish belief and custom of his. It is this that has brought the degeneration of Hindu society. If he is English educated he rarely gives a thought for his religion and for the several injustices prevailing in his community. Leaders of the Hindu society who preach extreme measures in politics are abnormally conservative in religious and social matters. If they only care they can, in spite of the vast orthodoxy that will face them, they can and could have brought radical reform long ago. The truth is except a few isolated souls like Gandhiji, and others like him, none else care and think of the religious and social ills of the Hindus and try to remove them by precept and practice.

I would certainly as a Congressman wish that politics is eschewed from all sectarian organisations and Congress and Congress alone should speak in one voice for political India. Political fights will change according to times and circumstances but social and religious work has to be done with great faith and patience. The Hindu Mahasabha can and should grapple with the problems of the Hindus in social and religious spheres. Other communities should not interfere since Hindus alone know their difficulties and the remedies for it.

Let the Mahasabha, therefore, invite to a big conference all the important Hindu religious heads and other accredited leaders in a central place, since in spite of all that is said and done these religious heads still hold a strong sway over the Hindus. In fact many of them are for radical reforms if properly approached and their grievances are that they are not at all cared for. Let the Mahasabha, therefore, invite them and then thresh out the different problems of different provinces and come to some workable understanding. An organisation like the Servants of India Society or Servants of the People Society founded by the revered Lalaji in the Punjab should be started. It may be named "Servants of Hindu Society." Young Hindus, intelligent strong-willed and pure in character, should be taken in it and given a training for three to five years in Hindu religion, comparative study of other religions besides history, geography, elements of law, sanitation, first aid, etc. and after that let them be sent to different taluks and villages to work among Hindus; to look after and to redress many meaningless soraples and determine at the same time not to interfere or take sides in political factions and fights. If such a thing is done, within ten years the Hindu religion and its society will become the pride of Hindustan and will be a shining light for the whole world. If not, in the course of a few years Hinduism will decay. It has enemies on all sides. Will the Mahasabha take this work at least now or will it be only fighting for seats in the unwanted councils, assemblies and chambers?

Yours etc.,

S. R. SUBRAMANIAN

SYED MAHBOOB ALI.*

(FROM A NEW YORK CORRESPONDENT.)

His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad has deputed Syed Mahboob Ali, Director of the Wireless Department of the Hyderabad Government, to study in Europe and America the broadcasting systems in those countries with a view to improve the present broadcasting station of Hyderabad. Mr. Mahboob Ali has already visited the principal broadcasting stations in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other European countries and has placed an order with the Marconi Company for the supply of two broadcasting stations for the State of Hyderabad. Further orders are expected to be placed with other companies later on, altogether amounting to 12 to 15 lacs of rupees. He is now visiting the United States and inspecting the workings of broadcasting of the National Broadcasting Company and their two principal stations WEAf and WJZ.

At the time of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Nizam, it is planned to give to his 20,000 villages radio sets as a sort of Jubilee gift. When the arrangements are completed messages will be broadcast to nearly 15,000,000 people in four different languages.

About two years ago Sir Akbar Hydari, the Finance Minister of the State of Hyderabad, said at a meeting of the East India Association in London that, on his return from the delegation to the Round Table Conference, he would take active steps to promote a general broadcasting system in Hyderabad, and establish a Broadcasting Board.

Syed Mahboob Ali was originally an official in the State Post Office, and began to interest himself in wireless some twelve years ago. He made his own receiving set and some six years later made himself a transmitting apparatus with which he gave programmes to his friends. When King George broadcast a speech to India before the preliminary session of the Round Table Conference in 1931 the official report from India was that it was inaudible. Mr. Mahboob Ali, however, received it on his own set so clearly that he was able to make a record of the speech to reproduce it on King George's birthday in 1934.

His experiments began to interest many people among them Sir Akbar Hydari, the Finance Minister whose enthusiasm was further stimulated when he attended a conference of the Indian Village Welfare Association in London in 1933, at which wireless was discussed. In 1934 the Nizam of Hyderabad heard a broadcast of Mr. Mahboob Ali's, and was so much impressed with it that he allowed a speech of his own to be broadcast some time later. Finally, at the beginning of this year Mr. Mahboob Ali's experimental station was taken over by the State, he himself acting as Director responsible to a board of three Ministers, of whom Sir Akbar Hydari is the chairman. The board in its turn is responsible only to the Nizam.

It is hoped that the improvement in broadcasting service will widen the outlook and educate the people of the dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam. Mr. Mahboob Ali is now staying with his friend and countryman, Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta, General Executive of the World Fellowship of Faiths, at its head-quarters at Hotel New Yorker, New York City.

*This letter has been held over for want of space for three weeks. Syed Mahboob Ali returned to India last week.

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CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD OF EDUCATION.

A Press 'communique' issued in connection with the meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education, says :—

The Central Advisory Board of Education held its first meeting on Thursday and Friday, December 19 and 20, 1933.

It was felt on all sides that large numbers of pupils are tempted to prolong unduly their purely literary studies and that, as a result, they become averse from practical pursuits and occupations; and that, therefore, the most effective means of improving the situation lies in a radical reconstruction of school education in such a manner that the scheme of school education shall consist of definite stages, each with a clearly defined objective, as a result of which pupils would be diverted, on the completion of each stage, to practical occupations and to vocational institutions. This policy of reconstruction should therefore be one, not of restricting educational facilities, in any way but rather of diverting at a comparatively early age a number of pupils, who, after having acquired a suitable measure of general education would be capable of receiving training of a practical and vocational type, for which ample facilities should be provided.

General unanimity having been achieved on the main principles of advance, it was decided that a Committee consisting of the Educational Commissioner (Chairman), Khan Bahadur Mr. Aziz-ul-Haque, Mr. B. G. Khaparde, Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, Dr. A. H. MacKenzie and Mr. W. Grieve, should draft a resolution in further detail, which would be discussed by the Board on the next day.

A large portion of the second day was therefore spent in modifying and in amplifying the draft Resolution, which after much discussion, was ultimately passed in the following terms :—

THE RESOLUTION.

1. While conscious of the great debt which is due to the education hitherto provided in India and of the part played by universities in promoting higher study and research and in training men and women for the service of India, the Board is of opinion that the following considerations among others, necessitate a new attitude towards educational problems :—

(a) The increasing desire among educationists and others to bring about changes in the educational system in view of the altered conditions of life.

(b) The growing volume of unemployment among the educated classes.

(c) The emphasis laid on a purely literary form of instruction in schools.

(d) The inadvisability of too frequent examinations.

(e) The large number of 'over-age' pupils in the senior classes of high schools.

(f) The increasing number of students in universities, who are unable to benefit by university instruction and, in consequence, the difficulty in making satisfactory provision for the better qualified students and for research.

(g) The need of developing training of a more practical type than at present and of making provision for such training, especially for those with little or no literary bent, and of adjusting it to the scheme of general education.

(h) The advisability of developing a suitable scheme of rural education, by which boys and girls in rural areas shall be given such training as would develop in them a capacity and desire for the work of rural reconstruction.

2. The Board is of opinion that a radical readjustment of the present system of education in schools should be made in such a way as not only to prepare pupils for professional and university courses, but also to enable them, at the completion of appropriate stages, to be diverted to occupations or to separate vocational institutions.

3. These stages should be :—

(a) "The primary stage," which should aim at providing at least a minimum of general education and training and which will ensure permanent literacy.

(b) "The lower secondary stage," which will provide a self-contained course of general education and will constitute a suitable foundation either for higher education or for specialized practical courses.

In rural areas the courses at this stage should be attuned to rural requirements?

Some form of manual training at this stage should be provided, which would aim at the development of practical aptitudes and be made compulsory.

(c) "The higher secondary stage," in which would be included institutions with varying length of courses :—

(i) Preparing students for admission to universities in arts and science ;

(ii) For the training of teachers in rural areas ;

(iii) For agricultural training ;

(iv) For clerical training ; and,

(v) For training in selected technical subjects which should be chosen in consultation with employers.

Where separate institutions are not possible for the diversified courses, some of them might be incorporated in a higher secondary course of enlarged scope which would permit a choice of alternative groups of subjects and would end in a leaving certificate.

The certificates granted to pupils completing other specialized courses should receive Government recognition.

4. At the end of the lower secondary school course there should be the first public examination.

5. Candidates desirous of joining the subordinate clerical services of Government and of local bodies should pass such qualifying examinations as might be prescribed by proper authority and should not be more than 19 years of age at the date of their examination.

6. The Board is of opinion that expert advice would be of value in organizing the scheme of reconstruction as outlined above.

7. Each province should organize Employment Bureaux for the purpose of advising students and of eliciting support and guidance of employers interested in the problem.

The Board were not content, however, with their proposals for school reconstruction ; they went further and passed their final recommendation in the following terms :

The Board is of the opinion that every Local Government should actively explore the possibility of finding new avenues of employment and occupation and also to provide for the training of suitable experts who would advise young men and women in regard to their aptitudes and fitness for particular careers suited to different regions.

The following Committees were appointed with the authority to co-opt members who would be likely to provide local experience and guidance.

Women's Education:

1. Lady Grigg.

2. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.

3. Dr. Mackenzie.

4. Dr. Bhagvan Das.

5. Honourable Khan Bahadur M. Aziz-ul-Haque.



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Secondary Education:

1. Honourable Mr. S. Abdul Aziz.
2. Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.
3. Mr. H. F. Saunders.
4. Mr. W. Grieve.
5. Honourable Mr. Khaparde.

Vernacular Education:

1. Mr. J. E. Parkinson.
2. Honourable Sir J. P. Srivastava.
3. Rajkumari Amrit Kaur.
4. Sir Radhakrishnan.
5. Bishop of Lahore.
6. Sir George Anderson.

Vocational & Professional Education:

1. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.
2. Dr. Zia-ud-Din Ahmad.
3. Honourable Sir J. P. Srivastava.
4. Mr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee.
5. Sir K. Ramunni Menon.

CAN HINDUS BELIEVE IN JESUS?

The following letter written by Mr. O. Kandaswami Chettiar, Convener of the Fellowship of the Followers of Jesus, to Mr. G. Solomon of the Young Men's Christian Association, Madras, has been sent to us. It refers to a resolution passed at a gathering of Christians on the subject of Conversions:

Dear Mr. Solomon,

I have received the summary of notes taken down of the views expressed at the Red Hills, on various questions bearing on "Conversion."

Will you allow me to state that these notes can hardly be called 'findings'? Findings mean conclusions arrived at after a full discussion of a subject in which various points of view are expressed, and the various points urged are considered and met and agreement arrived at, to which most if not all present consent.

You remember that no discussion of this kind took place at the gathering of friends at the Red Hills on Sunday, the 3rd November. The method adopted then was the Round Table Method such as Stanley Jones uses in order to find out the views of people without any idea of arriving at conclusions. This method is intended to enable a study of the viewpoints of different people, so that a comprehensive view may be taken of the situation in the country. Nobody dreams that this method would yield 'findings' of any value, for in that case the claims of Jesus Christ on human belief, for instance, would be settled once for all by an aecumenical council, consisting of the young men and older men, Hindus, Mohamadens, Christians, Sikhs, Parsees—students, merchants, office-clerks, etc.—who assemble at these groups.

One of the so-called 'findings' of the group at Red Hills was an emphatic statement that none could be a Christian without baptism. I am inclined to agree with this statement that none could be a Christian (the noun, meaning a communal Christian) a member of the Indian Christian community in India, an Indian Christian without baptism. But I hesitate when I remember that Quakers have no baptism, that the Salvation Army has no baptismal rite. If this dictum is correct the poor Quakers and the poor Salvationists would be left out of the Church, in the cold, weeping and gnashing their teeth. But I am glad the statement does not say that no one could be a Christian man or woman (Christian being used as an adjective signifying the moral and spiritual qualities associated with Christ) i. e. a disciple of Christ, without baptism. There is hope then for the Quakers, Salvationists, and the poor Hindus who believe in Jesus and endeavour to follow Him in their lives.

Speaking of Hindus, with whom we in India are chiefly concerned,—this dictum means; that no

Hindu has a right to believe in Christ, and endeavour to live up to His principles and enter into His purposes, and co-operate with fellow believers in working out His purposes, in trying to bring in His Kingdom among men,—without being baptised and getting the sanction and approval of Christians like the friends with whom I enjoyed one fine week-end on the banks of the Red Hills Tank.

Your note says that the group was emphatic on this point. The emphasis, if I remember aright, was carried so far as to say, and not merely to suggest, that no Hindu could honestly believe in Christ and be unbaptised: and that a Hindu who believes in Christ and remains unbaptised is either a hypocrite or a coward. Viewing the question without any personal reference or application, it is very important that such a statement should be frankly examined and either confirmed and affirmed or repudiated and condemned. Apart from the apostolic and papal authority implied in the statement—either to bind or unloose—it is not calculated to advance the cause of Christ in India. We of the Fellowship of the Followers of Jesus, standing as we do between Hindus and Christians, have a stiff fight to maintain against the Hindus who honestly believe and more or less openly say that every Hindu who joins the Christian Church does so from selfish and sordid motives, and no Hindu does so from honest conviction. I do not care to paraphrase in detail all that is sought to be conveyed by such a statement.

Between these two positions, in point of fairness and charity, there is very little to choose. But as members of the Fellowship of the Followers of Jesus whose aim is to get persons in India to endeavour, whatever their communal affiliations may be, to live up to the standards, principles, and ideals of Jesus, and seek to understand His personality, we find that the respective positions of the Christians and the Hindus form a great stumbling block in persuading earnest men to be followers of Christ even as His own disciples were. I submit that in these circumstances it requires no little courage, not to speak of earnestness and sincerity, for believers in Jesus to steer their way in obedience to their conscience and the leadings of the spirit.

I remain,
Yours sincerely,
O. KANDASWAMI CHETTY

INDIANS OVERSEAS.

To safeguard and promote the interests, rights and privileges of Indians in colonies, to obtain decent conditions of living especially for labourers and to strengthen the organisations already existing for this purpose, an Association styled the Overseas Indians' Association was formed at a meeting held on 20th Dec, at the Servants of India Society, Royapettah. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar presided.

Mr. R. Suryanarayan Rao, one of the convenors, explained the circumstances under which they proposed to form an Association. He said that correspondence was entered into with the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, Bombay, with a view to ascertaining if that Association would allow the Madras Association to be its branch. For some reason the Bombay Association desired that its name should not be used. A telegram had, however, been received by them from the Bombay Association that morning to say that it would be in a position to consider the affiliation to it of the Madras Association under certain conditions. That, however, need not stand in the way of their starting an Association for Madras.

The Chairman said that the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association in Bombay had been in



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existence for a number of years and was doing good work. In a matter of this kind, he added, there could be no clash of interests. In Madras they could form an Association to be affiliated to the Bombay Association. There was no need to form an entirely separate Association. What was needed was that they should have a number of active workers interested in the cause of Indians overseas, with resources to carry on the work.

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan said that most of the Indians emigrating to Burma, the Straits Settlements and other parts were from the South. While they might look to the co-operation of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association in Bombay, it was the duty of South Indians to see that their fellow-men were provided with decent conditions of labour and living and proper citizenship rights. The organisation they now proposed to form in Madras, he said, need not be a rival organisation to that in Bombay, but only for the purpose of creating public opinion in this Presidency.

Mr. C. Jinarajadasa (on behalf of Dr. G. S. Arundale, one of the signatories to the holding of the meeting) said that there were many Theosophists and others in foreign countries interested in the problem of Indians overseas who would be willing to co-operate with the Association if invited to join it.

Mr. V. S. Sarma, a former resident of Malaya, expressed the need for the starting of an Association in Madras as had been contemplated and narrated the difficulties under which Indians laboured in the colonies.

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan next proposed that the Association be formed and read out the draft constitution.

The constitution was seconded by Mr. S. S. Sankara Mudaliar and carried.

Office-bearers were then elected. Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar was unanimously elected President of the Association: Messrs. P. T. Rajan, Jamal Mahomed, C. Jinarajadasa, S. Satyamurti, V. Bhashyam Iyengar, Yakub Hasan and Dr. P. Subbarayan were elected Vice-Presidents. Messrs. C. R. Srinivasan and R. Suryanarayana Rao were elected Joint Secretaries. Mr. S. M. Chaudhry was elected Treasurer.

An Executive Committee of twelve members was formed. The office of the Association will be located at the Servants of India Society. The subscription for membership was fixed at three rupees per annum.

The Hon. Mr. P. T. Rajan suggested that the formal inauguration of the Association might be made by Mr. Peri Sundaram, Minister of Labour in Ceylon, who was expected to visit Madras shortly.

The suggestion was accepted.

Mr. C. R. Srinivasan proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the meeting then terminated.

JUDO.

There is a woman in London who can claim to be the only woman in the world holding the honour of the "black belt" in Judo, a Japanese system of self-defence and exercise. She is Mrs. Sarah Mayer, and so dainty and so very feminine is she, that she does not look at all like a woman who could throw strong men about like feathers in a breeze. But she can.

Progression in Judo goes by belts. First the white of the tyro, then orange, green, blue and brown, until is met the stiffest hurdle of all, the black belt.

In an interview with the London press this week, Mrs. Mayer said that it all began when she was a very small girl.

"As long as I can remember," she said, "I have been interested in Japan."

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BY

K. NATARAJAN.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

W. C. Bonnerjee :—The *Dnyanodaya* writing of the Jubilee of the Indian National Congress has posthumously converted one of its founders to Christianity. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, who knew the late Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee intimately, in the course of an interesting sketch of his life in the special Jubilee number of the *Bombay Chronicle* observes: "He never renounced Hinduism—as was wrongly stated by Mahatma Gandhi at the Second Round Table Conference—and was proud of his being a Brahmin, and the monument (over his ashes in his Croydon home) described him, as he had himself desired, as a 'Hindu Brahmin'." Professor K. Sundararaman of Madras in his reminiscences of the first session of the Congress, contributed to the Jubilee number of the *Hindu*, says that, happening to sit next to Bonnerjee at a social gathering, he asked him what he thought of the future of the Hindus. Bonnerjee replied: "You will be simply astonished to hear that I am altogether in favour of a strict adherence to our orthodox views and customs. Do not judge of me by what I am." Mr. Sinha gives some other interesting details of the early life of W. C. Bonnerjee. He was born in a poor Brahmin family of Calcutta and was an indifferent student at school. He was in consequence withdrawn by his father from school and apprenticed to a solicitor while he was yet in the Matriculation class. He remained two years here when, by great good luck, he secured one of six scholarships for the study of law in England offered by Mr. Rustomji Jeejeebhoy of Bombay. Among his friends and contemporaries in England were Dadabhai Naoroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, and Buddraddin Tyebji, all future Presidents of the National Congress. Bonnerjee's first brief was as defence counsel in a case in which Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macdonnell, then a sub-divisional officer, charged a fisherwoman with

having brought a false charge against him. The woman was acquitted by the British magistrate who tried the case.

This Democracy :—Whenever Fascist critics attack Democracy as 'a Westernising, formal, corrupt system, run by an immense minority, of the rich which with entire lack of scruple, has hitherto understood only too well how the immense majority can be controlled,' complacent Britons reassure themselves with the thought that the criticism refers not so much to their parliamentary system as to the representative institutions of the United States. The recent elections, however, have given rise to many qualms in British hearts. Mr. H. N. Brailsford contributes a striking article to the current *New Republic* on the downfall of the British Liberal Party in which he discusses the development of party politics after the War. "The owning class," he writes, "was ready to forget its historic divisions. Capital, with all its satellite groups, was now solidly ranged against the wage-earners." The post-war unity of the British governing class which Mr. Brailsford analyses so well, has a practical side which Mr. G. T. Garratt exposes in an article in *The New Statesman*. "The candidate need do little himself," he writes, "except sign cheques, roll up to a few smoking concerts and do the 'popular popular' business. The real work is done by the agent and his paid organisers. It is their job to see that no slate club meets without 'ten shillings to drink the Member's health' or 'the captain's health,' for rather spurious military titles are part of the game. No branch of the British Legion must lack the subscription which brings a vice-presidentship, no group of old people must play draughts without a cup being provided, or young people dance without a subsidy towards the expenses. Gradually the agent establishes harmonious contacts with those active and often venal people who organise the amusements of innumerable non-political voters. Labour does not enter into this game and the Conservatives gain all those people who, despising politics, believe in getting what they can from the politician."

The Alternative :—Mr. Garratt refers to the two modern methods of preventing opponents from holding election meetings by hiring halls for the entire election period or submitting to heavy overcharges to keep out the poorer party. The worst form of coercion is the pressure put by employers



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on their men in times of unemployment. After a mention of the motor car problem which has been a feature of recent elections—Mr. Garratt writes that several Labour votes were not polled for lack of conveyance—he asks whether democracy can survive the contest between the 'haves' and the 'have nots' fought under rules made by the former. But Mr. Garratt suggests no way out. If the change is to come through the parliamentary machinery, Mr. Garratt and his friends will have a difficult task in persuading the 'haves' to move from their point of vantage. The National Government Party will naturally not introduce any electoral reform that may cost them seats. If the change is to be brought about by direct action outside Parliament then the British constitution will doubtless go overboard. It is not unlikely that the British National Party will develop rapidly into a full-fledged Fascist one if Mr. Garratt's fears are widely shared in the country. But in any case the Labour Party, as it is today, has small chance of survival. The number of letters in the *New Statesman* urging the adoption of a downright Socialist programme and a departure from the present imitations of conservatives in office is significant of the growing discontent with the existing British Socialist party.

Mr. Elwin's Christmas Message :—If the Indian public was surprised to read Verrier Elwin's name among the broadcasters in the B. B. C. series for Christmas Day, the contents of that message must have been startling to those who were following the recent discussion in these columns on the Gonds and their relation to Hinduism. Mr. Elwin had maintained that he never interfered with their religion and that it would be better for "all of us" to adopt a similar attitude of detachment and leave their ancestral faith alone. We do not know how Mr. Elwin squares the tiny mud chapel of St. Francis in Karanjia and even more the children's Christmas, with tree and fire complete, to which he treated the Gond children, with his declared attitude. It cannot be that Mr. Elwin turns missionary on Christmas Day alone. Nor would one be justified in seeing in this conformity with conventional Christian celebration a sop to the thoughtless critics who had read in Mr. Elwin's break with the Anglican Church a denial of Christianity. We think that Mr. Verrier Elwin just felt the desire for festivity and happened to select Christmas because it was full of meaning for him. He ought to have remembered that if Hindu festivals had no meaning to the Gond, Christmas must have meant still less. A selection of some Gond feast for celebration would have been more appropriate. It would not have been meaningless even to Mr. Elwin who has in other matters so thoroughly identified himself with the people among whom he lives. The concluding reference to 'lonely places in the Empire' in Mr. Elwin's message, which we print this

week, is likely to give readers a misleading impression that the speaker has given up the missionary life for that of Empire-builder. Mr. Elwin was careful to avoid any suggestion that his was a typical Indian Christmas. We regret to note that the press has not shown a similar caution.

Lucknow University Parliament :—We cannot congratulate Dr. R. P. Paranjpye on his handling of the recent controversy in Lucknow University Students' Parliament. In a statement explaining his action Dr. Paranjpye as Vice-Chancellor gives the facts. Mr. Anwar Jamal Kidwai, a scholarship-holder of the University, was asked to form a Socialist Government in the Parliament. He apparently acted the part so effectively that the President requested him to modify the language of a presidential message which Mr. Kidwai had submitted and on which he was uncompromising. Rather than tone down his 'message', Mr. Kidwai resigned his leadership and promptly issued a "most scurrilous" pamphlet abusing all capitalists, imperialists and their supporters in general and the local talukdars in particular. He even attacked his professors in language subversive of 'all proper discipline in the University.' Dr. Paranjpye who has usually a keen sense of humour, has evidently taken this young Socialist as seriously as Mr. Kidwai takes himself, and, on the ground that Lucknow University cannot tolerate an attack on talukdars who have contributed most generously to its funds, he has threatened disciplinary action against Mr. Kidwai even if he apologises. He concludes that he will, in the event of an apology, merely discontinue a Canning College scholarship bestowed on Mr. Kidwai as it is endowed by talukdars. We presume Mr. Kidwai has won his scholarship on merit and that there is no clause restricting it to admirers of the Oudh talukdars. It would be a gross injustice if Mr. Kidwai is coerced by the University to change his opinion, however immature it may seem to the veteran politician who is Lucknow's Vice-Chancellor. Mr. Kidwai, realising that he could not compel the President to read a message of which he disapproved to the Parliament, resigned his leadership. If the President was not prepared to enter into the spirit of the students' mock parliament, it was rash of him to have asked anyone to form a Socialist Government. Having done it, Dr. Paranjpye should have explained to the talukdars or their representatives, that the heavens would not have fallen if Mr. Kidwai had made his speech. Unlike Bottom Mr. Kidwai obviously is unable to "roar you as gently as any sucking dove" but the talukdars should be more tolerant and not penalise him for a not uncommon failing.

Women's Role in National Life :—Another bone of contention seems to have been thrown among Congress leaders—the place of women in national life. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presiding over a women's meeting in Bombay during Jubilee

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celebrations, expressed the Women's Conference ideal when she appealed to them to 'stand on their own legs and eke out their own livelihood.' But Babu Rajendra Prasad displayed considerable sympathy for the Nazi ideal of sending women back to the home when he appealed to women to restore prosperity to this country by reverting to the ancient domestic occupations of plying the charka, cooking food, stitching clothes and nursing children. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel who knows his Bombay public thoroughly, felt it was too much to ask them to ply the charka but that it would be more than enough if Bombay women supported home industries and set the villagers an example of simple living. Forgetting the jubilee need for smoothing out differences and overlooking one another's defects, the intrepid Sardar gave one more thrust at Bombay citizens when he lamented the vacillating nature of those individuals who took up Khaddar during Civil Disobedience but left it when the movement was abandoned. Still pursuing the golden mean Mr. Vallabhbhai seemed to favour women's participation in public life but under sound Congress leadership. The emphasis on implicit obedience which was so frequently laid by Congress jubilee speakers, reveals that the leaders of that organisation have been shaken by the dissensions which have grown up with the abandonment of civil disobedience. Bombay women were exceedingly fortunate in hearing all three opinions from one political platform.

Indians in South Africa:—Sir Syed Raza Ali, Agent to the Government of India in South Africa, has been going through a crowded programme. A notable speech was made by him on the position of Indians in South Africa to school children in Dundee, Natal. "Go home," said Sir Raza, "and tell your parents that I laid stress on the necessity of Indians learning Afrikaans. You are more South Africans than Indians. You are Indians only in that your grandfather or grandmother was born in India, and you do not interest yourself in India. You must therefore learn to be good South Africans. Let it be South Africa first and South Africa last. For your lot is cast in South Africa." Sir Raza Ali in tendering this wholesome advice has merely asked Indians settled in South Africa to carry out their part of the first Cape Town Agreement. His appeal seems to us to be in conformity with the ideals of the Colonial-Born Association which was inaugurated to voice the feelings of those Indians who, born in South Africa, were in danger of suffering from a repatriation scheme.

Union or Segregation?—We were surprised to read in *Indian Opinion* a strong condemnation of the Agent's speech on the ground that the chief hope of Indians lay in their strengthening their ties with India. *Indian Opinion* has, more than any other newspaper, urged the dangers of Indians

segregating themselves from other South Africans. It has even objected to the institution of an Indian Agent on the ground that this has reduced the self-reliance of the community and weakened its moral fibre by increasing the dependence of its leaders on an outside agency. It has urged with continued vigour the duty of the South African Union to an integral part of its population. We cannot understand why *Indian Opinion* should now object in all seriousness to Indians learning Afrikaans in their schools. Indians in South Africa cannot be perpetually employed as interpreters of Indian languages. The South African paper argues that as they are not employed in Government service, a knowledge of Afrikaans is not essential as it is for Europeans. It adds that if the Government enforces the study of Afrikaans then everyone must learn it. But what claim can Indians have to be an integral part of the country if they are ignorant of its principal official language? It is true that eighty per cent of the community born and bred in South Africa with no other home are not given South African nationality. But the solution to this anomalous position is not in turning to India but in pressing for that nationality. Indians in the colonies would be well-advised to look to themselves to an increasing extent for solving their difficulties. The assistance that India can render is after all very limited, and is unlikely to increase in the near future.

The Karnatak Literary Conference:—Mr. N. S. Subba Rao began his presidential address to the Karnataka Literary Conference held in Bombay last week by expressing a doubt about the appropriateness of holding the Conference in Bombay city where Kanarese is not much spoken. Really, however, Bombay is a part of the old Kanarese country which, according to early writers, extended up to the Godavari from the Cauvari. Mr. P. B. Malabari in his "Bombay in the Making" notes that the proclamations of the East India Company used to be made in English and Kanarese. It is true, however, that Kanarese-speaking persons in Bombay of whom there is a considerable number, adopt Marathi unlike the Tamil-speakers who stick to their mother-tongue wherever they may happen to be. Kanarese is perhaps as old as Tamil. In a Greek papyrus of the second century found in Egypt, occur a few words quoted from an Indian language which has been identified with Kanarese. But at the present day Kanarese has not kept pace with the progress made by other vernaculars, perhaps because the Kanarese-speaking people have been dispersed under three separate jurisdictions outside Mysore in none of which they are even a strong minority. Mr. Subba Rao's observation regarding the position of the vernaculars, English and Hindi bears the impress of his wide knowledge of our educational problems, and we reproduce them in this issue.

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[Jan. 4

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BOMBAY, January 4, 1936.

THE NEED OF THE HOUR.

In an editorial note on the Hindu Mahasabha last week we wrote: "We earnestly trust that this session of the Hindu Mahasabha will put aside minor issues and concentrate on the essential need of Hindu Society, namely, vigorous propaganda for the removal of many popular misconceptions of Hindu religion and its promulgation in its purity and simplicity as set forth in the Bhagavad Gita which is recognised as authoritative by all sects." In making the suggestion, we were not unmindful of the difficulty of effecting a sudden transformation of the mentality of the average Hindu Mahasabha member. He sees Hinduism threatened by conversions to Christianity and Islam and by the Communal Award in which Hindu representation in the reformed Legislatures, provincial and Federal, is not only reduced by weightages to Muslims, Europeans and Anglo-Indians but is also weakened by caste and territorial delimitations. Dr. Ambedkar's ultimatum has further frightened them by the prospect threatened, of millions leaving the Hindu fold to swell the ranks of Muslim and Christian voters. That these apprehensions lie at the root of the mentality of the members of the Hindu Mahasabha is evident from the address of Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Chairman of the Reception Committee of the session of the Hindu Mahasabha which was held in Poona early this week. A resolution introduced by Mr. M. R. Jayakar advocating the abolition of caste of which, as we have repeatedly said, outcastes are concomitants, was ruled out as being beyond the purview of the Mahasabha by the President, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. We can not quarrel with the ruling so long as we accept Hinduism, as it is popularly understood at present, as true Hinduism which does not stand in need of reform. The great post-Buddhist Acharyas whose commentaries on the *Bhagavad Gita* form the bases of all present-day sects of Hinduism, were keen on establishing their own philosophic ideas and paid scant heed to the social implications of the *Gita* doctrines. This omission is responsible for the arrest of social evolution. A society which does not go forward must retrograde. There is no standing still.

What are the social implications of the religion of the Gita? In the first place it wipes the slate clear of the discriminations against women and Sudras which, at sometime, somehow, crept into the Vedic religion. It goes further and enjoins non-discrimination against the lowest of outcastes who eat dog's flesh. The entire teaching is clinched by the declaration that the Supreme Being dwells in all, that all, to use the words of St. Paul, live and move and have their being in Him. Worship of God is divested of ritual and priestly intervention. Whoever offers in a spirit

of devotion, a leaf, a flower, water, fruit, is assured of Divine grace. Even the worst sinner need not despair. The moment he experiences devotion to the Supreme Being that moment he is regenerated. Steps are suggested by which one incapable even of a slight effort at self-purification, can gradually train himself to do so. The profound psychology of the *Gita* is borne out by the discoveries during the last few years of the modern science of psycho-analysis. A broad tolerance pervades the whole teaching. No exclusive claim is made for the worship even of the God of the *Gita*. All who worship in the spirit of Truth their own accustomed Deity are assured of the same goal. Not only that, but even those do not worship a personal God but are engaged in promoting the well-being of all creatures, they also have an honoured place in the religion of the *Gita*. In fact, the *Gita* seems to hold them in special honour but it recommends the worship of a personal God as being more easy for the average man. If it was not the Buddhists and Jains who were referred to, it must have been some earlier school from which they sprang. Turning to more concrete matters, while the *Gita* dwells on the effect of diet on temperament, it does not attach any similar importance to the company in which one dines. Its conception of caste is the complete antithesis of what caste has come to be. It is not a matter of birth but of qualities, aptitudes. The abolition of caste will no more imperil Hinduism than the abolition of the House of Lords would imperil Christianity or even the Church of England. In the field of politics, the *Gita*, without prescribing forms of Government, lays down a canon, conformity of which is the final and absolute test of what government should be. For the individual the pursuit of the law of his being, *svadharma*, is the highest duty. The highest duty of the State is the securing for every one of its subjects of freedom and facilities to grow to the full height of his stature, and that which does this best is the best.

If Hinduism is reformed so as to accord with the simple and sane implications of the *Gita*, it will become not only powerful within itself but will also eliminate the communal dissensions between Hindus and non-Hindus. The adaptation of Hinduism to *Gita* principles will not only help India to solve her internal problems. It will also help her to fulfil her mission to the world. In its present distracted state, the West is looking to India and to the Bhagavad Gita in particular, for guidance. In his brilliant book "The Spirit of France" Paul Cohen-Portheim wrote that what would save civilisation at the present-day is the co-operation of Asia and Europe—not the Asia of today which has almost forgotten its own wisdom and is imitating much of what is worst in Europe, but the Asia of the *Bhagavad Gita* and the Buddha. The identification of the *Gita* and the Buddha by this



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writer, shows remarkable insight. The goal of the *Gita* is Brahma Nirvana. Whether the Brahma was added on by the *Gita* or dropped out by Buddha is a question of chronology. The identity of several sentiments and even phrases in the *Gita* and the *Dhammapada* is remarkable. The West in its search for light has already turned its attention to the *Bhagavad Gita*. Schweitzer's judgment of the *Gita* was quoted in a review of his latest book in *Hibbert Journal* for July: "It is not merely the most read but also the most idealized book in world literature." The *Bhagavad Gita* is thus India's great medium for communion with the world outside. The socialization of its teaching would be her greatest service to humanity. Since the above was written we have perused in the *Times of India* on Wednesday the summary of a thoughtful and scholarly lecture delivered by His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda. As International President of the World Fellowship of Faiths His Highness is in a unique position to inaugurate a movement to bring Hinduism back to the *Gita* and Buddha, as a great step towards making her full contribution to the problems which confront humanity.

CONGRESS ORIGINS.

In the account of the origin of the Indian National Congress given by Sir William Wedderburn in his *Life of A. O. Hume*, there is no mention of the agitation over the Ilbert Bill. The violence of the opposition of the British community and Press in India to this measure of pure administrative convenience, however, was the immediate cause of the realisation by Indians of the need of an all-India organisation to protect their interests. "The Ilbert Bill agitation," writes Ambika Charan Mazumdar in his admirable book *Indian National Evolution* (Natesan & Co., Madras,) "went a great way towards impressing the Indian races that in the political world success did not depend so much upon men as on organized efforts, and so paved the way to united and concerted action." The Ilbert Bill itself, almost trivial as it was as a measure of reform, would not have seen the light of day but for the absent-mindedness of the then Secretary of State for India, the Marquis of Hartington. Lord Zetland in his biography of Cromer has narrated at some length the story of this extraordinary incident which shows how casually India's destiny was managed in London by one of his predecessors at the India Office. The British officials who were consulted in India did not expect that there would be any opposition from their non-official compatriots in this country to the Bill. It was sent to the Secretary of State for approval before its introduction in the Legislative Council.

It was not regarded as a controversial measure by the India Office staff. But Sir Henry Maine, who was then a member of the India Council

and who had served in India as Law Member of the Government of India, wrote a private letter to Lord Hartington warning him that there was serious danger of an outburst of British non-official opinion in India if the Bill was introduced. Sir Henry was then the highest authority on India in England and, if Lord Hartington had seen this letter, he would surely have disallowed the Bill. But the letter was handed to his lordship as he was leaving to attend an important horse race and he thrust the letter unopened into his pocket and forgot all about it. The Bill went to Calcutta with the Secretary of State's sanction and was introduced in the Legislative Council in due course. The British community in India was at once up in arms. The author of *Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors*, Mr. Buckland, states that "a conspiracy had been formed by a number of men in Calcutta who had bound themselves in the event of Government adhering to the projected legislation to overpower the sentries at Government House, to put the Viceroy on board a steamer at Chandpal Ghat and send him to England *via* the Cape." As a matter of fact, his biographer says, Lord Ripon himself was not keen about passing the Bill and he was prepared to withdraw it. But the Liberal Government would not agree to that course and it was passed in a much attenuated form.

Wedderburn says that Hume himself was disposed to begin Congress propaganda on the social side but Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy, with whom he took counsel "apparently" advised him to make it a political organization. "Lord Dufferin seems to have told him," he writes, "that as head of the Government he had found the greatest difficulty in ascertaining the real wishes of the people; and that, for purposes of administration, it would be a public benefit if there existed some responsible organization through which the Government might be kept informed regarding the best Indian public opinion. He further observed that, owing to the wide differences in caste, race, and religion, social reform in India required local treatment, rather than the guidance of a national organization. These kindly counsels were received with grateful appreciation by all concerned." Wedderburn does not say positively that his version is the correct one. He does not even seem to have got it directly from Hume himself. This substantially is also the version of W. C. Bonnerjee in his contribution to *Indian Politics* (Natesan, Madras). Bonnerjee wrote that the Indian National Congress, as it was originally started and was since carried on, was really the work of the Marquis of Dufferin and Ava. As against these high authorities, the attitude of Lord Dufferin himself—he denounced his own reputed creation in a speech soon after at a St. Andrews Dinner—even making allowance for his diplomatic training and methods, as well as some circumstances, make us rather cautious in accepting this version.



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Professor K. Sundararaman of Madras who attended the first session of the Congress in Bombay and seems to have been in close touch with the events which preceded it, writing in the Congress Jubilee supplement of the *Hindu*, states that the movement was designed from the first as a political movement and that Lord Dufferin's advice was merely to confine it to India instead of, as Hume intended, making it an agency for disseminating information about India in Great Britain. Before he consulted Lord Dufferin, Hume had done some propaganda in Great Britain, had, in fact, made an arrangement with prominent newspapers there to publish messages sent from India. Wedderburn gives an account of these activities. Hume is hardly likely to have arranged to send to the British Press messages about social reform in this country in which he himself did not till then or afterwards evince much interest. What is more, when a deputation from the Madras Hindu Social Reform Association waited on him some years later and asked him why social reform was kept out of the Congress platform, he gave an answer which showed that he had himself thought out the reasons. He explained that, while he fully appreciated the urgent necessity of social reform to build up the Indian Nation, he felt that a certain amount of self-respect had to be first created in the people in order to arouse them from their lethargy and that this could be more easily done by turning their attention immediately to politics. Dadabhai Naoroji in his address at the second session gave his own reasons for the exclusion of social reform and Telang advanced the theory of the line of least resistance as the one which prompted confining the Congress to political questions. That these reasons did not take into account all the basic facts of Indian life, is clear from the stalemate that we have reached today. Politicians have developed their organization to an extent undreamt of by the founders of the Congress, but social reform blocks the way to the realisation of their aspirations. Raghoonath Rao who, according to Professor Sundararaman's account reproduced elsewhere, had much to do with the calling of the first Congress, constantly complained of the elimination of social reform, which was his own special sphere, from the purview of the national organization.

A Boer Lady's Advice:—It has often been noted that the Indian abroad is freer from the conventions of Indian social life than the stay-at-home Indian. But this is not true apparently of South Africa. Speaking at a banquet in Glencoe given in honour of Sir Raza Ali by the Indian community, Mrs. Botha, wife of the Mayor, severely rebuked Indians for leaving their wives behind. She said, "Why are your women not by your side to-night to take part in this entertainment? You have asked European women to entertain your guest and left your own at home. It is not right,

and you must know that unless you change your attitude to your womenfolk your children will suffer." We trust this friendly hint will not be lost on the Indian community in South Africa. The tendency there seems to be to follow the social conventions of the India of two generations ago. Today not a single public function is held here at which Indian women are not invited. The future of the South African Indian will largely be influenced by the opportunities he accords or denies his women to share in the public life of the community.

THE BIRTH OF A NEW NATION.

THE COMMONWEALTH OF THE PHILIPPINES.

For the first time in the history of the Philippines, Malacanán Palace is occupied by a Filipino. President Manuel L. Quezon took up his residence in that historic building, which represents the centre of government in the Islands, after his inaugural parade, November 15. Symbol of the new regime is that Vice-President and Mrs. Garner and former Governor-General (now High Commissioner) Frank Murphy will remain in the Palace for a few days as guests of the first President.

The time of residents of Manila and that of visitors from the Provinces has been occupied to repletion with official, semi-official and social events for the past two weeks. The visiting United States officials—Senators, Congressmen,—newspaper men, Secretary of War Dern, and others have been swept along in a veritable tide of friendly hospitality, sight-seeing, and information-gathering.

The climax was spread out over a whole day, from the great assemblage at the inauguration ceremonies in front of the beautiful Legislative Building with an estimated half-million people in or about the vicinity, to the spectacular Inaugural Ball at night when a Pageant arranged by students of the University of the Philippines depicting the progress of development in the Islands was presented to the thousands assembled.

The association of the United States with the Philippines was skillfully suggested by the appearance of both United States and Filipino flags on either side of the Inaugural Stand, and in the pageant when the young lady representing "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean" called the lovely Miss Filipinos, standing in statuesque pose within a huge shell, and "The Pearl of the Pacific", down to her side and together, hand in hand, the two proceeded the length of the great open-air amphitheatre.

As the writer wandered throughout the day in the great crowds that gathered everywhere—by beautiful Manila Bay for a magnificent display of fireworks from a barge on the water, to the cross-streets where mounted escorts were passing, among the thousands assembled on the Golf Course built on the site of the old moat surrounding the Walled City, with friends who have lived twenty and thirty years in the Islands, in conversation with total strangers whom he will probably never see again, there was everywhere a sobering sense of new and great responsibilities being assumed.

Sweeping cheers and vociferous applause were almost totally lacking. The crowds everywhere seemed to sense the solemnity of the culmination of events. While there is a very clear-cut knowledge of the economic backgrounds of the present situation, there is a deep-seated satisfaction that the event to which every nation should aspire—a chance to rule its own affairs—has actually taken place.



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The problem of carrying on the government is not a political problem. There is exceedingly strong evidence that that section of Filipino life will be carried on without much difficulty. The real and pressing problem is one of international economics, particularly the economic relationship of the Islands with the United States. The man who finally accepted the office of Secretary of Finance in the Cabinet is exceedingly capable; but he is greatly worried in having to make up his mind, as to just what the future attitude of the American Congress is to be in regard to such subjects as free trade, reciprocal agreements, tariffs in general.

There is a hope and belief that mutual arrangements can be worked out to the advantage of the Commonwealth of the Philippines and to that of the United States as well. This should be the approach of the American Congress, inasmuch as that body is responsible for deliberately instituting free trade, which worked to the advantage of the Islands and the States, but compelled the Islands to concentrate practically all of their world trade in exports to the United States.

It was decidedly stimulating to watch the setting up of a new democratic form of government in the Far East when so many western nations have abolished that method of dealing with national affairs. It was splendid to see the form instituted in the most peaceful great assemblage we have ever seen. To see the Governors—all Filipinos—with their delegations from the forty-eight Provinces, to witness the change of legislative duties from a bicameral system of Senate and House of Representatives to a single body called the National Assembly, to see the two major political parties coalesce to form a strong support back of the new government, to find American business men pledging themselves to support the Commonwealth, promotes a feeling that this new government has a fine opportunity to succeed, in spite of all the difficulties—real and fancied.

Emilio Aguinaldo has not used his large following to promote disorder. Bishop Aglipay of the Independent Catholic Church, with over a million members, has co-operated in accepting the will of the voters that Manuel L. Quezon should be President and Sergio Osmena should be Vice-President. Manuel Roxas, former speaker of the House of Representatives, well-known in the States as well as in the Philippines, is continuing his strenuous efforts, now promoted over a long period of years, to make a real success of the Commonwealth.

Due to international readjustments—called usually THE DEPRESSION—changes in internal economic structures will be necessary. A right handling of unfairness in the agricultural situation will take care of such as the Sakdalistas who represent some of the agitation for rural reform and for improvement of tenant versus land-owner relationships.

After approximately one hundred Spanish Governors and some sixteen American military and civil Governors, the Commonwealth of the Philippines is starting out on the beginning of an independent career. From 1572 to 1935 is a long period in a nation's history. With only thirty-five of those years devoted in any national way to the promotion of the idea of independence, the Filipino people have made amazing progress in self-development of their national life. There is now a very vital anxiety to be successful in the new effort. The feeling is evidenced in the words of the Philippine National Hymn:

"Ever within thy skies and through thy clouds,
And o'er thy hills and sea,

Do we behold the radiance, feel the throb,
Of glorious liberty."

Manila.

WALTER BROOKS FOLEY.

THE HINDU LAW OF SUCCESSION : A PROCESS OF EVOLUTION.

The succession to the separate property of a woman called Stridhanam had a direct or indirect bearing on the succession to a man's estate: and so too had the succession to entire estate given to a Sudra's illegitimate sons after his daughter's son. Now taking the latter first, we all know how almost all the Commentators have more erroneously than disingenuously interpreted Yajnyavalkya's passage "widow, and daughters alone, (parents, brother also, their (born) son Gotraja or agnate, Bandhu, disciple, and fellowstudent)" to mean "widow, daughters, and daughters' sons, (etc.); much to the chagrin of grammarians, and historians alike. They forget the immediately preceding significant passage relating to the right of a Sudra's illegitimate son by a female slave to succeed to his entire estate in the absence of any son by his daughters. The preceding passage refers to persons whose status in the family is next to nothing, being a stranger to the gotra, or exceedingly low in the eye of the law. But the succeeding one refers to persons of a superior status equal to that of the propositus himself; but a Putrika-putra stands on a different footing, as he is reserved by an express ritual or implied intention (at the time of his mother's marriage) for her father's family. Even then it is only the first son by her that enters her father's gotra and takes his estate, and not other sons by her, nor the sons by any other daughters. Though they might be remotely capable of offering pinda to their maternal ancestors, that had nothing to do with taking the benefit of their estate or the burden of their family. In fact whoever took the estate, be he Gotraja, Bandhu, or disciple or the king, had to offer, or arrange to offer, the necessary pinda to the departed soul as a duty or in pursuance of a legal charge attached to the estate even as a debt. The Mitakshara school set out the right to take the estate by succession first and then the duty of administering pinda simply followed as a matter of course, which is the reverse of the principle of the Dayabhaga school. But this principle also latterly influenced the right to take the property after the fusion of the Aryan and Dravidian elements in the realm of the law, so much so that the daughter's son supplanted the Putrika-putra and without any further formality or mental reservation (either before or after his birth) right royally walked into the maternal grandfather's estate in the absence of prior heirs. The definition of 'Sapinda' was altered so as to include the daughter's son though an Atma-bandhu. He was styled a Bhinnagotra Sapinda. But this extension of the legal notion was far, far away from the thought of Yajnyavalkya and his predecessors except perhaps Brihaspati. This Deva-guru deliberately took, rather stole, a leaf from his celebrated rival Sukracharya or Usanas who was the guru of the Asuras or Sudra kings of Nanda Dynasty, notwithstanding that the latter Acharya ridiculed the Aryan vanity for purer blood and tradition and picked holes in the supposed rigour of their caste-system, etc. In fact Brihaspati openly yielded to the sustained force of Dravidian impact, though in the plenitude of his power and height of popular estimation nobody could see through the surrender, because of his unique command of argumentative Arthavadas which he was able to press into service in this behalf all along the line of intermediate succession of the sonless man's widow



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daughter and daughter's son. Thus a unique spectacle was presented to the world of the Deva-guru espousing Dravidian principles and tradition while the Asura-guru waxed so eloquent over the Vedic ones that his verses were verbatim or bodily transported into our Manu in no less than 75 places. And this effect could only be best achieved during the regime of the Nanda emperors, as a matter of evident compromise between the two contending cultures, while the verses referring to strictures on Sudra and things Sudraic got into Manu either at a later time after the overthrow of the Nandas or were explained away to the Nandas born as they were of Sudrawoman by a Brahmin.

We shall now see how Stridhana succession that was also slowly evolved in course of time, in a way prepared the ground for and affected the succession of widow, daughter, and daughter's son. At the outset one may see that Brihaspati after doing so much for the three heirs, never approached the 'untouchable' subject of Stridhanam, because it was foreign to Aryan traditions that women should be held competent to hold or inherit property in their own right, and not in behalf or for benefit of their husbands or sons. It was left to his immediate successor Katyayana, who as the name implies represented the Vaishnava cult of Dravidian or Bhakti worship in temples of a personal God incarnate in avatars or idols. And he freely drew upon the existing Dravidian principles of equity, justice and good conscience, and engrafted them all upon the Aryan Vedic rules in such a dexterous way that the resultant blend was most agreeable to the entire population. It was he that developed the law of Stridhanam in all its kinds and in both of its aspects, limited and absolute. Without entering into all the ramifying details of devolution of Stridhanam it may be for our present purpose sufficient to note that things tended towards what Yajnyavalkya had stated the law to be, namely, daughters in the first instance took their mother's Stridhanam, and their issue on their failure. Thus there was side by side this new kind of inheritance running a race with the Vedic devolution of the primogeniture type. People were getting fast familiar with the daughter, and daughter's children taking their female ancestor's wealth, first in the nature of personal ornaments and clothes worn at her marriage being offered and insisted on being auspiciously worn by her children similarly at their marriages as a sort of visible index of blessing of long-lived matrimony; next in the nature of other kinds of wealth including cattle, utensils, and other moveables; and lastly immoveables in the shape of land and houses, serving for residence and maintenance in the event of the husband deserting or dying or otherwise leaving her destitute. This Stridhanam generally went to the husband in the absence of issue of the marriage in all approved forms while the unapproved forms of marriage were slowly going out of fashion owing to penal and disabling provisions of the ever-advancing and unifying law. There was thus ample room for confusion of ideas. But there was also, when remarriage of women was falling into disrepute and disuse, the further provision in favour of wives without any Stridhanam (to fall back upon) provided for by the husband or father-in-law, of an equal share on partition with that of other male coparceners. In this trend of things Brihaspati's words carried easily and naturally the greatest weight. Thus it is clear that Manu and Apastamba enjoining the adoption of good principles of Dharma from the unexpected quarters of Women and Sudras, had already anticipated the oncoming and irresistible impact of the two civilizations living side by side on

the soil of India. And the law of female succession and Bhinnagotra Sapinda's inheritance are but two important instances out of scores that may be easily pointed out on a careful perusal of the ancient law, of vulgar usage creeping into the higher orders of society and into their own law-books.

Madras.

R. V. V. TATACHARIAR.

KANNADA, HINDI AND ENGLISH.*

However intimate and better organized their literary and cultural life may become, the people of Karnataka cannot afford to live in isolation, nor happily can they, from the rest of India. Improved means of communication and the growth of an all-India consciousness in recent years ensure some amount of contact with people beyond Karnataka, specially in the case of those parts of Karnataka, which are administrative divisions of a larger unit of Government. This contact needs to be amplified and furnished with an appropriate medium, which in the present context is linguistic. Our search for a suitable linguistic conduit need not take us far. English is already there, and Hindi is a recent rival. The former has this double advantage in its favour, *vis.*, it is already an all-India language serving both the administration and the educational systems of India, while it is also helpful in establishing cultural contacts with the larger world outside India. It is no doubt true that English is already serving the purpose of a second language through which we are brought into contact with the rest of India, but it is doubtful if an acquaintance with it will ever extend beyond a small number. On the other hand, Hindi is the mother-tongue of a large population, while its variant Urdu is similarly the language of another large group, and in either form, the language can be understood by still another large group. It is claimed, probably with justice, that the language is flexible, and in recent years has undergone developments, which have made it fully capable of meeting all the needs of modern life for adequate expression. There is finally the argument that deliberate efforts have been made to make it the common language of India, and in this department of social life, as in others, the determination of the people is decisive. Therefore, we may accept the position that it is not necessary to go beyond Hindi for a language that will enable us to keep ourselves abreast of cultural movements in India.

A heated controversy has been carried on recently between those who feel apprehensive that the adoption of this sturdy Indian cousin into a family with limited means would seriously reduce the much-needed nourishment for the weakly infant of the family just recovering from a long period of illness and neglect, and the guardians of the wonder-child, some of whom possibly feel towards Kannada as most of us feel when we hear of heavy infant mortality in India—mildly touched by the general phenomenon and seriously apprehensive about our own offspring. It is not my purpose to revive the controversy, but the position I took up at the time and the views I expressed seem to have proved acceptable to both the parties on our side, and I propose to state them, because I have been specially asked by responsible authority on the Hindi side to allay the apprehensions of Kannadigas and also help the cause of Hindi in Karnataka. The first proposition which I have stated in this connection is that Kannada has the first and the paramount claim on us, not because it is our language, but because it is the one medium through which the largest number of people in Karnataka

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can be reached; consequently, the cultivation of the mother-tongue must always be given precedence. It follows that in schools and colleges, the place of Kannada as a language can never be allowed to be taken by Hindi. It is true that in the Secondary and College stages, English is the first language, and Sanskrit or Arabic is allowed to be offered as an alternative to the mother-tongue of the pupil. Sanskrit and Arabic have special associations for the respective communities concerned, and even those of us who are anxious to support the cause of the mother-tongue in the educational system feel that the claims of these languages have to be respected. Then again, it is not practical politics to substitute Hindi for English in our educational system, at any rate for years to come. Therefore, my second proposition is that the study of Hindi should be encouraged (1) as an optional language in schools and colleges, (2) as a non-examination subject in as many institutions as possible, a short course sufficing for the purpose, and (3) as an important feature of adult education. I am specially concerned with the last, because a large number of educated persons have plenty of leisure, which might innocuously and profitably be employed in the study of Hindi. Besides, cultivation of Hindi by this class will help in the diffusion of all-India ideas in Karnataka. It is a matter for special gratification that increasing numbers of women in Karnataka are taking to the study of Hindi with enthusiasm; for, this means that a love of culture, as well as a sense of Indian solidarity are implanted and reared in what must be the final repository of culture and patriotism—the family circle.

Just now, when I was discussing the question of selecting a second language to promote relationships between Karnataka and India, I made a reference to the view held by an important group of people that English might well be the second language, since it not only serves the purpose of an all-India language but also of a medium of contact with the rest of the world. I propose now to devote some attention to this latter need of the cultural life of Karnataka. There can be no difference of opinion that we in Karnataka like any other local group should not, even if we could, stand on the banks while world currents are racing by. It was argued at a recent Conference of the New Educational Fellowship that the undoubted growth in the solidarity of mankind made it necessary for us "to adopt a single international language, at least as an auxiliary language, in order to facilitate contact between individuals of different nations." If the need for such use of an additional language is accepted, it may be met in one or two ways: "We can either construct a new synthetic language which is to a certain degree artificial; or with the same object in view, we can simplify an existing language."

Now the first solution has taken the form of building up Esperanto, which has many ardent advocates and is held to be both easy to acquire and to use. This solution, however, fails to take note of the existence of non-European languages, and in the present state of our knowledge, whatever the future may have in store for us, it is extremely improbable that a synthetic language can be created, which will serve the needs of communication between the speech-communities of Asia, Africa and Europe. Therefore, the alternative is to select one of the existing languages, and simplify it and adopt it for international commerce. So far as India is concerned, the selection of such a language has been determined for us. English is already in the field, and whatever grievances we may have against Macaulay, we have to admit that the introduction of English into India was in any case inevitable, and even if Macaulay had

not made it the language of higher instruction, it would have played an important part in the educational system as well as the cultural life of the people of the country. India would in any case have needed a medium of communication with the rest of the world, and English would not only have been the most available, but also, in view of its widespread use in the larger world, the most useful. Not only this, but literature and culture know no frontiers, and the great minds of a country are really super-national and speak to all nations. A place of pilgrimage may happen to be located in a country, but its appeal lies to devotees all over the world. So also a Shakespeare or a Byron may have lived in England and written in English, but they are leaders of humanity, whose appeal ignores national barriers.

English has not only her own literary wealth to offer, but a knowledge of the language unlocks to us the treasure-houses of other great European languages, like French, German, Russian, and above all, Greek and Latin. Therefore, there can be no question that, if our cultural life is not to be fragmentary and incomplete, the study of English language and literature should find a prominent place in our schools and colleges. There must be a large band of cultivated men and women in Karnataka, whose acquaintance with the English language and literature is both wide and intimate, and whose mission it is to enlarge the scope of our own literature and culture.

THE COMING REVOLUTION.

Soon the world is going to face a revolution different from all the previous ones, both in matter as well as in manner. It would be a revolution of immense magnitude but an organised constructive one which is bound to yield a new and permanent world social order. Through the channels of international communication which science had woven throughout the world, a conscious fellow-feeling had been developing amongst different peoples and they have by now realised that all their interests are common and that true freedom is an international one. When they act—and they were all along waiting to act—they will act all together. And the affairs of mankind when they cross the limits of secluded nationalism, they no longer lean on militarism. Militarism is but an attendant evil on secluded nationalism. As long as nations are unequal and separate, they need military powers either for defence or for offence. But the world as a whole has not formed its government with a military power attending it. Only it is the existence of military powers that invite violent and destructive revolutions. Therefore the coming world revolution would be entirely constructive and positively non-violent.

It is fortunate that it had fallen to the lot of this country to take the initiative towards that movement of constructive non-violent revolution. The history of the Indian National Congress during its recent years has shown that the country is moving towards a new type of nationalism which was absent not only in this country but in any part of the world so long. And there always seemed to be a tug of war between Mahatma Gandhi's conception of nationalism and that of many other leaders. His Swaraj is a cosmopolitan world Swaraj which includes not only Indians, not only Englishmen, but all nationalities and creeds. But the Swaraj of the most of his colleagues is nothing but a new parliamentary constitution minus safeguards and Arms Act. It is not the Gandhi-Irwin pact, it is not Mahatma Gandhi's acceptance to go to the Round Table Conference but it is this fundamental difference between the ideologies of the followers.



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and their great leader that has brought about this coma in the growing life of the nation.

But in spite of herself, India is being led from one extreme of degeneracy and slavery to the other extreme of international freedom. This is a choice which she had unconsciously made when she had chosen non-violence as her method of the battle for freedom. Non-violence means abolition of militarism; abolition of militarism means abolition of secluded nationalism, which in its turn means an undiluted internationalism and organised world peace. It is towards this end humanity has been marching all along and now the time seems to be most favourable for realising its objective. Imperialism has seen its limit. And the future war, if at all it should happen, it would be a war between mere jealousies, a war to rob away what had already been acquired by others, a war between a stronger empire and a weaker one. The will to dominate has ceased to pay and imperialism as a movement is in retreat. And the people of all nations have begun to realise that they alone can take care of themselves and that there is no use depending on the diplomatic politician any longer.

It is true Western nations have much developed industrially and a communist ideology is raging amongst the industrial workers of these nations inducing them to capture the whole capitalist machinery at the earliest opportunity and use it for the benefit of the common people. They are waiting for a world catastrophe and are hoping that another world war would produce one or two more Russias. This may happen or may not happen; but the more important nations from the viewpoint of population, dimensions and natural resources, China and India, have not even fairly begun their capitalist industrialisation. And can any Marxian prophet tell us how long these two great nations have to wait, under the threats and subjection of foreign powers, before they could be communised? Perhaps that is not the way.

The socialistic revolution that was preparing itself for ages, is constructive in nature and is based on principles of altruism and true fellow-feeling. It could not translate itself into an actuality because science did not come to its aid so long. This contribution of science which comes purely from Western nations has made the dreams of humanity practicable. And if those great scientists were to live till today and withdraw the rights of using their offerings, we have all to go centuries backwards. Now that science has developed to the full level of universal application, utopias are allowing themselves to be translated into actualities. Knowledge, facilities and aspiration, everything is there. Only the social worker has to make use of them in building the freedom of humanity. And if we could correctly comprehend the implications of the conditions and the circumstances in which the world is locked up today we would be forced to admit that the grand change is imminent. No forces ever died away without action. There cannot be all these facilities and open probabilities of an international revolution without its actually coming into existence. Otherwise how is this colossal poverty going to be removed, how is the human being going to earn his leisure along with his daily bread? How is it that, it is possible to produce electricity on a world scale, yet no where is it used except in a few corners of the world, called cities? There are resources enough to feed and clothe all the living persons sumptuously yet only a minority of human beings enjoy them as privileges. These unnatural and disturbing facts invite the world's impatient activity or 'a mere rush into the vacuum' on the one hand and on the other immediate constructive work towards complete freedom of humanity as a

whole. If the methods of achieving that freedom are universally applicable, if secluded nationalism is no longer possible, we must necessarily choose the latter path.

When we speak of freedom, that term should always include equality. Unless equality is established in its full moral sense, there is always cause for war either among nations or among classes. The two great contributions of science are the Press and Electricity. The Press openly challenges all intellectual monopolies and is prone to create an intellectual standard in the average man. And Electricity is prepared to relieve him from the drudgery of toil, aid him as even a helpmate throughout the day and night and give him enough leisure to pursue his intellectual pleasures. Kind nature is there to yield to those who work for her, who help her. The intelligent application of these scientific as well as natural resources on a universal mass scale is the burden of the coming revolution. And it is bound to come. For science and nature are no longer prepared to waste themselves on a selfish few. We hear the humming sound of its approach or perhaps it has already come.

Allahabad,

M. N. RAO.

"THIS GREAT FAMILY" BROADCASTS.

Round firesides in homes throughout the British Empire, her sturdy children gathered on Christmas night, drawn together by the common bond of fraternity to listen to the messages of good cheer of their fellow men in distant outposts and the Christmas message of His Majesty the King.

In this great Christmas broadcast, once again arranged by the B. B. C. and aptly titled "This Great Family," India occupied a place of prominence and from the Bombay station an Englishman who has spent many years of his life in social uplift work in an Indian village told the Empire of the conditions of life and how Christmas was spent by his little family. He was Mr. Verrier Elwin. Mr. Elwin said: "Hullo London, here in India it is a quarter past eight in the evening and a calm, starry night as warm as your English June. I have travelled down to Bombay to speak to you from the Gond village of Karanjia where I live—far away among the eastern spurs of the sacred Maikal Hills, ancient home of the great sages of India. On Christmas night in Karanjia a huge log fire blazes in front of a tiny mud chapel of St. Francis. A tall Christmas tree laden with presents glitters in the firelight. All around lies the vast mysterious forest in a deep silence, broken now and again by the distant roar of a tiger or the high melancholy call of the deer. Round the fire gathers a varied company—two or three hundred wild and glorious children of the forest, royal Gonds, with long black hair, and peacock feathers nodding in their turbans. A pathetic group of lepers sits apart. And there is a Muslim, a Brahmin, an 'untouchable,' an Englishman, an Indian Christian, bound by service into a real family-symbol of what might be throughout the world if the message of the Christ-child was taken to our hearts. For though only two of the company are Christians, all are held together by that Christmas love which teaches that a thing has only to be human to be precious, and that where poverty is there Christ would desire to be. For always the Gonds are hungry. The God of Food, they say, has left the forest for the cities where he makes men fat. But at Christmas, at least, the God of Food returns, and all the children and the lepers and as many animals as will come have a great feast. More and more, people gather from their tumble-down huts, and soon they begin the dance of the Karma, famous dance of the new birth of trees."



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All through this holy night they dance till the dawn comes and they sing an old, old song that might well have a Christmas meaning; for while in the chapel rises the strain of 'While Shepherds watch their flocks by night', the roar of the drums answers and the dancers cry :

O sleeper rise, if thou would'st see,
At midnight, the tree burst into flower.
Tomorrow I shall begin my journey back to them. I wish a Happy Christmas in the name of India to the people of Great Britain and to all those whose lives like mine are spent in the lonely places of the Empire."

REMINISCENCES.*

I began writing for the *Hindu* shortly before or soon after I took my degree from Kumbhakonam College. The first contribution which I sent was published on the leader page. Of what happened in the editorial sanctum, I was totally unaware till my friend, the late Mr. K. Subba Rao, then Sub-Editor, published his "Revived Memories" two years ago. I was gratified to read that G. Subramanya Iyer when he handed over to Mr. Subba Rao for the first time my manuscript said to him, "Please read this. How fine it is! I have no doubt one of these days this young friend of ours will be one of the most brilliant writers of our time and generation." I wrote often and all that I wrote was published in the editorial page. I may mention here that my writing to the press was extremely distasteful to my father who, a Government official himself, regarded Government service as the only place for respectable people. Writing to newspapers was, in his view, disreputable. At his urgent pressure and on the recommendation of a relative, I found myself seated in a Government office in Madras. But a week of it was too much for me. There was very little to engage the mind in the work which consisted chiefly of making a few entries in a huge register. All the others who sat in the same room with me, took their task easily. They came in a few minutes after the prescribed time, chatted with their neighbours, and made their entries and left punctually as the hour struck for tiffin. They returned after a full hour and waited anxiously for the clock to strike the hour to disperse. They were also letting fall remarks in my hearing to the effect that they did not appreciate my presence among them. When I saw an advertisement for a teacher in the High School conducted by Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer, I jumped at it hoping that my writings in the *Hindu* would predispose him in my favour. So they did. It was a short interview which I had with him and next day I handed my resignation of my official post to the head of the Department. He was surprised. He told me that I had done in one week what the others took more than a month—though I was conscious only of filling my time with entries in the big book to get over the terrible boredom—and that I was assured of speedy promotion if I continued there. I thanked him but told him that I preferred work in which I felt some interest. As a matter of fact, teaching in a school was not very much to my taste either. I was interested in the boys and I came to learn many years later from one or two of them that they had derived some benefit by their contact with me in the school. I became Headmaster, and one of my first measures was to do away with the promiscuous caning which formed part of the system in those days. I sent round a circular that there should be no canes with any teacher. I was told

that it was impossible to carry on the classes without the disciplinary instrument. As a compromise, I agreed to inflict the torture myself, if and when it was necessary. Every day I was called to one class or another but, as a rule, I managed to restore peace without punitive measures. On one occasion, however, I was obliged to become executioner, and each boy in the class received a stroke on his hand. When I was in the middle of this function, the boy whose turn it was next to receive a stripe, called out excitedly, "Sir, I am a married man!" I was completely taken aback. At the boy's exclamation, a picture arose before my mind of a young woman looking at me with reproachful eyes from behind him. I threw away the cane and left the room. I do not think I ever used it afterwards. So far as results at the examinations were concerned my Headmastership was a complete failure. No wonder. Much of my time was taken up with writing for the *Indian Social Reformer*, the *Hindu* and the *Indian Spectator* in Bombay, Mr. B. M. Malabari having asked me to write for it during his visit to England. When K. Subba Rao left the *Hindu* to join the Mysore Service, I stepped into his place my senior being C. Karunakara Menon. Menon was a very careful and conscientious writer. He was in charge of the *Hindu* when Mr. Subrahmanya Iyer went to England to give evidence before the Welby Commission. The first prosecution of Mr. Tilak for sedition occurred during his editorship and Mr. Karunakara Menon's criticisms, especially of the legal aspects of the case—it produced the famous definition of "sedition" by Justice Strachey—made the *Hindu* widely appreciated. When Subrahmanya Iyer returned he told Karunakara Menon that he was gratified to hear the *Hindu* articles spoken of highly everywhere. It has been sometimes said of those who worked under Subrahmanya Iyer that they were trained by him. He did very little by way of training. He never told me what I should write about or how. I do not remember except on two occasions when any reference was made by him to what I had written. He was not given to praising his staff, not that he was wanting in appreciation, but he knew the staff did not need praise. On one of the occasions he said, not so much to me as in my hearing, that the *Hindu* editorial paragraphs were spoken of as rivalling those of the *Pioneer*, it being then reputed the foremost Indian journal. It was said that high officials, including a Lieutenant Governor, were contributing to its columns. The other occasion was about the use of "it" for "so." When I next day showed him a standard book in which it was so used, he remarked that I need not have taken all the trouble about so small a matter. What we learnt from him was, however, of great value. It was his complete detachment from personal feeling and entire concentration on the merits of a subject in the editorials. Friend or opponent, it was all the same to him. While he sat in the editorial chair, he knew neither. I am glad to think that this tradition is being maintained not only in the *Hindu* but in the papers conducted by those who worked with Subrahmanya Iyer. I left the *Hindu* at about the same time when Subrahmanya Iyer left it.

K. NATARAJAN.

German Refugees' Problem:—Newspapers give prominence to the letter of Mr. J. G. MacDonald to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations resigning his office as the League High Commissioner for refugees from Germany, declaring that since the office was established two years ago conditions in Germany which create refugees have developed so disastrously that reconsideration of the entire situation by the League is essential.

* Congress Jubilee Number of *Hindu*.



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A MADRAS VERSION OF CONGRESS ORIGINS.

(BY PROF. K. SUNDARARAMAN).

[Prof. K. Sundararama Aiyar, the veteran scholar and educationist was one of the active delegates from Madras to the first Session of the Indian National Congress.]

In December 1883, the annual convention of the Theosophical Society met at Adyar and attracted a large number of delegates from all parts of India. This caused surprise everywhere as the Theosophical Society came over to India as an organisation started in America and brought over here by its founders as affording the best means of attracting to its side the adherents of the ancient spiritual philosophy and methods of spiritual realisation which were still faithfully studied and pursued here and there among those who followed the methods of the Brahmagyana, among the various Vedic sects, still existing in India.

Diwan Bahadur Ragunatha Rao, who had already joined the Theosophical Society and now attended the convention, was a man of highly progressive views in all matters connected with Indian politics and social culture. Inspired by the example of the convention, he got up a special meeting of his friends in his house later on and determined with their approbation to find ways and means of bringing together Indian politicians to inaugurate a political movement for the regeneration and reform of the methods of government of this country calculated to promote a future Indian advance towards Swaraj.

Mr. A. O. Hume, who after his retirement from the Civil Service had settled in Simla, came into contact with Col. Olcott and Madam Blavatski and the story of Mrs. Hume's lost brooch and Madam Blavatski's intervention are incidents which might be mentioned en passant. Upon being informed about the loss of the brooch, Madam Blavatski promised to show the brooch to Mrs. Hume, if she could get at it as she hoped to do, but enjoined that no attempt should be made to either get possession of it or view it at close quarters. At one of the daily meetings of her European friends of an evening, Madam Blavatski suddenly left the gathering, walked some distance and returned after having secured the brooch from an 'elemental' with which she was then supposed to be in close communion. But this by the way. While still at Simla, Mr. Hume paid frequent visits to Lord Dufferin who had just then arrived in India as successor to Lord Ripon. During one of these visits, the conversation turned upon Mr. Hume's aspiration for shaping and influencing English public opinion so as to start a movement for India's political unity and regeneration. Mr. Hume's idea was to rouse the conscience of the people of England by carrying on a persistent agitation in Great Britain with the support and encouragement of leading friends of India both among Englishmen and Scotchmen whether or not officially connected with India. Lord Dufferin considered the question from a purely private sympathiser's point of view and expressed his opinion that such an agitation in England was foredoomed to failure as all intelligent Englishmen were fully aware of the advantages of all kinds, economic, political, administrative, etc., which Great Britain derived from her huge and passive Indian dependency. He also convinced Mr. Hume that the latter could secure his own aims best by confining the agitation to India for the present and making Indian public men all over the land to start and organise and develop to its full strength a national organisation in India itself and conducted with zeal and discretion by her own leaders under Mr. Hume's sympathetic and courageous lead.

*Hindu Congress Jubilee Supplement.

Diwan Bahadur Ragunatha Rao's idea had by now spread among all political associations and politicians in various parts of India. Throughout 1884 and even 1885, the idea of a national political organisation intensively and continuously devoted to the advancement of the future political status of India within the British Empire was a leading topic of discussion both in the press and on the platform in the land. The enthusiasm of the politicians and other public men manifested themselves not only in the formation of popular associations like the Indian Association of Calcutta, the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha and the Madras Mahajana Sabha to name only a few, but also in strengthening Mr. Hume's own persistent resolve to carry on the agitation for India coming into her own. Mr. Hume immediately went to Bengal and induced the leaders of the Calcutta Indian Association, which was then under the guidance of Baboo Surendranath Bannerjee, to pursue the public aims which he had already determined upon propagating throughout the length and breadth of India and her people. It was at this stage that he issued a pamphlet called "The Old Man's Hope." It was at first distributed chiefly in Bengal but numerous copies found their way into all other parts of India and broadcast Hume's ideas for the political advancement of India. The Madras Mahajana Sabha was in full swing having been started by Messrs. P. Rangiah Naidu, G. Subramania Aiyar, P. Ananthachari, Veeraraghavachariar and others and had held some political conferences, both in the presidency town and in mofussil centres like Kumbakonam. It was about this time that Mr. Hume was active and though he directly worked among the people of Bengal, active politicians in all parts of the country took up his ideas and worked for their advancement. Mr. Hume's idea was originally to make Poona the permanent centre and abode for the establishment of the proposed Indian National Congress, as the place had long been the centre of the political activities and agitation of the leaders of the Sarvajanik Sabha. Several gentlemen at Poona became actively interested in organising the resources and personal activities needed for the holding of the Congress there.

MISSIONARY PLANS.

Sixty delegates coming from twenty-five National Christian Councils met at Northfield, Connecticut, September 27—October 2, 1935 to review the work of the preceding three years and to plan for the ensuing period.

The missionary enterprise has come now to the dawn of a new age in which fresh forces are beginning to play a momentous part. These forces are challenging the fundamentals of historic Christianity. In view of such a situation there came to the Conference the conviction of the necessity for a World Meeting to be held in 1938 in the Far East where a new sense of Christian world solidarity could be gained.

A thorough study of evangelism on the mission field is to take a central place in the activity of the International Missionary Council with a view to vigorous, concerted, aggressive and continuous evangelism by the Churches. The survey is to be centred in the Church aiming at enlisting voluntary lay and pastoral forces. The preparation, holding and follow-up of the 1938 meeting is therefore to be utilised to promote fuller co-operation in the world missionary enterprise. Hitherto co-operation has not so often been extended to large evangelistic ventures. It has also been mainly an activity of missionary societies rather than of indigenous churches. Vigorous studies of all these processes and of concrete projects of fresh practical co-operation are being set



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afoot. Professor Latourette declared in this connection that if Christians plan in any less terms than reaching every last creature on this globe they are untrue to the commission of Jesus.

Dr. Merle Davis, Director of the Department of Social and Industrial Research analysed the problem created by the impact of industrialism upon primitive peoples. His department was invited to move its office to the far East to prepare through social economic studies for the 1936 Conference. The following studies, preparatory to the Conference, were suggested: (1) A more adventurous and far-reaching programme of co-operation. (2) The creation of a well-trained Christian ministry and help for their continued spiritual growth and the efficiency of their service. (3) The organisation and spiritual strength of the indigenous church including its support by the local Christian communities. (4) The relation of the Church to Christian movements outside the framework of the Church. (5) The relation of Christianity to other religious cultures. (6) The need of the Church in each land to become truly integrated to such elements in the cultural inheritance of the people as are congruous with Christianity. (7) The need for the Church in each land to realize itself as a part of the world-wide Christian community. (8) The place and function of the Christian community in secular society.

The following startling problems were flung into relief by these same representatives as they confronted the new secular world forces:—(a) The economic basis of the Church in view of the present situation. This is especially a problem in India and in other countries where large masses of Christians are proletariat. (b) The relation of Christianity to the changing social and economic order. (c) The relation of the Church to modern challenges such as communism and imperialism. (d) The problem of church and State in the various manifestations which it assumes in different countries, including questions relating to education, its development and control.

The Committee finally decided to hold the world conference in the autumn of 1938 at Kowloon, in China. Four hundred delegates are to be sent, allotted to thirty areas. Over two hundred will be nationals of these areas, with some seventy missionaries, and the remainder will be from other parts of North America, while every national Student Christian Movement in the world will be asked to send a student delegate.

PUBLIC SCHOOL IN INDIA.

Last month Lord Willingdon opened the first Public School at Dehra Dun. In his speech he criticised the University Education in India and called it soul-less and bereft of any contact with life. Lord Willingdon hoped that the managers of the school would see that the education given to the pupils in the school would be soul-ful and constructive. The curriculum of the school is based on the famous Public Schools of Great Britain; Eton and Harrow are the models. Mr. Foot, the Headmaster, and his four English colleagues are to bear the responsibility of forming the character of the future rulers and administrators of India. It is a grand scheme on which millions of pounds will be spent, by the State and by private individuals. We wonder if the expenditure on this costly experiment is worth incurring. Does India want education modelled on Eton and Harrow? Have they a soul to spare? The progressive thinkers in this country have come to the conclusion that the sooner Public Schools are closed the better it will be. The product of the Public School is much more detached from the realities of life than the product of the Universities.—*Indian Bulletin*.

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BY

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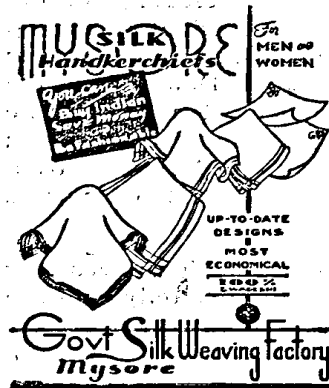
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Pandit Jawharlal Vindicated:—In the *Reformer* of December 21, we published Pandit Jawharlal Nehru's repudiation of the accusation in the Bengal Administration Report against him of having recommended to Bengal leaders the carrying on of a socialist agitation under the guise of an anti-untouchability movement and with money collected for Harijan work. The Pandit protested that, whatever he might have been guilty of, he had never indulged in duplicity in his work. He declared that the allegation in the Administration Report was absolute falsehood and challenged the Government of Sir John Anderson either to justify the charge or publicly withdraw it and express regret for it. Such demands have been made by others—for example, political detainees—but have not been met on the ground of "public interests." We expected that the Pandit's challenge would be disposed of similarly. It is, therefore, a most agreeable surprise to see that the Bengal Government have not resorted to this excuse in this case. The strong language in which the *Manchester Guardian* and the *New Statesman* supported the Pandit's demand, may have had some influence in securing a response. But such strong comments have passed unnoticed before. We are obliged, therefore, to think that the compliance of the Bengal Government in this instance is due to the change of heads at the India Office, the present Secretary of State being a former Governor of Bengal whose knowledge of the people was derived not solely from Police Reports. The Bengal Government have not in so many words withdrawn the grave imputation made against a man whom even those who differ from his opinions respect highly for his sterling honesty of purpose and transparent sincerity. It is explained that the writer of the Report drew certain inferences which he mistook for facts and stated as facts and for this the Government of Bengal express their regret. Pandit Jawharlal has accepted

the explanation and expression of regret. But the matter is not one between the Pandit and the Government of Bengal. The Administration Report is published under the authority of Government and a sentence in a prefatory note that they are not responsible for all the statements made in it, does not absolve them of their responsibility. A similar reservation is made in newspapers but a Court of Law would not on that ground relieve an editor of responsibility for everything that is published in his paper. We are surprised that the Government of Bengal should have resorted to this pettifogging excuse. As for the plea that the writer mistook his inference for a fact, a journalist who did that would be mulcted in heavy damages or may be even sent to jail. We welcome, none the less, the Bengal Government's parenthetical remark that Administration Reports are intended to do nothing more than give an accurate picture of current events. The Reports on the Moral and Material Progress of India which used to be presented to Parliament by the Secretary of State for India, before the Government of India started a Publicity Department, were models of accurate and lucid statement and we should much wish them to be revived in place of the monographs on India by Directors of Information who can not be called to account like other writers.

Congress and Liberals:—The Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry has publicly extended on behalf of the Liberal Party his hand of goodwill to the Congress. We trust that it will be responded to in the same generous spirit in which it is made. As Mr. Sastry said, the National Congress is not only the oldest but it is also the largest political organisation in India. It has to its credit much solid work and sacrifice in the country's interests. Since the suspension of the Civil Disobedience movement and the removal of the ban on Council entry, there is no vital point of difference so far as politics are concerned between Liberals and Congressmen. The differences, such as they are, relate to matters like the wearing of khaddar and the performance of a certain amount of what is known in Congress parlance as manual labour. An increasing number of Congress members is dissatisfied with these limitations to Congress membership. The manual labour clause, adopted last year, has proved unworkable and it is almost sure to be repealed at the next session.



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The khaddar clause is out of place in the constitution of a predominantly political organisation. The All India Spinners Association is an independent body and, with the large funds at its disposal, it should be able to carry on its propaganda without the adventitious aid of a political patron. There is one other difference between Congressmen and Liberals. It is as regards the goal to be set before the country as the end of its political activities. The Congress has set up Independence or substance of Independence as its goal. The Liberals cling to Dominion Status as their objective. Mr. Sastry has asked that Congress should drop Independence. We would suggest that Liberals should drop Dominion Status. Neither Independence nor Dominion Status is a sufficient end in itself. The question, whether India should remain within or without the British Commonwealth, is not an issue which can be decided on abstract considerations. Even if it were one, it can be decided only with reference to the larger issue of India's position in and her capacity for service to the world at large. It is obvious that the British connection, if it operates to suppress India's genius and aptitudes for world service, will become obnoxious to world opinion. Recent events have shown that world opinion is a force with which even a great power like Britain will have to reckon. On the other hand, if India is completely unhampered by the British connection in her efforts to serve humanity, there is nothing to be gained by making the breaking of it an end to which the nation's energies should be concentrated. On the contrary, India's yearning to take her due share in world affairs, will only be strengthened by her established position in the British Commonwealth.

Social Reform Among Nambudiris:—If the Zamorin Raja expects that his ban on temple entry will deter progressive Nambudiris from pressing forward with social reform which alone can rescue them from the decadence due to outworn customs imposed on them by their exclusive eminence, he is doomed to early and complete disillusionment. The Nambudiri Yogaksaema Mahasabha (Nambudiri Social Welfare League) met at Trichur near Cochin on the 28th December for its twenty-eighth annual session. For the first time in its history, it had for President a woman, Srimathi Parvathi Nanminimangalam. After prayers by another Nambudiri Brahman lady, Srimathi Arya Antharjanam, the Chairman of the Reception Committee called public attention to the action of the Cochin Government in repeatedly vetting a Bill to control the powers of the Karavan or manager of a Nambudiri family, who at present exercises absolute control over the family possessions. The Lady President in her address, explained her non-participation so long in the League's work as being due to her dissatisfaction with its failure to deal satisfactorily with the crying evil of discarded women

of the caste. Only the eldest son in a family is allowed to marry and her remark apparently refers to women who, on account of this feudal prohibition, have been stranded in life. The President went on to say that her community had progressed in recent years. The women threw away the old-fashioned umbrellas which they were obliged by custom to carry with them. Grown up girls were attending schools in increasing numbers. She declared that Nambudiri women should be given the right to remarry and to sever themselves from unwholesome marriages. She exhorted her people to give up cowardice and work for the uplift of the community. The report in the *West Coast Reformer* to which we are indebted for these interesting particulars, might have been fuller and more detailed, having regard to the significance of this important movement in the most conservative of Hindu castes.

Hosts and Guests:—While in some respects, Poona was advantageously situated to hold the last sessions of the Hindu Mahasabha, it was in one important matter quite unsuited for the purpose. This is the persistence in the city of the rather narrow tradition of the Peishwa's regime which brought the Empire built up by the genius of Shivaji to an untimely and rather inglorious end. The characteristics of that regime were cleverness in diplomacy, plenty of personal courage, and an exceptionally clear vision within a horizon limited by cast-iron sacerdotal ideas. Its great defect was an incapacity to think spaciouly. In such an atmosphere the idea of Hindus being the hosts and all other communities being guests of the Hindus, comes naturally even to a mind attuned to the philosophy of the Vedanta. The simile is nevertheless a double-edged one. According to Hindu ideas a guest is entitled to have the best of everything in the host's house served to him. To haggle over weightages in the electorates, would be the height of inhospitality. If it was meant by the simile to assert a right of exclusive ownership to anything, it would justify the similar claim made by other communities which are relegated to the position of guests. That single declaration, which should have been promptly repudiated but was not, has brought on the Mahasabha an ill-deserved odium at the moment when its importance was coming to be felt by many who had hitherto looked askance at it.

The Women's Conference:—The most successful of the annual conferences held in Christmas week is usually the Women's Conference which presents a united front to the country. The tenth session which met at Trivandrum under the presidentship of Her Highness Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi, is notable from all accounts, as the best organised of the Women's Conferences. We print elsewhere the thoughtful and well-considered presidential address of the Maharani. Both Travancore and the women's Conference have gained much from their close association this year. The presence in Travancore of distinguished Birth Control propagandists,



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Like Mrs. Margaret Sanger and Mrs. Howe-Martin, who attended the Conference as visitors, gave special interest to the Birth Control resolution. Following its usual, out-of-date policy, the Conference kept out the press but at this session the question was put to the vote, a large majority favouring an *in camera* sitting. Mrs. Sanger was invited to address the house on Birth Control before the resolution was voted on. An amendment to link up Birth Control and maternity welfare had to be abandoned, we understand, because the distinction between this suggestion and the official resolution was felt to be too subtle for the Conference. This was unfortunate as the Birth Control movement has no future except as a section of maternity work. Much of the opposition now experienced would have been dispelled if a representative body like the Women's Conference had clearly decided for this step. Dr. B. Natarajan, Delhi delegate and Superintendent of Municipal Welfare work in that city, speaking on the resolution, said: "As a part of maternity and child welfare service the object of which is to reduce infant and maternal mortality, Birth Control is definitely necessary. The existing welfare centres which are in close touch with the people through their health visitors, know only too well the need for instructing some of the mothers in the practice of Birth Control and helping them to follow the advice. Their work is gravely handicapped by the absence of facilities and authority to impart this knowledge. The assimilation of Birth Control by the maternity centre is an urgent necessity which cannot be neglected today. It will, besides filling up a gap in the welfare work of Indian cities, check the number of induced abortions by the use of quack methods which is common. But it will not solve every problem as is claimed by enthusiastic propagandists. Birth Control is not going to bring about an Utopia. In a world where babies are not the only trouble, much more has to be done than the mere establishment of Birth control clinics."

The Congress Socialist:—We welcome the resuscitation of *The Congress Socialist* although to many the double name will be perplexing. For we all know what the Congress stands for and many of us have at least a vague idea what Socialism is. But what 'Congress Socialist' represents is not so clear. It may mean, and often does, that Socialist who is a thorn in the side of older Congressmen. It has also meant the Socialist who owes an allegiance to the Congress or *vice versa*. In any case one might safely look to the organ of the party to clarify the position soon. The paper does well to carry on its first issue several appeals for unity in Socialist ranks. For while Comrades Meherally and Masani moved in the Bombay Corporation for felicitations to the Congress on its Golden Jubilee but abstained from attending the functions, Comrade Maniben Kara took a prominent part

in the celebrations, and workers at Delhi nearly wrecked the Jubilee programme by holding back from it in a body. Even in the first number of *The Congress Socialist* itself there seems a noticeable lack of unity. While General Secretary Jayaprakash Narayan writes from Benares on the need for a paper to work as a party-builder, Poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya who celebrates his return from Sri Aurobindo Ghose's Ashram at Pondicherry with a poem summarily rejecting the gods, claims that everything has been done already and that 'we are not now as before.' More cautious than frenzied Nasik agitators who express their contempt of Hindu scriptures by burning them publicly, Comrade Harin merely wishes to 'let them be left on the shelves to be buried in dust through the days,' very probably to be dusted and read when the next attack of religious fervour comes on us again. Comrade Harin's poetry has suffered from his politics but we like particularly the lines

Each one of us hears in his blood
The music that makes him a master;
We keep rolling along and along

Like an ocean whose billows are wide.

Lest readers ignorant of the context should rashly conclude that the 'New Song' is a tipsy chorus, we hasten to add that it is in celebration of the freeing of the workers from exploiters. Bursting forth once more in the third number of the weekly, the poetic comrade extols the virtues of blowing one's own trumpet. We wish the *Congress Socialist* every success but we trust it will cut out the rhyming contributions.

Which Sir Shanmukham?—Until a man can be found who knows himself as his Maker knows him, sees himself as others see him, there must be at least six persons engaged in every dialogue between two, wrote Oliver Wendell Holmes—an observation which comes to mind on reading Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty's confession at the Madras Christian College annual celebrations that he was what he was today because of the influence of that institution. Leaving aside the audience who had met on the occasion, still there is room for doubt as to which Sir Shanmukham the speaker referred to—the one known to his Maker, the one seen by his opponent in the last Assembly elections, Sami Venkatachallam Chetty, or the one revealed to Sir Shanmukham alone. But for his defeat in the elections Sir Shanmukham would not have been what he is today. He would probably have been elected President of the Legislative Assembly. Would he in that case have preferred the Dewanship of Cochin? The Presidentship of the Indian Legislative Assembly, is certainly, a far more elevated office than the Dewanship of Cochin. Sir Shanmukham lost the chance of reoccupying it owing, it was generally felt, to a certain lack of restraint in his electioneering speeches, which cannot be recorded as due to the influence of the Madras Christian College under Dr. Skinner.



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BOMBAY, January 11, 1936.

MAHARAJA SAYAJI RAO GAEKWAR.

The completion of sixty years since the accession of His Highness Sayaji Rao to the throne of the Gaekwar was celebrated with due pomp and solemnity and much genuine rejoicing at Baroda for several days beginning from New Year's Day. Accounts of the great achievements of His Highness's rule have been published in the Press. His Excellency the Viceroy arrived at Baroda for the occasion and at the State banquet held in his honour read a message from the King-Emperor conveying His Imperial Majesty's congratulations and good wishes in words of marked cordiality. The Viceroy in his speech offering his own felicitations, said that His Highness's succession to the gadi in 1875, marked the beginning of a new era of material and steady progress in the State. His Excellency continued: "Under Your Highness' enlightened guidance Baroda has never looked back. At the outset Your Highness set before you high ideals, some of which have already been attained, others you steadfastly pursue. And I can truly say that you have devoted your life to the interests of your State and the welfare of your subjects. The fruits of your labours are in evidence on all sides. The administration of the State is on a high level, but what is perhaps more important, it is built upon sure foundations." Special significance attaches to this testimony as Lord Willingdon was Governor of Bombay twenty-three years ago when Baroda and its ruler were under the darkest cloud which cast its shadow during the Maharaja's rule. That His Highness' purpose and motives have come to be understood and appreciated at their true high value, and that His Imperial Majesty and his Viceroy have felt that it was due to His Highness that they should bear public testimony to the fact in gracious and glowing terms, should be most gratifying to the Maharaja as it is to his countrymen.

There is one sentence in the Viceroy's speech which marks the unique standing that Baroda during His Highness' rule has acquired in Indian polity. His Excellency declared that he was glad that he was able to visit Baroda to pay his tribute of regard to His Highness and Her Highness and he asked the company to join him in wishing long life and prosperity to Their Highnesses and the Baroda State. A long and rigid convention has precluded any public reference by representatives of His Majesty to the wives of ruling Princes at State functions. This, no doubt, originated in respect for what was considered to be the etiquette of Indian Courts. Baroda is the only State where this old practice has been departed from and the Maharani officially and publicly recognised as the sharer of her husband's status as ruler of a State

as in European countries. The keynote of the Maharaja's policy for his State is to be found in his passionate devotion to social reform. Hindu Society has been held back in the path of progress by a stupid sentiment against women and Sudras as being of sinful origin. The breaking down of this degrading prejudice is in one way or another the aim of Indian social reform. It has been the dominating aim of the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar. The social reformer's mission begins with his own home. The notable success which has happily crowned the Maharaja's labours for his State, owes not a little to the example he has set in his own practice. The besetting evil of Indian Princes is the zenana system. By emancipating himself and his family from this traditional bondage, His Highness released the State from the medievalism which hampers progress all over India. Baroda by size and population is not one of the largest Indian States. It has won its place among the foremost of them by the social and educational advance which, in a sense, His Highness forced on her through his long reign. One of the decided advantages which monarchical Government enjoys over the democratic, is that it gives a good ruler sufficient time to advance the interests of his people by measures which require continuous care in their application. It is immune from electoral vicissitudes with their tendency to swing the pendulum this way and that.

The names of Amanulla Khan and Kemal Ataturk come to mind when we think of rulers of States who regarded social reform as the foundation of a modern State and endeavoured to carry it out in their own States. Amanulla failed because he had not the patience to fashion his tools and to prepare the minds of his people by education to understand and give an intelligent assent to his beneficent measures. Ataturk has succeeded in carrying through more radical reforms than any ruler has attempted in modern times because a large body of Turks were habituated by their contiguity to Europe to modern ideas and modes of thinking. He had, too, the powerful support of a victorious Army. The ruler of Baroda had neither of these advantages. But he is fortunate in having for his subjects a highly intelligent and educable people who soon overcame their first feelings of distrust, and threw themselves whole-heartedly in the furtherance of his plans when they realised their value to the public weal. Baroda stands today in the forefront of Indian progress on all lines. Her Maharaja is not only an All-India figure but he holds a high international position as leader of a movement making for understanding and goodwill among nations. He is the International President of the World Fellowship of Faiths which is to hold its second session in London next May. His address at the first session in Chicago two years ago made a great impression and led to his being chosen to the highest position in this great movement. The Maharani is a pioneer



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and most active leader of the women's movement which is the outstanding feature of Indian evolution at the present time. The weight of Baroda will be certainly cast on the side of social advance in the Federation whenever it comes. We join in the immense volume of congratulation and good wishes which has greeted the Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwar on the Diamond Jubilee of his beneficent rule.

THE HINDU LAW OF SUCCESSION: A PROCESS OF EVOLUTION.

From the concise statement in the two previous articles, one of two things is very clear, especially as Manu contains all the above provisions except as to the widow's inheritance which was the last to emerge. Either Manu was the common Imperial and standard Code for all India of a particular period and the several other Smritis served as the special or local codes for the several provinces; or our Manu went on increasing in bulk by numerous amendments and repeals from time to time until it stopped so growing after the sovereign empire declined in its power to legislate for the whole of India. In the former case it is presumed that some provinces were progressive and some lagged behind in the matter of the evolution of inheritance laws, and the special codes prevailed over the general in actual administration though the general Code of Manu showed the line of universal or uniform development of law through the length and breadth of India. A similar spectacle is being witnessed to-day in the desire to have the same uniform law in the Indian States as in British India. This would be possible only if all the provinces were under the rule of the same king or Emperor or a common consciousness of homogeneity of all peoples arose in the minds of the learned sages. It is not hard to believe, considering the great legal and literary activity of the period in question, that even the law of property which is the slowest to move onward, began, like the law of adoption as administered and incredibly enlarged by our courts, within the last 80 or 100 years, to grow in all dimensions of perspicuity, uniformity, and steadiness, under the able lead of State Officers of the type of Brihaspati and Sukracharya. The former represented the Daiva or Brahmanic forces and the latter the Dravidian or Asura influences. Manu seems to embody a happy but inevitable compromise between the two of them. And all other Smritis took the cue and in fact like Manu drew very largely upon the latter sources for all available and enduring or broadening principles of equity to be engrafted upon the old and out-of-date Vedic Law and Usages. Thus it was that a fresh and vigorous lease of life that has since stood the test of at least two millenniums was given to the old Aryan institutions of India.

Taking the clue from Manu itself and Parasara that the Dharmas of all the four Yugas or distinct ages are comprised in the works of Smriti writers, there is room for the second alternative aforesaid, viz. the gradual but rapid development of the law, probably under the auspices of a dynasty of very able and ambitious line of Kings or Emperors. Now one thing is clear; viz. that Manu does not refer to the widow's right to take her husband's property, though Smriti Chandrika might assert that her right is 'inferrible' from Manu. The fact is that the spirit of Commentators and Digest-makers has throughout been so to interpret, without the least reference to historical sense, as to twist and torture the conflicting texts into yielding fairly harmonious, though sometimes most grotesque,

results. Mayne is right in saying, "The growth of a widow's right of succession is much more complicated than that of mother or daughter. Originally of course she shared in the general incapacity for inheritance which affected all women. Neither Manu, Apastamba, Vasishtha, nor Narada recognise her right as heir; though they do acknowledge that of the daughter and mother....." But he would not or could not see the real reason that was winking at him closely. He, in another place, almost knocked against it in para 556. The rule that father, husband, and son were to protect a woman in the stated order was rigidly enforced in the earliest times and women were also regarded pure and sacred and blessed and gifted by the Gods. Remarriage was freely resorted to in the case of young widows with no issue; and where they had issue the same supported them but where they had none, or none survived them, their property went to them or they themselves had recourse to adoption of various kinds of sons who inherited the property and maintained them. And the special injunction was that a mother, though fallen or outcaste, must be maintained by their sons at their peril. Hence there was no necessity to endow the widow with an estate of her own; nay, there was also direct authority of Kautilya that she lost even the Stridhana which she forfeited to her issue on her remarriage, even though it had been mainly intended for her support in times of unforeseen calamity. The strong desire for having sons to save a Hindu from the hell of 'Put'; the dozen extra ways of securing them; the endowment of Stridhana; the duty of the head of the house or other heir succeeding to the estate to support the deceased member's dependants, the unqualified duty of a son to support his mother, even though fallen; and the free right to remarry which the widows and other women had in several contingencies, all these things conspired to delay the rapid advent of the widow's estate in the evolution of Hindu Law. Gautama allowed it if she liked to have a son by Niyoga at the hands of her brother-in-law on special appointment; but that is not a widow's estate or inheritance proper, and Manu supports the same by enjoining the rearing of a son upon a brother's widow and giving him the deceased's estate. Sankha-Likhita endorses the rule, in the case of the eldest widow. Devala postpones it to the rights of father, brother, and mother. And Harita allows maintenance to young widows who, declining to marry again, prefer to lead the life of a rigorously chaste widow. Thus it is fairly certain that, before Brihaspati, Katyayana, and Yajnyavalkya and Vishnu firmly established her right to succeed to her husband's estate, the free right of a widow to remarry was already fast disappearing at least among the higher castes. So that from this point of view it also appears that the chronological order of the Rishis was that Gautama, Devala, Sankha and Harita preceded the four noted above.

The strictures in Manu against Sudras were evidently born of experience under the Nanda dynasty. There seems to have been a duplication of institutions, one led by Sukra under the imperia Sudra kings, and the other by Brihaspati under feudal kings of royal blood subject to complete Brahmanic influences. There had already been ample fusion of Dravidian and Aryan ideas and culture: but now special emphasis came to be laid on particular elements in the product of the fusion. Hence only the stigma attached to Sukracharya as the Asura-Guru. Nevertheless his verses have found their due place in Manu. Manu went on growing by additions, etc., until the days of the Acharyas were practically over and Kautilya came upon the scene and ruled that in approved forms of marriage, a woman lost



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her right of divorce and re-marriage, but gave her the so-called widow's or woman's estate in her husband's property so long as she strictly adhered to a life of chastity, continence and submission to her husband's relations; and after her life-time his heirs took his wealth. And it is no wonder that Kautilya begins his Arthasastra with his salutations to Sukra and Brihaspati who had been his immediate predecessors in office, during the uprooted regime of the Nandas. His is a clear allegiance to both Dravidian and Aryan principles in the blended culture of the Hindus. In politics it means absolute equality and in law complete uniformity, whatever may be the distinction and diversity in the matter of particular traditions and rituals and other religious observances, among various schools of Vedic thought. In this connection it is interesting to note that the devolution of Stridhanam property was also proceeding on the line of approved or unapproved forms of marriage as they were prevalent in higher or lower castes among Hindus. And Kautilya defined Stridhanam as property endowed on a woman to support her in all cases of calamity befalling her. What was originally a bride-price or Sulka came to be endowed on the bride as affectionate gift and lastly as one in view to avert her wretchedness in case of an unforeseen calamity or contingency. The approved forms partook of Brahmin or Aryan tradition and the others of Dravidian one. And to-day we are so advanced, rather so far removed from those days that we have come to regard the happy blend itself as the product of Aryan as distinguished from Dravidian culture. And the rich product of steady, though rapid, evolution has now equally come to be regarded as the very Commandment of the Avatar of Vishnu to this day. Not the Vedas only, but the Smritis as well, have with us become equally eternal and of divine origin, which we are asked not to violate or forbidden to transgress at our peril.

Madras.

R. V. V. TATACHARIAR.

CONVERSION.*

The problems of conversion cannot be dealt with either as a "spiritual change" or as a "change of community" without the principle itself being considered and understood, as otherwise, we shall be merely begging the question. The meaning of the term conversion itself has been used in the preceding discussion in many senses. Similarly also the words "Religion and God." According to our individual conceptions of God and the functions of a religion, the purpose of conversion also will differ. I am afraid, it will be beyond me to attempt a metaphysical discussion. I can only put forward my own personal understanding of the situation in the light of the teachings of Jesus as have been recorded by various Gospel writers. We have to bear in mind that even here we are dependent on the frail media of unsophisticated disciples of Jesus. In the preceding discussions we have been using the word Religion in two senses with reference to both Christianity and Hinduism. In the ancient world religion played the part of a code of laws, regulating people's daily conduct and mode of life. In this sense Judaism and Hinduism are religions while Christianity cannot be brought under such a category. You will remember with what meticulous care the ceremonials are described in the Pentateuch and in the Hindu scriptures. In this sense Christianity is not a religion. So while a person may be a good Hindu he may yet owe allegiance to Jesus. Therefore, as long

* A report of a speech delivered by Mr. J. C. Kumarappa before the Council of the Federation of International Fellowship at its Session at Wardha on 29th December, 1935 when the question of "Conversion" was considered.

as there is nothing repugnant in one religion to the tenets of another there is no cause for conversion.

In the conception of God we have to remember that many attributes are merely carry-overs from the early days of Judaism. The tribal God of the Jews who visited the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation and showed mercy unto thousands of them that love him still persists amongst the Christians—so called. God exists to revenge and to reward. This God has to be propitiated by extending his domain by getting adherents. Herein is the reason for conversion. For every addition to the flock we get a gem in our Crown in heaven. This God in his turn looks after the welfare of his people on earth and fights their battles. The Western nations have four forms of arms—defensive and offensive—the army, the navy, the air force and the Church. So conversion is recruiting in the service of God, King and Country. Missionaries, I know, will stoutly deny this as their main function but they are, nevertheless, conscious or unconscious recruiting agents for gun-fodder. At times of conflict every pulpit is converted into a recruiting platform and the churches on either sides vie with each other to gain all they can in the Imperialistic struggle. I am reminded at this moment of the valuable services rendered by the Bishop of London who went about the front during the World War preaching that the boys who died fighting will go straight to heaven. In his speech Seth Jamnalalji pointed out that the missionaries emphasise the fact that Hinduism holds about 60-million Harijans as slaves as an excuse for their mission of conversion while they ignore the injustice of subjecting 350 millions to bondage. In reply the British missionary friend who spoke before me stated that they themselves are subject to the same Government. Yes, it is true. We are slaves in that our political and economic liberty is curbed under fortuitous circumstances but the missionaries are greater slaves than we in that they have willingly sold their conscience to the Government. What shall it profit a man if he shall gain the whole world and lose his own soul? Their shackles are heavier than ours. Let us pity them. How can we expect these slaves to help us to attain freedom and justice? Nobody can lift himself with his own boot strings. I did not intend to speak on this aspect but since the point has been raised I cannot ignore the question. During the Satyagraha movement when all kinds of atrocities were inflicted on the Satyagrahis the missionaries stood at a safe distance or within the precincts of the churches and prayed to their God for peace. This is a cowardly and futile attitude. This is not the stuff of which even the church was built up in the early days. When there is no trouble they issue forth from their hiding place and preach and attempt to convert people to cowardice. The History of the Church teaches us that she has been the handmaiden of the State through the ages. Therefore any increase in number of the adherents strengthens the State. In this way the missionaries are playing a dangerous political game in conversion.

These are all perversions of Jesus' teaching giving rise to monstrosities in the religious sphere. Let us for a moment turn to the idea of Jesus on the subject. According to the records we do not find that Jesus advocated any particular form of religion. He himself was not a Christian and we do not see anywhere that he advocated a change of religion as a result of spiritual transformation. True, he said, a man must be born again, but this does not necessitate a change



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of religion. He did not recognise a tribal God nor is it sure if he even recognised any set form of religion. He has given us certain units of measure. The yard stick of allegiance is "He that is not against us is for us" and not the fact of belonging to any particular religion. (Here a missionary member said it is also stated "He that is not with me is against me." Mr. Kumarappa replied that he is prepared to give Jesus the benefit of the difference in the two statements and accept the broader view as it fits in better with the spirit of Jesus.) "Ye shall know them by their fruits" is his criterion of conduct and not the ceremonial adherence to baptism etc. His mission was "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead and cast out devils." All forms of social service is all that a follower can render. The test of those who belonged to his family or community is "whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in heaven, the same is my brother, sister and mother" irrespective of what community or religion a person may belong to. The form of worship he advocated was not the number of times one had to participate in certain rituals but to "let your light so shine before men: that they may see your good works and glorify your father in heaven." Where is there room for conversion as practised by missionaries? When Saul was converted into Paul he did not change his religion. He changed from a fanatic persecutor into one "who was not against us," one who yielded good fruits, who went about serving the needy, and he rejoiced in doing the will of the Father and lighted those in darkness. This much for his teachings and now let us see what Jesus said directly in regard to conversion, "Woe unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, Hypocrites, for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte and when he is made, you make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves." (A Missionary lady member interrupted with "Judge not lest ye should be judged" and Mr. Kumarappa said "Madam, direct your quotation to Jesus as these are not my words but his.")

We see Jesus' idea of love of God when he says "Simon lovest thou me, feed my lambs," God is not in need of those who honour Him with the lips saying "Lord, Lord," but those who do the will of the Father in Heaven will be invited to inherit the Kingdom. "For I was thirsty, ye gave me drink, I was a stranger and you took me, naked and ye clothed me, I was in prison and you came unto me." So the only conversion that can take place is not in the religion we adhere to but in our attitude to our fellowmen. On the day of reckoning God will not ask of us our rank, allegiance or birth but just what had we done on earth, in as much as ye had done it unto the least of these my brethren ye had done it unto me. There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, Bond or Free, neither Hindu, nor Muslim, neither Zoroastrian, nor Christian. It is our ideals that matter. If we want to convert a person it can be only to a field of service and not to any man-made fold. Each man is individually responsible to His Maker. Conversion as practised by the missionaries has no support from Jesus, as far as I can see and it is only a mode of increasing the adherents of an institutional religion called Christianity of which Jesus was neither the founder nor a member.

Campaign for a Higher Birthrate:—A big drive for a higher birthrate is to be made in Britain and propaganda in favour of bigger families is to be undertaken both from the view-point of ensuring the national safety and maintaining the race and of securing greater domestic happiness. The organisation concerned with this new campaign is the League of National Life, with Lord Eustace Percy as one of its leaders.

MRS. SANGER AND BIRTH CONTROL

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

My attention has been called to an editorial, "The Case for Birth Control" which appeared in your issue of December 21.

In this editorial the writer accuses me of not stating "the evils of propaganda among people who are not yet ready for it." This is not the case at all. The evils referred to are those resulting from the exploitation of contraceptive devices. This is the case in question and the point referred to in the article by Miss Elizabeth Garrett.

If the writer had looked into the case before accusing me of discourtesy, he would have found that in every address I have given before medical groups since my arrival in India I have urged the physicians to profit by the mistakes we made in the United States and to take hold of the Birth Control movement and direct it themselves. I have pointed out that our archaic laws have prevented the medical profession from leading the movement in the United States and that consequently articles and devices came upon the market from manufacturers like mushrooms over night. Some of these articles were entirely worthless.

I have brought with me three reels of films made specially for the medical profession which give the technique of contraception as it is known in the Western countries. I have stated repeatedly to all groups that if the diaphragm or cervical caps are to be used they must be fitted and advised by a qualified person, a doctor, nurse, or midwife. But, Mr. Editor, this does not mean that there are not other methods of contraception which do not necessarily need a doctor.

The French people have practised birth control for generations and used simple methods fairly successfully, as can be seen from their birth rate, without advice of the family physician at all. It is only when certain methods are used that the doctor's knowledge of physiology and anatomy is essential.

Again may I say that before there was a birth-control movement in the United States there were harmful methods and devices under other names advertised to the public.

In India I have found shops where articles are being sold and have been sold for years which are neither safe nor reliable. It is as necessary to educate the chemist as it is to educate the doctor.

I do not care to discuss other aspects of the editorial which are statements not based on facts or evidence but have confined myself to the points about myself.

I would also like to point out that in every city I have visited I have addressed a group of doctors. I have lectured to nine medical meetings since my arrival in India.

Trivandrum,

Yours, etc.,

28th December, 1935,

MARGARET SANGER.

We gladly publish this first public warning against contraceptive exploitation which Mrs. Sanger has given in this country. It is no use telling 'medical groups' alone of the danger of the traffic in these articles when already the markets are flooded with them. The American Birth Control Conference, according to Miss Garrett, decided to warn the public of the United States against "the increasing flood of contraceptive products, ranging from good to very bad in quality but for the most part quite inferior which are being openly sold all over the



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the country, in drug stores, by peddlers and by mail." (*Reformer*, February 17, 1934.) Mrs. Sanger's public meetings here have been more remarkable for her quick repartees than for any warnings. A typical incident was her answer to a Delhi questioner on the moral effect of Birth Control practice, that she had suffered in no way morally after twenty-five years of it. Mrs. Sanger's airy dismissal of 'statements not based on facts' in the editorial is of a similar nature. Her quiet appropriation on behalf of birth control of the credit or blame for the falling French birthrate cannot bear scrutiny. We welcome her assurance that she has admonished medical groups nine times in India to lead in the birth control movement but in the existing circumstances her work will only result in handing over the doctor to the hands of the manufacturer and trader who are today in joint possession of the field. There must be a retreat as well as going forward in the control movement. It has to be rescued from the businessman. Why does Mrs. Sanger evade this issue in India? Her remark that the trade in birth control devices existed before the Birth Control movement is disingenuous. Wrote Miss Garrett, "Mrs. Sanger made the nation birth-control conscious. In doing so she prepared the ground for the commercial exploitation that was to come," Mrs. Sanger, like most eminent fighters in any cause, was a victim of her many admirers in this country. These were eager to show her their devotion, ignorant of her need for advice on India's special conditions.

ALL INDIA WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

TRAVANCORE MAHARANI'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

The Tenth Session of the All India Women's Conference was opened on the 28th December at the New Theatre, Trivandrum. About 200 delegates who had come from all parts of India, attended.

Her Highness Sethu Parvati Bai, mother of the Maharaja of Travancore, was elected president. The Maharani said:

The immediate object of this Conference is to create a wider scope for the powers and responsibilities of Indian women and to emphasise the value of women's work in every well-ordered State. The methods of this Conference lie in persuading and justifying; the goal of this Conference must be to create absolute equality of opportunities and position as between the two sexes in all branches of activity. With this feeling and convinced as I am of the importance of this gathering, I approach my task as President of this year's session of the All-India Women's Conference with mixed feelings. The first, in which, I am sure, you will all share, is regret for the unavoidable absence of the original President-Designate—Her Highness the Yuvarani of Mysore, whose absence we all feel very keenly, and not the less because she represents a State and a Royal House which have been amongst the pioneers of women's education and uplift in our country. I am also acutely conscious of the magnitude of my task and its heavy responsibility. At the same time, I am very thankful to those who have, by inviting me to preside on this occasion, signalled their confidence in me—a confidence which I am sure is much less a personal tribute than a symbol of the recognition on your part of the position achieved and maintained by women in this land. This is the first Conference held in an Indian State and it cannot be denied that it is among States that the biggest efforts have been made to remove some of the social and legal disabilities of women.

The country of Kerala, of which Travancore is an important unit, has earned from our brothers

across the ghauts the name of "Penmalayalam" or "Women's Malayalam." The appellation is not a conventional compliment. Our laws and social customs based on the matriarchal system followed by us for millennia have given to women a conspicuous place in our polity. The woman is here recognised as the head of the family, and succession is traced through her. No restrictions on the holding and disposition of property and no inequalities regarding education, social life and cultural growth have hampered our sex. Not only has our history afforded instances of queens who have stamped their individuality on the chronicles of their country, but in the fine arts and philosophy, women have played a notable part. The equality of women with men in the matters of political as well as property rights is today an established fact. Co-education in primary institutions and in the higher classes and forms in many schools and colleges is a feature of Travancore, and girls and women have so fully taken advantage of the educational facilities that it has been found possible without interfering with the number of admission to levy full rates of fees from girl students in colleges and three-fourths in schools. There is practically one literate woman to every two literate males and women are now applying freely for admission to various services and other avenues of employment. They are also alive to their wider civic responsibilities as is shown by the circumstance that in co-operative societies, the number of women members is 28,000, a not inconsiderable proportion of the total strength. We are thus, in the main, unaffected by many problems which engross the attention of thoughtful and patriotic persons in other parts of India. We have abolished Devadasi service in our temples and such problems as the purdah, the conditions which have led to the passing of the Sarda Act and to the laws relating to the traffic in women, are not present among us. It is therefore not perhaps inappropriate that a conference designed to co-ordinate the activities of women in various departments and to review and consolidate their status and position should hold its sitting in Travancore. With the utmost pleasure I welcome in our midst representatives from all parts of India and many well-known friends from abroad. Hospitality has been accounted the prominent trait of this country and I am proud to say that not only in the material sphere but in the realm of ideas, we have given and received freely. It is my hope and trust that on this occasion we shall be equal to our reputation and that you will retain pleasant memories of your sojourn amongst us.

It is a matter for profound gratification that the history of women's movement in India, at least in its political aspect, has been one of unhindered progress and has not been marked by those violent struggles which were the precursors of reform elsewhere. The Joint Parliamentary Committee in 1917 felt very nervous of interfering with what was conceived to be the invincible prejudice against the political enfranchisement of women and they left the question to the elected Legislatures of each Province to be settled by their own resolution according to the wishes of the people concerned. Owing to the devoted and strenuous labours of a number of eminent women some of whom I see before me and thanks also to the innate chivalry of our countrymen, which we must ungrudgingly recognise, practically every Province removed all political restrictions on account of sex; and even before England took the step in 1918 and 1919 of equalising the sexes in politics and in various professions, the battle had been won in India. Further, the admission of women into the legal and other professions was never attended with any



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difficulty here. To say this is, however, not to underestimate the magnitude and complexity of the work ahead of us. In practically every part of India except to some extent in Malabar, women still suffer under marked disabilities as to the holding and the disposal of property. Even though some of the old Lawgivers were fairly liberal as to the position of Hindu women and in Bengal and Bombay their rights were safeguarded up to a point, later authorities and the growth of custom have seriously curtailed their rights. Old doctrines which originated in unsettled and warlike or nomadic times have persisted to the detriment of the peace of many families. It is interesting to remember that until quite recently in England it was impossible for a woman to hold property in her own right or to recover money from her debtor or even to buy things for household use except as the implied agent of the husband. Fortunately these legal anomalies have found a place in the dust-heap of ideas. In India the right to inherit irrespective of sex and according to the nearness of natural relationship and the right of unfettered enjoyment and alienation of property have still to be recognised and the idea that a woman is only a trustee for distant kinsmen or unborn children must become obsolete. Fortunately, in Malabar, we did not suffer from the medieval heresy that the woman was the source of all evil nor did we succumb to the doctrine lately resuscitated in Germany and Italy that her main or sole function was to be a mother. With regard to marriage, amongst most of the communities in this part of India, equality, freedom of choice and adult marriage have been taken for granted, although quite recently there has arisen a curious tendency to adopt disabilities that are prevalent elsewhere. It is obvious that in the Vedic times, marriage was taken to be a voluntary sharing of a common life. The fear of what was called Varnasankara or the confusion of races, a fear which even now has re-asserted itself violently in such widely differing countries as Germany, South Africa and the United States was responsible for many changes in this system including child marriage, the purdah system and the perpetual tutelage of women. Notwithstanding the efforts of pioneers like Pandit Isvar Chander Vidyasagar, the prejudices of ages are dying very slowly and much work is necessary before a wise reconciliation of the old and new ideas takes place. Closely connected with the topic of marriage is that of child widowhood. It must be admitted that, quite irrespective of the fundamental question of eugenics and without trespassing into the region of religion or revelation, there must be something radically wrong in a system which permits of child widows to the appalling extent of seven for every 10,000 between the ages of 1 and 5, and 45 for every 10,000 between the ages of 5 and 10. No scriptures can have sanctioned or encouraged such a state of things and one of the welcome signs of the times is that enlightened opinion both amongst Hindus and Muhammadans is declaring itself forcibly in favour of later marriages and of re-marriage of widows, especially of child widows. It is observable that though under the Muhammadan law the proprietary and marital relations of women are to some extent safeguarded, yet the seclusion of women has led to serious difficulties, which have to be surmounted and overcome. Indeed, in many regions, the strictness of purdah is regarded as proportionate to the status of the family and much patient work is needed to eradicate such ideas.

This Conference which started nine years ago has now become the foremost representative body of the women of India and it has contributed in no small measure to the awakening which has surpassed the

expectations of its founders. It has helped to arouse the social conscience in many matters relating to women and their advancement. One of its first items of business was to voice dissatisfaction with the present educational system and it was instrumental in starting the Education Fund, the proceeds of which have been utilised amongst other things, for establishing and maintaining the Lady Irwin College in Delhi, for home science, the training of teachers and psychological research. The Conference played an important part in the establishment of the claim of women to the franchise in British India. It has worked for the adequate education of future mothers, for medical inspection in schools and factories and for the removal of many social and legal disabilities. A glance at the summary of the important resolutions passed in previous sessions would prove that a well-considered programme of rural reconstruction and educational and civic training has been emphasised, and that the Conference has set before itself the important task of rousing public opinion so as to enable all concerned to realise the mistake of segregation of women and of allowing immature girls to become wives and mothers. A great deal has been done though much has yet to be achieved in the matter of the amelioration of the lot of women labourers and the propagation of public health programmes, in which women are vitally interested.

In common with women elsewhere, Indian women have been stirred by a new thought and a new life and the ideal of self-reliance has been fast evolving amongst them, and it is a matter for sincere gratification that practically all the women's organisations in the country have taken a unanimous stand against communal and provincial differences and distinctions in the matter of the franchise and that this has been done at a time when such divergences are tending to be accentuated amongst men. In truth, it may be asserted that one of the biggest successes of the conference lies in the promotion of the ideal of unity of Indian women, and we can well claim that we have successfully fought against the communal and provincial outlook, which has been a disquieting feature of public life in India. The attitude of the women's associations and the resolutions passed by them cannot but strengthen the hands of those who seek to attain a complete understanding and co-operation amongst the many races and communities of India. Our work lies mainly in the direction of the formation of public opinion.

The great upheaval produced by the late war revolutionised thought and made Europe and America realise the value of women's contribution to the national cause. Work had to be done and women had to do it and the principle of equal pay for equal work was soon recognised and the legend of the comparative ineffectiveness and the innate timidity of women was undermined. The coolness and discipline of women in every branch of activity obtained their reward, so that one of the great opponents of the cause, Mr. Asquith speaking about Edith Cavell, declared in October 1915, "There are thousands of such women, but a year ago, we did not know it." By 1918, the political disabilities of women were removed in England and in 1919, their rights to hold public and professional positions pertaining to civil life came to be recognised. It is remarkable that as soon as these steps were taken, the Parliamentary atmosphere completely changed. Measures for which women's societies had been working unsuccessfully for years, such as the Nurses' Registration Bill and an amended Midwives' Bill were taken up as Government measures and passed through all their stages without difficulty. Women began to sit in Parliament and to occupy various respon-



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sible positions and in 1920 the Report of the Lambeth Conference stated the belief of the Conference that the Anglican church would be strengthened by making freer use of the spiritual gifts of women. It took 70 years of ceaseless propaganda for America to amend its constitution by providing that the rights of the citizens of the United States shall not be denied or abridged on account of sex. It would, however, be correct to say that this great development for which groups of women had worked in many countries took place mainly because of national crises on the issue of which the fates of nations depended. But it will be remembered that as soon as the women's claims were recognised, it was found that they were justified. Women very soon attained the highest learned and academical distinctions. The Presidentship of the Botanical section of the British Association was awarded to a woman in 1918. In 1920, the gold medal of the Royal Geographical Society was bestowed upon a woman. The Parliamentary work of woman has been recognised to be of indubitable value. Women during the war and thereafter held responsible posts in the civil service of various countries. In the United States, there are 6,000 women physicians and 1,600 practising lawyers and amongst them assistant attorneys-general, provincial and central. 300 American cities employ police women in duties relating to the welfare of women and children and they do probation work and the supervision of dance halls and places of entertainment and work in connection with the juvenile courts. In journalism and banking, they have played an important part. It was not many weeks ago that the award of the Nobel Prize to Madame Joliot, the worthy daughter of a celebrated mother Madame Curie, demonstrated the capacities of women in the domain of recondite science.

In spite of all these advances, it still remains true that even in the West there are many directions in which women's progress is still limited. Fundamentally, the problem is not political or even social—it is economic. In the last resort, the solution of women's problems depends on securing for them, in marriage and out of it, economic independence. Freedom to work outside the home is one of the ideals which cannot be kept outside the range of discussion and decision, as well as the recognition of her claims to economic partnership in the home. Thus, although the legal emancipation of women may have taken place in many countries, the full recognition and the securing of the individual position of women in domestic relationship are yet insecure because of the survival of the old doctrine of tutelage. It is a commonplace that woman's cause is man's and that men and women sink or swim together, but experience has taught us that self-help and organisation are the only methods to secure success as distinguished from mere reliance on generosity or patronage; and this Conference exists for implementing such methods. This is its legitimate function and its *raison d'être*. The clouds are lifting and the dawn is breaking; may it be given to us to see the sunrise!

Birth Control:—She felt strongly that the medical men were the proper persons to disseminate knowledge of scientific birth control methods to the people. One of the great dangers that beset the movement was the spread of wrong ideas about the methods to be adopted. Therefore, she felt that the medical profession ought to take charge of the movement. The medical profession in India ought to lead the movement. A good deal of infantile and maternity mortality could be reduced through a proper application of scientific birth control methods.—Mrs. Sanger at Madras.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS AND RELIGION.

A most disquieting feature of our religions has been their almost persistent refusal to allow the emancipation and advancement of women through all centuries. I do not speak of religion in the West. My observations are concerned only with the inconsistent, intolerable maxims of the main religions of India today which command a large number of followers. My idea of a religion which does not allow a certain amount of freedom to its faithful allies is very poor; again a religion which does not look upon all sections of the populace as having equal rights and responsibilities does not appeal to me in the least. In this, I hope to have a large number of comrades, especially of the youthful blood. If one party is always under the heels of another, there is always bound to be friction, discontent and hence weakness of the whole. This was what has been evident in India from the first.

It is because women have remained hitherto weak physically, that we have conquered them and subjected them to the most cruel treatment. Henceforth this position as lord and slave is impossible. They are revolting more and more. As civilization advances, as more liberal ideas spread among the people, and as a spirit of tolerance arises, we have to confine our activities to our own sphere and leave women to think freely, act freely and judge freely. All this one must take into account before he tries to assert himself over woman. The husband will have less power to awe his wife, command her and use her as a tool for his own pleasures. He has to learn—it may be a bitter lesson—that she is his free companion and cannot be coerced. The father will have to give the same rights to his daughter as to his son and understand that she cannot be removed from the list of succession. He may have to consult her in family affairs. The brother will recognise in her a possible co-sharer to his father's property and would do well to regard her as he would do his brother. The friend will see that in woman he recognises an equal and not an object to be bullied. All this may come about very soon.

Therefore my advice to man is not to treat woman as he has been doing, but to conceive her as a creature created as his equal. We in India, have to learn this grim truth all the more early, for we have been their evil geni for too long a time. Indian women may be much harder on men than the women of all other nations for they have reasons to be so.

We shall do well to review what we have done, and be more careful in the future. Why did we not allow them their place in the sun? Why should we put barriers that we do not raise in man's way? The curious problem that faces us today is why should we after all our enlightenment, think that they are inferior to us?

Much controversy has arisen about the question of widow remarriage and various shades of opinion have been expressed on several occasions by a large number of prominent people. I will not go here into the details of all these but would like to refer to one or two outstanding inequalities. Sanathanists and religious leaders have said that Hindu Sasthras do not permit widow re-marriage but at the same time admit that they give freedom to a man to marry as many wives as many times as he likes. Is not this most incongruous and inconsistent? Does it not show a falsity and hollowness in our religious ideas and ideals? It will be enough to say that such a regulation has been imposed because of man's distrust of woman. Chastity has been represented as a virtue peculiarly applic-



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able to the fairer sex alone and not to man. Polygamy was, in the case of kings especially, regarded as quite within the bounds of law, and was sometimes even claimed as a virtue. If polygamy was authorized and practised why should polyandry be disallowed? If rules of social conduct are so partial and hence inapplicable to all people, should they not be expunged and new ones framed? Let those who oppose widow remarriage in principle or detail consider this first.

The Hindu Widow Remarriage Act was passed in 1856 and the first recorded instance of a widow being remarried took place in Calcutta in the same year. The next year was one of Mutiny and created a large number of widows. Since then though nearly eighty years have passed, it is disconcerting to find that widow remarriage has not found favour with large sections of the people. Simply because religion proved the most formidable obstacle. Even now there are a large number of young widows who would like to get married but who find it impossible. With child marriages not yet put down even in educated classes and having upwards of 23,000 widows below the age of five at present in the Hindu community, little children who do not yet know their fate, what would be the future of the community?

I would like here to refer to certain heinous customs prevailing among caste Hindus. Among the Brahmins mainly the custom of completely cutting of the hair of a widowed woman, depriving her of all her ornaments, not allowing her to use flowers and kum-kumam and giving a piece of white cloth for wear is very strong. She is made unfit to live in this world; she is made the ugliest creature on the face of the earth and is usually regarded as an ill omen. She is outcaste from society. Why there should be this cruelty to the poor victims it is impossible to understand. It is one of those many barbarous customs among the community that have brought about its social downfall. No one need be under the illusion that this custom is disappearing with education. It is not. In cities a few young women may escape this fatality but in most parts it is enforced with a fervour and rigour a parallel to which could be found only in the case of *Suttee*. Women's organisations should take particular note of this and must strive hard to put it out of practice.

One other aspect of the disabilities of women in India, I would like to point out. Under the Laws of Manu and its subsequent modifications a woman has no right to property. When she is a daughter she depends upon her father; in the married state upon the husband and if she becomes a widow upon her son if she has any or if she is childless upon her relations. Thus women in India have no economic independence. Her economic jaildom is the main contributory cause of her untold sufferings. If man is the real holder of justice, as he poses himself to be, it is but right that he should admit woman as a partner to property rights. It is imperative that law should admit woman's rights and all legal disabilities in the way of her inheriting property must be put aside. Instead of bringing about ineffective Bills, why not members introduce a bill for giving women the right of inheritance? They will be doing much good work if they do this and pass it into an Act.

Woman has shown her mettle in India; she has proved that she is worthy of adoration, of sacrifice and of the noblest qualities that spring from the heart of man; she has convinced men beyond a shadow of doubt that she has no superior or equal in her own peculiar departments; then why

delay her rightful position in life? Only if the heterogeneous mass of fantastic, incongruous, fetishes and chimerical ideals that hold sway over us be eliminated at the earliest possible opportunity can there be social peace and well-being in our land, and then only can we hope to lead the nations of the world in spiritual progress.

Madras.

V. VENKATACHALAM.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN ON HINDUISM.*

Hinduism is an organic growth spread over, according to the views of accepted chronologists, forty or fifty centuries. We will not be able to understand it by either looking at its origin or by taking a cross section at any one stage of its history or of any sequence of events. It is the expression of an idea struggling to be born and endeavouring to embody itself in historic institutions. At no stage has the idea been perfectly expressed, though at every stage, there is the struggle for expression. We can have only a vague feeling and we can never see it expressed in one perfect embodiment. If one wants to know what in essence Hinduism is, one must understand the general principles underlying it, the inspiring motives and the general philosophic conceptions which have governed the whole career of Hinduism.

The answer to the question as to what constitutes Hinduism has been given times out of number. Hinduism does not believe that religion is either the acceptance of one creed or another, or the practice of particular rituals; but it believes that it is a kind of experience to raise our lives to a very different kind of temper. It is an experience and not an obedience to a dogma, the raising of our life into a higher plane. Religion is rebirth; it is not an addition to the intellectual furniture. It is the transformation of the whole of our being; it is not a question of our awakening from a swoon but it is a new vision, a change-over and an overhauling of our whole life. Religious education can be broadly distinguished into instruction and training. Instruction points to new ideas; training enables us to develop habits. Instruction tells us what truth is; training enables us to embody that truth in our lives. Therefore religion can best be defined as the organic realisation of the highest truth.

Religious growth is not a mechanical evolution and we can find three ascending levels in the instruction. The first two, *Shravana* and *Manana*, are those where we acquire the truth and the third *Nidhidhyasana* is where we will be able to incorporate, assimilate and make it the substance of life. There are many who think that religion means the learning of the various traditions and making them a matter of routine. But it was enjoined upon educated people to find out whether those truths are capable of being sustained by reason and whether it is possible for us to test them by reason and prove their validity. The scriptures contain not only the products of ripest wisdom, but also wayward fancies, and there are so many things which will not stand the test of reason. We must apply discrimination and logic and try to distinguish the tenable from the untenable. This is the most important task.

If we take up the universal prayer, the *Gayathri*, we find that it gives something real. The *Gayathri* is a prayer for a passionate renewal of our own lives; it is a search; it is a quest and an adventure. There is no finality so far as religious life and quest are concerned. The term 'philosopher' means not the teacher of truth, but the seeker of truth. It is only

* In connection with the Theosophical Society Diamond Jubilee Convention, a conference of religions was held and Sir S. Radhakrishnan delivered an address on 'Hinduism.'

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searching within oneself for guidance. It is not to be done in congregations. It is to be done in silence by each individual in and by himself. There is a saying in the Book of Revelation that when the Angels went before God, there was a silence for half an hour. If that silence is necessary for angels, it is all the more necessary for human beings. The point is that one must have complete honesty and utter sincerity. Meditation is but communion with one's own inner self, and it is there that we may see the connecting links between the soul and the Universal Self. The Gayathri wants us to keep up that perpetual search. One man cannot be asked to express the experience of another so long as the other has an individuality of his own. It is not possible for us to give an exhaustive definition of a common ordinary individual in terms of adjectives and universals and much more so will it be difficult to define Reality in such a way.

Therefore, the wisest thinkers have adopted a tone of reticence in defining the Supreme Reality. They have stated that it is something which a man has to discover for himself. Austerity of silence is the only way in which we can establish this great Reality. It is because of this that some have tried to define reality in negative characteristics. 'Pure being is pure nothing' is a criticism levelled against this method of defining reality. The Upanishads state "That which is void of all predicates, that fundamental reality, that non-dual thing, to the feeble-minded, appears as non-existent." But it may be asked whether in the medley of things there is a method of understanding the Absolute. If we study the various interpretations and meanings given in the scriptures, with patience and with some penetration, we may be able to understand that there is one common synthetic point of view which co-ordinates all these varied descriptions.

The point is that in each man's heart is written his pathway to God. The work of the teacher is merely to assist its natural growth, its unconscious growth, because the forces of the Universe are co-operating with it, and the innermost depths of the man are thirsting for manifestation. What the teacher has to do is to provide the environment which is capable of furthering its growth or life. Religious conversion does not consist in substituting one doctrine for another. It consists in deepening one's life and enabling one to pursue truth on one's own lines. God knows our deficiencies and defects. We may not know God, but it is wrong on our part to think that God does not know us. He is judging the sincerity of our pursuits and the honesty of our endeavours and, in time, will try to correct the deficiencies which we have and bring about a better conception of God Himself. Conversion is spiritual rebirth and it is not a mental substitution. It is possible for everyone of us to get that rebirth and every Hindu believes that Gayathri enables him to bring about that kind of rebirth, which is coeval with human history. That is what the Hindu religion states so far as conversion is concerned. We have been catholic and universal in our outlook. Are we going to define our religion by an unchanging creed or are we going to determine its nature by emphasising this universal quest in which all people could unite? Personally, speaking for myself, I believe the forces of the world are with us and the time-spirit is with us, and I have no doubt that the true conception of religion which insists on this quest more than on any creed, which enables us to join together in the pursuit of those common ideals—that is the thing which has a future still, because it is the truth and that is bound to win and bound to live.

BAPTISM AND CHRISTIANITY.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

If, as you say in the *Reformer* dated December 28 "the true test of belief is behaviour," the founders of all the religions will be ashamed of their followers. I have never known a sect or community of people more obedient to God's will than the Quakers or Society of Friends who have no sacraments, including Baptism. The Catholic (Latin and Romo-Syrian), the Church of England and the Jacobite (Malabar Syrian) Churches are the only three, out of more than a hundred Christian sects, for whose members Baptism is essential.

The Catholic Church, however, venerates at least one great saint, St. Sebastian, who was never baptised. He suffered martyrdom under one of the Roman Emperors (I think Vespasian) before he could be baptised. His supposed or proved *desire* for Baptism and the *fact* of his martyrdom entitled him to be canonised as a saint.

The Church of England, the official religion of England and of the British rulers of India, cannot, strictly speaking, insist on Baptism as preliminary to membership of that Church. Here is my reason for it:

In 1850 a clergyman named G. C. Gorham was presented by the Lord Chancellor to the living of Bramford Speke in North Devon, in the jurisdiction of Bishop Phillips of Exeter. The Bishop refused to appoint Mr. Gorham on the ground that Mr. Gorham did not believe in *Baptismal Regeneration*. Mr. Gorham appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury against the Bishop of Exeter whose decision was upheld by the Archbishop. Mr. Gorham then took his case to Parliament which quashed both the previous decisions. This was the immediate cause of the two Archdeacons, Henry Edward Manning (better known as Cardinal Manning) and Robert Wilberforce, leaving the Church of England and joining the Catholic Church.

At the same time, I wonder why Baptism is objected to by those who would follow the teachings of our Lord. The Syrian Christians of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar, who are the descendants of High caste Hindus, including Nambudri Brahmins, are strong upholders of Baptism. In spite of their having been Christians for nineteen hundred years, their *acharyams* at birth, marriage and death and the manner of their daily lives are almost exactly similar to those of their Hindu ancestors. If Baptism as a token of the honour of following Jesus Christ is considered unnecessary, the *Sudhi* ceremony for those Christians and Mohammedans who return to Hinduism has no meaning; the *Upanayanam* as the first important step to Brahmanism becomes valueless; the *Mangala Sootram* at the marriage of Hindus and the orthodox Christians of Malabar may be dispensed with. Tomorrow's newspapers will publish the usual list of honours for the friends and admirers of the Government, but the *outward* tokens of those honours are expected to be conferred upon the recipients by medals and badges, without which the *inward* kindly appreciation of the Government will merit little public recognition. Jesus Christ submitted to all the usages of His time, and was baptised, though He said "Rent your heart and not your garment."

Few things could do greater harm to Christianity than these mass conversions in India. Some months ago a Christian excitedly complained that an important Hindu had claimed to be able to reconvert to Hinduism all the mass conversion Christians of



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a certain district, if he had one lakh of rupees to distribute among them. My comment was that sixty thousand rupees could easily do it.

To those who are waiting to see Christian conduct in Christians, the following part of his first sermon preached in Bombay on the 17th November 1908, by Dr. Palmer, the former Bishop of Bombay, will be of interest. Referring to the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, the Bishop said: "As the sacred elements passed the lips of the disciples, was the Lord not saying by His Institution, 'My Body now will be lost to men's sight, but remember it will be lost in you. I give myself for you, and to you, and into you. Henceforth if men would find me they must find me in you.' My brethren, it is the most astounding condescension, the most humiliating trust."

Sylvan, Coonoor, } Yours etc.,
31st December 1935. } M. G. JOSEPH.

VILLAGE UPLIFT—A SUGGESTION.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

While Mahatma Gandhi and his co-adjutors are working hard in the cause of uplift of the villagers and popularising village products among cities, and Government are busy with their schemes regarding supply of Midwives etc, a commonplace suggestion will not be amiss. It is well known that the agriculturist is greatly handicapped in a number of ways, and if some practical step be taken to remove any of his difficulties, that step will be in the right direction.

The troubles of the agriculturist start with the first operations. Unfortunately his embarrassed circumstances require the sowcar's help from the start. For the purchase of bullocks and seeds, for the hire of field labourers he must needs have the sowcar's help on the security of the growing crops. In addition to charging a fairly high rate of interest, the sowcar sells seeds at a heavy rate and purchases the crop at cheaper rates. If some arrangement be made to market the village crops, the agriculturist will have a easier time. Our Indian Banks can easily undertake this kind of work. At present there is a plethora of cash. The rates of interest are lowered by the Banks, yet Saving Bank deposits are pouring in. As an experiment one centre may be selected by the Bank. To start with a sum of about one lac of rupees may be made available for this kind of work. It need not be necessary to have all the parapharnellia of a Bank Branch. A responsible man can be easily found in the centre selected who can be trusted with the work. On the ready crop being delivered to the Agent of the Bank 75 or 80 per cent of the current value of the crop may be paid out to the agriculturist and this will prevent the necessity of his selling away the produce at any low price to meet the Land Revenue demands and the dues of his sowcar. The Bank Agent may then sell the goods in his possession at the best prices and realise the loan with interest at a rate not exceeding six per cent; the surplus being available to the cultivator. This may be the first step towards a Central Market. There are a number of public workers who will come forward to co-operate with the Banks starting this experiment. The Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank or the Bank of India or the Central Bank with its numerous branches ought to be able to take up this business. If this works successfully, the distribution of seeds and manure may then be taken up.

Ahmedabad } Yours etc.,
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Paranjpye on Religion:—It is distressing to see a man of intellectual eminence and true nobility of character like Dr. Paranjpye inveighing against religion as the great obstacle to human progress. When the youthful fervid orators of Chowpathi Sands declaim against religion, the public understands that they are merely repeating parrotlike the shibboleths of a narrow materialism, and does not take them seriously. But when Dr. Paranjpye seems to endorse such immature outbursts, it rubs its eyes in surprise. Its first impulse is to assume that he has been misreported. When no explanation is forthcoming, it becomes a public duty to point out that his opinion contravenes the plain facts of history. Does any one really think that but for the great religions—Hinduism, Judaism, Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Islam—humanity would have progressed as far as it has in civilization? True, and it is a pity, that humanity is still very much in the stage of barbarism. What has kept it there, however, is not religion but its own inadequate response to the call of religion. Religion has proclaimed through the ages the message of peace and goodwill. There have been great moments in history when men were deeply impressed and tried hard to follow the behests of religion. These moments are milestones marking the onward march of our race. Let us compare the world as it was before Buddha, Jesus, and Mahomed and as it is today. Doubtless there are dark spots which arrest our eyes but that fact itself is proof that we have advanced far beyond the time preceding these great Teachers. Our forefathers of those days took these darkneses as a matter of course. We have developed a social conscience, though as yet we are far from obeying its whispers without question. Even within the last generation or two, which is within the experience of the distinguished Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, the public conscience has become

wonderfully alive to wrong and injustice inflicted on helpless weakness by arrogant power. The movement for the removal of untouchability in India is itself a striking illustration. Those who know Dr. Paranjpye and the high ideals which he has consistently maintained in his life and conduct, will not be misled by his thinking aloud on religion. But the number of those who enjoy this privilege is far fewer than that of those who do not; and these will not be able to interpret his words, as words should always be interpreted, in the light of the life of the man who uses them. We are not suggesting that Dr. Paranjpye should suppress his thoughts in order that they might not be misunderstood. What we would wish is that, whenever he chooses to talk of religion, he should explain what he understands by that term and whether he would wish his hearers to set at naught its call to service and sacrifice for the common good.

Which has not taught weak wills how much they can,

Which has not fallen on the dry heart like rain,

Which has not cried to sunk, self-weary man,
Thou shouldst be born again?

Reviling Hinduism:—Principal Ambedkar would seem to be employing the intervals between his admirable lectures at the Bombay Law School in inventing increasingly opprobrious epithets to hurl at Hinduism. The latest stigmatises it as a "contagious disease." We have not seen the context in which it was used and have come to learn of it from the friendly remonstrance of the *Bombay Chronicle*. If it is the learned Doctor's intention to sting Hindus into action of some sort, he is sure to be disappointed. Long experience has inured them to abuse, persecution, oppression. It has taught them that patience under the gravest provocation, is the surest way of overcoming antagonism. On the whole and in the long run the lesson they have thus learnt, has proved its efficacy. Dr. Ambedkar's invectives are met with general sympathy. "It does Hinduism no harm, and, if the good Doctor finds solace in calling it names, let him do it by all means." It is even argued that the very depth of Dr. Ambedkar's bitterness shows his deep attachment to Hinduism, since no one would take the trouble of fulminating against what he does not care for. What people, who



are most in sympathy with the cause of the uplift of the antyajās, much regret is that the Doctor who admits that he has no quarrel with social reformers, should fail to see that they are surely growing both in numbers and influence and that the younger generation, in particular, is impatient of the abuse which disfigures Hinduism. Time is on their side; the intellect and conscience of the country and the world at large, is on their side also. Public controversies generally and necessarily keep to conventional grounds. But human conduct is affected by private griefs one of the most poignant of which recently overtook Dr. Ambedkar. In some minds they are sublimated into wide charity: in many, however, they sour the spirit. In the latter case, however, the feeling is seldom permanent.

Social Reform and Temple Entry:—Untouchables are not the only people who are prohibited from entering Hindu temples. Social reformers are subject to the same disability, the only difference being that, while in the former case, the ban is enforced by custom on a whole class, in the latter, it has to be issued by the temple authority in each case. The *West Coast Reformer* reports that the Zamorin Raja of Calicut has, as trustee of the famous Guruvayur Temple, which was the scene, three years ago, of a determined attempt to break the ban, against untouchables, issued an order forbidding the admission of the senior Raja of Nilambur and several others to the Temple. On the Ekadashi day, writes the journal, the third and fourth Thirumulpads of the Nilambur Kovilham went to worship at the Guruvayur Temple when Mr. Kunhiraman Menon, the manager of the Guruvayur Devaswom, showed them an edict of the Zamorin Raja prohibiting the Senior Raja of Nilambur and the fourth Thirumulpad from entering the temple inasmuch as they took part in a Nambudiri widow marriage at Thrithala. Altogether 42 persons have been brought under the edict for their participation in the marriage festivities. The Senior Raja of Nilambur on being informed of the ban said that personally he did not care for it but for the sake of his family he would file a suit in the Courts to get the order cancelled. The family belongs to the exclusive Nambudiri Brahmin caste which occupies in the social economy in Kerala a status so high as to be almost giddy.

Catholics and Conversion:—Mr. George Joseph, ex-Congressman and Vaikom Satyagrahist, has drawn upon his past intimacy with Congress politics in his presidential address to the Fourth Catholic Congress at Nagpur. Arguing from Khilafat analogy that Hindu Dharma placed on members of that religion the duty of not only permitting others but even assisting them to fulfil their religious duty as conceived by them, Mr. Joseph expressed surprise that Hindus opposed the Christian's religious work of converting Hindus to Christianity. He demanded that even if assistance was not forthcoming there

should be 'bare tolerance.' The Hindu who is prepared to be as accommodating as Mr. Joseph desires and even to submit to conversion to lustre to Mr. Joseph's Christian qualities, might well ask himself "Christian conversion but which To this Mr. Joseph points the way to Catholicism as the one true faith. But for practical purposes Mr. Joseph is prepared to make peace in this pagan country with schismatics and heretics. Strictly speaking this should restrict conversion activities to Hindus because, according to Dante, Islam was but a sect of Christianity and even Swedenborg places the Muslims in a special position in the spiritual world on the Christian border just after the outer, Catholic fringe. But Mr. Joseph will be 'vigilantly hostile' even with Islam.

A Demand on Hindu Tolerance:—Mr. Joseph does not explain why the Hindu should be tolerant to organisations which are prepared to display tact, reserve or moderation but no friendliness. It is possibly a tacit admission that he expects better behaviour from Hindus than he is himself capable of. "We have been subjected," wrote Raja Ram Mohan Roy over a hundred years ago of the Hindus, "to insults for nine centuries and the cause of such degradation has been our excess of civilisation." It is reassuring to have confirmation of this statement, even unconsciously, from such a "vigilantly hostile" critic as Mr. Joseph. The President of the Catholic Conference is not evidently familiar with Christian scripture or Indian Christian practice. "The organisation of caste" is not confined to Hindus only. In his own South India Mr. Joseph must have seen caste in the Christian community. "The awful and heart-breaking incapacity of self-defence erected into the doctrine of Ahimsa" is, it is true, far removed from the spirit of the Crusades or of war-mongering bishops of modern Europe. But it is near to the admonition of Jesus, "Whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." It was again Jesus and no Hindu who laid down the precept "Resist not evil." The Catholic President uttered the gravest indictment of the religious and social policy of the Government of India. "What the State both in British India and Indian India should have done all on its own, the Mission has done in large measure," said Mr. Joseph immediately after defending conversions for material gain. The speaker left his readers to draw the obvious conclusion that what every citizen can demand as a right from the State, has to be gained in India by apostasy from his ancestral religion.

Hosts and Guests:—In last week's *Reformer* we felt obliged, in the absence of a contradiction for several days after the publication of the remark, to take exception to the categorical classification of Hindus and other communities as hosts and guests respectively, as bringing undeserved odium on the Hindu Mahasabha which has all along taken the broad nationalistic line of equal opportunities for all. We are



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glad that His Holiness the Sankaracharya of Kurtakoti, to whom the remark was attributed, has since issued a statement of what he actually said which was as follows:—"India was once of Hindus only, but others who had come here as guests remained to make it their motherland. Having flourished here, it is unbecoming of them to try or even to think of exterminating Hinduism from the land of its birth and being. Living in Hindusthan, they should imbibe the tolerant spirit of the Hindus." The statement is, of course, historically correct but we do not see that anything is gained by recurring now and again to the relative positions of our several communities in the remote past. His Holiness would have noticed that the remark as it was reported gave occasion for some acrimonious comments.

Politicians and Office:—Liberal leaders at the Nagpur Federation and elsewhere have been taking much trouble to show that they are not the office seekers that they are represented by Congressmen to be. They point out that Mr. Venkatrama Sastry, the President of the Federation this year, and Mr. Chintamani resigned office—the one as Member of the Madras Executive Council, the other as Minister for Education in the United Provinces—because of differences on questions of principle or policy. They may also refer to the examples of Sir Sakaran Nair who was President of the Congress in its early years, and to Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru who resigned from the Liberal Party many years after he resigned the Law Membership of the Governor General's Executive Council. On the other side, it is not difficult to mention Liberals who have continued to hold office through thick and thin, as there are Congressmen who hold that obedience to the leaders of the majority for the time being, is the height of patriotism, no matter how irrational or impracticable may be the commands they lay upon the members. It is very much a matter of the individual's sensitiveness of conscience and very little of party affiliation, whether one would, in given circumstances, decide to swim with the current or to stem the flowing tide or merely to stand aside and let it flow past. Mr. Baldwin, who is generally said to be a man of sensitive honour, left his colleague, Sir Samuel Hoare, to bear the brunt of the criticism for the peace proposals which he had framed with the French Prime Minister to end the Ethiopian War.

Bloated Salaries:—Cabinet solidarity with the gold standard and Free Trade, was long regarded as a sheet anchor of British policy, and it, along with them, has gone by the board. Mr. Baldwin, no doubt, was actuated by higher considerations than the preservation of his personal honour which, the leader of the Opposition declared, was directly involved in the collapse of the Hoare-Laval proposals. It is no reproach to politicians to desire office. Without control of the Government, they can not carry out their measures; and they can get control of Government only by

occupying Ministers' positions. A section of Congressmen themselves are keen to accept office on this very ground. If it is nothing wrong for them, it can not be wrong for Liberals to do the same. In no other country will the holding of office by a political party be accounted a matter of condemnation. It will not be so considered in India but for the fact that the emoluments of high office here are absurdly exorbitant. The official justification for this extravagance is that it is necessary to prevent corruption. In other words, it is a form of blackmail levied on the country to prevent officials from taking bribes. This doctrine is held to be applicable only to India. One of the first duties of a truly National Government will be to cut down salaries of high offices to reasonable figures in keeping with the economic condition of the people. When this is done, office seeking or holding will cease to be regarded as dishonourable in politicians.

This Democracy:—Reuter's telegram on Monday: "The Ross and Cromarty Conservative Association, against the advice of its headquarters, by 135 to 93 votes, adopted Mr. Randolph Churchill as the official Conservative candidate in opposition to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald. Mr. Churchill, in a slashing attack on both Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Mr. Malcolm MacDonald, described the suggestion that they represented Labour as a "fraudulent, insincere, hypocritical and downright lie. Reuter on Wednesday:—"Extraordinary scenes were witnessed at Dingwall this evening in connection with the by-election. Pipers played Mr. Malcolm MacDonald from his hotel to the Town Hall, where he delivered a speech. Smilingly alluding to Mr. Churchill, he declared amid tremendous cheering. "When the descendant of the great Duke of Marlborough comes to the Highlands to challenge a descendant of the Clan MacDonald, the MacDonald stands and fights (Cheers. A voice: 'And we will fight with you') and the MacDonald will win." Mr. Malcolm MacDonald received a tremendous ovation when he was leaving." Five hundred and odd persons elected on this kind of flapdoodle constitute the Parliament whose decisions, we are told, carry an authority which it is sacrilegious to question!

Travancore Leads:—Travancore is the most orthodox Hindu State in India and it is the last one would expect to take the lead in ignoring the age-old prejudice against the Depressed classes. It is, therefore with much satisfaction that we note the appointment of Mr. N. Kumaran of the Ezhava community to the Bench of its High Court. He is the first Judge to be appointed to the Travancore High Court from classes treated as backward, and one of the first such High Court Judges to be appointed in India. He took charge of his office this week. He belongs to the Ezhava community, which has no rights of temple entry, and which, for purposes of Government concessions, is treated as a backward community.

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BOMBAY, January 18, 1936.

THE PROBLEM OF LANGUAGES.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha prefaced his presidential address to the Conference convened by that body at Allahabad last Sunday, with a short account of the Hindustani Academy. The Academy was established by the Government of the United Provinces eight years ago. The object of the Academy was to bring about a fusion of the two languages of Upper India, Hindi and Urdu, into one language. The principal means by which this object was to be accomplished was the elimination of the Sanskrit element from Hindi and of the Persian and Arabic elements from Urdu. We do not know if and how much of the two languages would be left when this process is completed. Hindi is a direct derivative of Sanskrit and we fancy that the elimination of Sanskrit elements in it will leave it without words to express any but the most primitive needs of human intercourse. Urdu, on the other hand, was in its origin a camp language—a medley—which arose out of the need of having a medium of communication between the Persian Moghuls and their Indian subjects. Urdu was not the official language of Muslim rulers. Hindi was the official language; and it is noteworthy that it was the Hindu Minister of Akbar, Todar Mal, who substituted Persian, obliging the Hindus to become proficient in that language as the principal avenue to employment in the Public Service. If Persian and Arabic elements are dropped out of Urdu, the Sanskrit will remain as the residue. Such are the conclusions suggested by a cursory study of the history of Indian languages without special knowledge of Urdu and Hindi.

The trend of Mr. Sinha's observations seems to be that the ambitious attempt at the unification of Urdu and Hindi, has been attended by the same difficulties as the attempts at Hindu Muslim unity. The two problems, in fact, have become intermingled, so much so that the solution of the one without the other is not easy. "I fear I must state my conviction in unhesitating terms" said Mr. Sinha "that the Academy has not yet been able to pay sufficient attention to it", namely, the evolution of a common form of speech in the United Provinces. The representative Committee appointed some years ago to devise means of carrying out this primary object, has not been able to reach any conclusion. "As if that was not regrettable in all conscience" the President went on to say, "I was surprised to find a prominent member of the Conference writing to the Press, in the face of the declarations I have quoted, that it was not the primary aim and object of this institution to achieve what was so declared to be by its founders and prominent supporters, and that it was idle to think of evolving one common form of speech and writing which

might be intelligible to all persons in Upper India." Mr. Sinha did not share that view but the only reason he was able to adduce for his not sharing it, was that without a common vernacular it was almost impossible to impart higher education through the medium of the vernacular in the United Provinces. Even if the Hindustani Academy had succeeded in eight years in evolving a common vernacular from the dregs of Hindi and Urdu, it will be many years before it can be made the vehicle of higher education. Text books will have to be written. Without a considerable literature, languages must consist mostly of colloquialisms and can not become media of culture. Even the Bengali language which Mr. Sinha, with much reason, pointed out as a model, has not become the medium of higher education. The idea of ousting English from its position as the principal medium of higher education, is not, as Mr. N. S. Subba Rao tersely observed in his presidential address to the Kannada Conference a few days ago, practical politics.

The position at present is this: so long as we use the medium of the English language, we stand on neutral ground. When we think of using the vernaculars as our medium, the ghosts of old historic, religious and provincial differences begin to gibber and grimace in our faces. Until we have made sure that these are finally laid, the wise course is to stick to English as the cultural medium. The idea that a single common language is a *sine qua non* of nationalism is becoming, like the idea of nationalism itself, antiquated. In primitive societies where the most urgent task of the lawgiver was to create some sort of bond to hold together nomad tribes, the use of a single language had to be enforced by severe penalties. Bagehot in his "Physics and Politics" quotes an old English saying, "He who knows two languages is a rascal." The use of a single common language was, in fact, like the prohibition of foreign travel and other restrictions, originally intended to prevent the infection of the native mind by ideas alien to the stamp which the lawgiver wished to impress on his people. We can see instances of this in modern countries which follow a policy of assimilating foreign immigrants. The traditional policy of India, however, has not been assimilation but freedom to each immigrant community to follow its religious and social customs. That they came to speak the local vernaculars in most cases, was due to practical needs and not to political pressure. The assimilation school is no longer sure of its ground. The theory of evolution has permeated sociological and political thought, and the tendency now is to grant cultural freedom, which includes freedom of language, to minorities. The League of Nations has put the seal of its approval on the new tendency by incorporating it in its scheme for the protection of minorities. Even nations which are independent of any restriction on their sovereign power, are beginning to qualify



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their assimilation policy by instituting special faculties in their Universities, for the encouragement of the study of the languages and cultures of their minorities. On the other side, a common language does not necessarily prevent or avert national differences. This seems particularly to be the case with the English language. There is also the case of the Boers and the Dutch; and of the French and the French Canadians. The fact is, of all barriers to human intercourse language is the one which is most easily overcome.

The obstacles to Indian unity are not those created by differences of language, or religion nor yet by geographical conditions. The only obstacle, and it is a very great one, is the absence of the Will to Unity. Not so much among the masses as among educated and much respected leaders. A hundred and fifty years ago the British in India found it necessary in order to ensure good government to bring all the provinces under a unitary Government with a Governor General at its head. This system was continued and emphasised when the British Crown took over the Government from the East India Company. All the progress made so far has been due primarily to this unitary system. Under the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme a large amount of autonomy was delegated to the Provinces but the unitary frame work was maintained. We may add that for a thousand years India has prospered when there was a strong central Government and languished when the provinces were left to have their own way. Suddenly, at the Round Table Conference it was decided to cut up British India into eleven separate statutory entities as a preliminary to their federating with the Indian States. We have searched the Round Table Conference proceedings in vain to discover why this was done. In the natural course, British India would have been the predominant partner in the Federation. Her educational, social and political ideas would have shaped the course of the Federation and gradually the unity of British India would have comprised the States also. This, apparently, was the very thing that the separation of the provinces was meant to prevent. And it was accepted by British Indian delegates of unquestionable eminence and integrity. We are, therefore, justified in saying that the Will to Unity does not really exist however much we may talk about it.

Campaign for a Higher Birthrate:—In his political speeches Lord Eustace intends to emphasise the necessity for more children. The heads of the churches and several eminent medical men propose to conduct similar propaganda in their own spheres. The only newspaper in London to report this "drive" is the "People", and according to the report in this journal the League of National Life is aiming to point out that if the present fashion of one or two children per family continues, there will be a drastic reduction of the population in another two generations. Moreover, Britain will develop into a nation of old age pensioners, for while the improved national health is ensuring greater longevity, the young children will not be coming along to keep the population evenly balanced.

TURKEY UNDER KEMAL ATATURK.

The assumption that Europe represents a unit of civilisation is generally accepted more for convenience than as a matter of fact. Neither under Pope nor Emperor was the ideal of European unity fully achieved. The greatest factor against this development in the pre-War world was the Ottoman Empire. The most powerful influence against it in post-War Europe is Soviet Russia. But the problem for Europe is still the same, the assimilation of a stubborn opposition. And both pre-War Turkey and post-War Russia turn to Asia to withstand the assimilating force. Turkey and Russia have changed places. For as Russia discarding nationalism turned to the world idea of communism, Turkey gave up the ideal of Pan-Islam and took on Western Nationalist ideals. Under the Sultans too Turkey was not against Europeanisation. She was against too rapid change and had very often to resist foreign aggression by reverting to older ideals. But it was under Kemal Ataturk that the State realised, as modern China has done now, that in modernisation, swift and thorough, lay Turkey's one chance of survival. If she was to exist in the midst of Europe, she had to cultivate the European mentality. And Europe which in Russia intervened to prevent the abandonment of European ideals, stepped in significantly enough in Turkey on the side of the reactionaries who opposed Westernisation. Having broken up the Ottoman Empire and divided its spoils, the Great Powers preferred to maintain an enfeebled theocracy. But the attempt failed. The reason why Turkey had to go farther in her occidental reforms than Japan which, after all, has only adopted Western technique, is that her geographical position in the world necessitated it, even as a mere measure of self-defence. That she was able to do so successfully was because Turkey—after the loss of her Christian-inhabited possessions and North African territories—was European, as the rest of Eastern Europe. Therein is the main reason why Kemal Ataturk succeeded where Amanullah Khan failed in Afghanistan. Mr. Henry Elisha Allen has given us in "The Turkish Transformation" (The University of Chicago Press, Price \$ 2.50), a brilliant study of the modern Turkish movement which reveals how completely altered is the outlook of the average Turk.

A great force in bringing European ideas to Asiatic countries is the missions and one would have expected modern Turkey to have depended greatly on missionary institutions for support in their work of reformation. Mr. Allen reveals in his book that Kemal Ataturk had to establish a strict control over proselytising agencies before he launched his programme. Not only because of its peculiar interest to India but also on account of the frequent charge brought up against Turkey that it is anti-religious, it will be worth while to consider this aspect in detail. The first reason why missions had to be watched in Turkey was that they represented foreign interests. From this followed the second charge that in their schools foreign ideals were indoctrinated into the students. The defence lawyer's argument in the well-known case against the Bursa school-teachers in 1928, accepted the dangers of allowing conversion activities but pleaded that the present of a New Testament or the saying of prayers in groups or even the singing of religious songs did not constitute proselytising work. As thorough as the Soviet, Turkey banned the reading of 'Longman's Grammar' and 'Silas Marner.' Mr. Allen comments: "Although each point of accusation taken by itself seems to be of trifling consequence, when presented *en masse* the effect is one over which the Turks can hardly be blamed for becoming



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worried. Missionaries might have felt impelled to present their message of Christian love by whatever methods were open to them but the Turks would have been blind indeed if they had failed to see that under the surface forces were stirring which would be bound to have a profound influence on their religious, social and national life."

On the denationalising effect of Christian education the book throws special light. The author quotes a prominent American educator in Turkey on the ideal before the American mission school. "If through fear or favour, American colleges seek to withhold their witness to the essential truth of their religion, they will lose not only the respect of those who differ from them but also the possibility of broadening and liberalising the young who do not know in their own countries any forms of religion which are largely not corrupted by superstition and meaningless forms." Every other religion is occupied with reforming itself but the Christian mission, with a smug faith that it is not like the others, concerns itself with the faults of other religion. The indictment from the Turkish side is more serious. The following passage from various extracts in the book is representative of the strength of Turkish feeling: "The duty of a school is to give education; the function of education is to inoculate the younger generation with the thoughts, feelings, desires and ideals of the society to which it belongs. These can only be firmly established in the spirits of conscious and cultivated mature members of that society. And only they can inoculate the younger generation with these things. Hence American and foreign schools in general in Turkey are meaningless and, therefore, functionless empty institutions. Our ideas about education are current and respected in every civilised country. The object of the foreign school is foreign culture. It turns away Turkish youth from the society to which they belong to another society and carries them toward a foreign ideal. The foreign school not only fails to create capacities for the social and national environment, it produces young people who gradually get out of harmony with the spiritual life of their environment. Turkish children who study in the American school hanker after American life and desire to live in America. In the classrooms and corridors are masterpieces of the world's art. But they did not have a single thing which concerned Turkey. The only thing Turkish is the air and the sunshine. They forget Turkey among their art works, a treacherous frame of mind to the country of their adoption. They live apart like a different state within the community." Mr. Allen concludes that Turkey is no place for a missionary who is not willing to forego all ideas of proselytising and to devote himself wholeheartedly to the task of helping Turkey develop according to her own genius, supplying only such Western or Christian viewpoints as the Turks themselves call upon him to suggest. No wonder missionaries in India with the experience of other nationally awakened countries start at every shadow. In view of the drastic measures adopted in Turkey and other states, Dr. Paranjypte's valuable suggestion for invalidating the conversion of minors and making registration compulsory for changes of faith is perfectly innocuous but it has a roused considerable missionary opposition, the unconvincing argument against it being that it is an encroachment on individual rights.

There is an interesting comparison between the outlook of the modern Turk and the point of view of the political-minded Indian which Mr. Allen reproduces from a Turkish journalist. "We do not say to the people," says the writer, "Return to the

industry of the fireside; boycott foreign merchandise; become positive again." On the contrary we say to them, 'Let us industrialize; let us perfect technique; accord importance to those branches of industry which can be developed among us and assure their success.' Our doors are open to the merchandise which is not or cannot be produced in our country." The Indian industrial problem is entirely different from that of Turkey. There are few things that cannot be produced in this country although there are few things that are produced today. The scope for industrial initiative is limited to a degree undreamt of. There is not that will in the State to speed up industrialisation which exists under dictatorships. And in the men who control our destinies from six thousand miles away, there still persists the raw-material attitude of mind, even a progressive thinker like Lord Snowden urging improvement in Indian living conditions in the interests of British trade. The Indian politician who started public life with the ambitions of the Turkish writer would be doomed to early disillusionment.

W. C. BONNERJEE LEGENDS.

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha writes: "I was rather shocked to read in the article of Professor K. Sundararaman Aiyar in the *Hindu* Congress number that Mr. Bonnerjee had married an English lady. I knew Mrs. Bonnerjee very well. She was not only an Indian lady but a Brahmin by birth. It is perfectly true that late in life she had embraced Christianity, but she was no more English than you and I. I wonder how the Madras Professor got this mythological story in his head. It may be that Mr. Bonnerjee said to him what he is reported to have said: but it could possibly have no reference to an English wife, since he never had any. When in 1911 Mahatma Gandhi, speaking at the second Round Table Conference, said that Mr. Bonnerjee, the first Congress President, was a Christian, his daughter sent a contradiction to the Press. Since then, she has passed away and, as one who had the privilege of knowing Mr. Bonnerjee intimately, I think it my duty to send this contradiction to you since you have referred prominently to the fact of Mr. Bonnerjee having lived and died a Hindu." We are glad to publish this contradiction for more than one reason apart from that given by Mr. Sinha. First, because it brings out clearly—the more clearly because it is entirely unintended—how little even Indians of advanced views in social matters care nowadays to be mistaken for Englishmen. Mr. Sinha was actually shocked to see an Indian lady represented as an English woman and an eminent Indian leader as having married an Englishwoman. In the days of Bonnerjee's youth there was quite a craze to imitate everything English; and to marry an Englishwoman was regarded as an achievement as Karl Marx, the converted Jew, felt when he married a German girl. One of the first Indians who entered the Indian Civil Service, by passing the Examination in London, committed suicide when he overheard a contemptuous remark about him by the daughter or sister of a British colleague at the European club to which he was admitted by virtue of his office. The craving for English Society has almost disappeared and, except in rare cases, we hardly hear nowadays complaints, like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad's, of the exclusiveness of English Clubs in India. The feeling rather is, "better let them stew in their own juice if they want to" On the other hand, Englishmen now complain of the exclusiveness of Hindu and Muslim society. In the days of the Partition agitation when bombs and pistols first made their sinister appearance in

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Indian politics, Europeans sought out railway compartments occupied by Indians as being comparatively safer. During the last two or three years, young Indians who married European wives have found them in the Continent. After Mrs. Margaret Sanger's recent testimonial to Indian women as being the most beautiful in the world, even when they lived in slums, such of our young men who appreciate Indian things only after they have received the imprimatur of some European or American, may learn to look at their countrywomen with appreciative eyes. Mrs. Sanger's propaganda, if promiscuously adopted, will make the women of India the most hideous instead of the most beautiful women in the world. Harold Begbie noticed the queenly gait of the women workers as they came out of some Indian Mills which he visited, in contrast to the slouching manner of their Lancashire counterparts. Searching for a reason, he hit upon the Indians' belief in the nearness of the Unseen as the most likely one. Ideals, some one has said, do add a oubit to men's stature. Would a Hindu wife, who hides a set of birth control appliances in her sari as she takes the seven sacred steps with her bridegroom round the sacred fire, be the same as the one who implicitly believes that the *saptapadi* links her soul to that of her husband not only till death "do us part" but for all time and eternity? This is all rather foolish to Mrs. Sanger. When I told her, at the interview to which she was good enough to invite me, that the family in the East is principally parents and children and the husband-wife relation is not the pivotal factor as it is in the West she did not seem to understand.

To return to Mr. Sinha's letter. Professor Sundaraman was my Professor in History and he was an admirable teacher. His enthusiasm was infectious. I still retain a memento of it in the big blotch on a page of my copy of Maine's "Early History of Institutions" on which he was lecturing, caused by an animated foot upsetting an ink bottle. Conscientious as a teacher of history, Sundaraman was apt to mistake inferences for facts—like the writer of the Bengal Administration Report about Pandit Jawharlal Nehru—where Hindu social integrity was concerned. In the article in the *Hindu* to which Mr. Sinha refers, he says "knowing that he (Bonnerjee) had married an English lady while studying at the English Bar, I ventured to ask him what were his views regarding the future of Hindu society and its ideals." As an example of "the fallacy of many questions" this statement will be hard to beat. Why should Bonnerjee or any body else, because he had married an English wife, be supposed to be able to forecast more correctly than another who has married an Indian lady, the future of Hindu society and its ideals? There was no English wife in Bonnerjee's case, as Mr. Sinha makes it clear. But assuming that there was one, how does the acquisition qualify one to predict the future of Hindu society? The fact is, the Professor was not really seeking Bonnerjee's opinion in order to benefit by it. He was really twitting him with having strayed from the sanctified way of Hindu custom without knowing anything about Hindu ideals and thinking about the future of Hindu society. Bonnerjee, the eminent lawyer that he was, perfectly understood that he was being heckled. He did not want to start a discussion on the very complex question of the future of Hindu society when he was inaugurating a political movement. His answer merely meant that they need not quarrel about the future and that the Professor should go his own way while Bonnerjee went on his. This is evident from the fact, to which Mr. Sinha would be able to testify, that Bonnerjee did not then or after-

wards change or endeavour to change to the orthodox manner of life. How did Gandhiji come to make the mistake at the Round Table Conference about Bonnerjee having become a convert? It is, again, the imp of Inference stepping into the shoes of Fact. At the Conference Gandhiji was intent on showing to the Round Tablers that the Congress was not a Hindu stunt but that it represented the best minds of all communities. Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozesha Mehta represented Parsidom in all its greatness; Badrudin Tyebji and Sayani were there to testify to the adherence of the powerful Muslim minority; Hume and Wedderburn stood for the fine old tradition of the founders of the British Indian Empire. An Indian Christian was needed to complete the circle. Bonnerjee was the most Angliuised Indian that ever was—"he lived every inch the life of an Englishman" writes Mr. Sinha "from the wave of his hand to the lighting of his cigar." Gandhiji is not a Professor of History—in fact history is rather his weak point—but everything he does is inspired by a religious motive and, judging of Bonnerjee by his own standard, it was inevitable that he should find conversion to Christianity to be the only sufficient reason for adopting the English mode of life, and concluded that this must have happened in the case of Bonnerjee. That any one should assimilate so thoroughly the externals of western civilisation leaving out the religious core of it, is unthinkable to a mind constituted like Gandhiji's. There is no doubt or hesitation in the words which he used at the Conference. "I can recall," he said, "at least one Indian Christian (in the Congress group) at the present moment, W. C. Bonnerjee." *The Dnyanodaya*, looking at the question from an entirely different point of view, inclines to persist in making Bonnerjee a convert to Christianity. It avers that if it erred, it did so in the excellent company of Gandhiji. Mr. Sinha does not tell us whether Gandhiji corrected his mistake when Bonnerjee's daughter pointed it out in the Press. If he did, the *Dnyanodaya* can not claim to err in his company.

CASTE: AND MUST IT GO?

A passing thought of writing a few lines on the vexed question of the abolition of caste occurred to me a few weeks ago; but by an oversight it was not possible to think of it in time, that is, recur to it before the matter was actually before the Hindu Maha Sabha. The editorial, "The Need of the Hour" in the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay in its issue of the 4th January, lays great stress on the teachings of the Gita countenancing no caste and sex whatsoever, and regrets that the great Acharyas paid no heed to the social implications of the Gita. True, they did not; and rightly and wisely, for two reasons. First, the philosophic religion of the Gita was independent of the Hindu social structure, as the learned Editor very rightly says, relating as it does to the soul of man in its relation to the All-pervading Almighty. Secondly, it was dependent on it, rather built on it, though it would often ask a man to transcend all social limits, without offending social conscience. Slokas 29-31 of the 9th chapter illustrate the former and 32-83 the latter aspect. With a non-Hindu wherever living on the globe the former reason would prevail. To a Hindu both the latter and the former would appeal at once, as having a peculiar significance to him. For the caste system, though now perverted and distorted, is yet in its old and worn-out implication *alive* and is not altogether dead and has stood the test of time. In fact Hinduism means a religion based on the caste-system.



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It is deep-rooted in the blood of a Hindu, however fallen he be for the time being. Like the late W. C. Bonnerjee, every Hindu, be he high or low, would exclaim, "You will be simply astonished to hear that I am altogether in favour of a strict adherence to our orthodox views and customs. Do not judge of me by what I am." It is just like the loose man indifferent to morals being severe against similar looseness and indifference on the part of his own wife and children. The ideal or standard of conduct is always much higher than the limit actually reached in practice of the same. The present-day caste may be very low in the practice of the ideal standard originally fixed. Even now it cannot be easily denied that at least one in a thousand continues to practise it in the spirit in which it was first conceived, notwithstanding the completely altered conditions.

Because of the identification of caste with Hinduism one has to feel and think that the one is body and the other is soul; and that in this mundane world they go together. Even as avatars of Vishnu are mundane manifestations of the Almighty, so also the worship of the impersonal God has in India taken the form of worship of the Deity in His various forms in all visible and tangible ways amenable to easy grasp of each individual's varying innate Bhakti. As the Gita points out, the soul of man can be easily realised but even then not the All-pervading God latent in the same, though the former success may lead to the other in course of time. That is to say the Bhakti cult may easily lead to the impersonal realisation of the Universal Soul within the heart of the atomic individual soul of man. In other words, caste is the *Shula sarira* and Bhakti form of worship is the *Sukshma sarira* of Hinduism. Hence it is that Sankara and Ramanuja never meddled with caste but, even as the Sruti, Smriti, Upanishads and the Gita, had accepted it as conducive to the healthy and fuller life of Hinduism, and as the *sine qua non* thereof. Even the revered sages of old from Manu to Vyasa went to the extent of predicting only Varna-sankaryam or confusion of castes, as Kali advanced, which is a very different thing from disappearance or abolition of caste altogether. They knew the tendencies of the institution of caste even then and gave us the easy means of rehabilitating it whenever it underwent deterioration or received rude shocks. Manu would say that in every generation (yuga) there must be a *reshuffling* of the castes by raising or lowering the status of individuals and families on the ladder of the main caste-system. Sri Ramanuja is said to have availed himself of this provision of law and asked his seventy-four disciples to look to it among the communities committed to their charge. The plan could not be long stuck to by the lesser men since succeeding to the 74 gadis. Why not the matadhipatis and Acharya-purushas and their compeers of to-day, be asked by our legislatures to resume the lost thread and work the caste-system so as to make it do its old and wonted service to the society? So long as the Hindu society is composed of enormous numbers of layers or strata of men in all degrees and shades of civilisation and culture, there is no meaning in levelling all down to the same bottom. There must be *ever-recurring* attempts at elevating the lower orders by proper levers.

The rich agricultural classes among Sudras who have long ceased to touch meat and drink could easily form the old Vaisya caste and given the benefit of Vedic samskaras at the instance of the State by the religious heads. The martial classes in several parts of India can easily form the Kshatriyas of old and given the due samskaras. The so-called

panchamas or adi-dravidas may be asked to give up the objectionable food, drink and ways of life and thereupon may be allowed the free intercourse with the inferior classes among Sudras. As Atri of old said, the Brahmins are themselves divided into ten or even more classes or groups according to calling. And to-day these groups have showed the way to evolution of similar groups among other castes owing to differences in callings. And why not these have free marital intercourse between themselves and begin to rise and raise others with them on the ladder of caste all the more easily? This is certainly Manu's programme grandly conceived but sadly given up for want of proper and efficient State-control. Fresh life would be imparted to the stereotyped skeleton of a caste-system. The free, *anuloma* marriages also must go forth side by side to implement the work of the religious heads in this behalf. It will then be seen that the Hindu community throbs with a new and vigorous life and pulsates with a yearning to rise and improve more and more with the least room for the present-day caste recriminations. In other words, caste must be kindled and made to live a truer life and do a truer function as when it began in olden ages. Regeneration of Caste is all that is urgently needed.

6th January 1936-
MADRAS.

R. V. V. TATACHARIAR

AMERICA FACES THE EAST. (By WALTER BROOKS FOLEY.)

Slowly, but surely, the people of the United States are turning their attention to the stirring changes taking place in Asia. At the same time they are learning more and more of the motives and difficulties of Europe.

The belief is increasing that Asia is rising to greater importance in world affairs while Europe is declining in international influence.

This shift has not happened and will not take place immediately. Yet it appears inevitable. So, as one citizen of the United States, this writer has spent five years as student of India and has recently moved his residence to Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands.

To begin our new study and experience of Asia we felt the necessity of seeing the States of America as they are spread before the observer after a six year depression period, the greatest and worst of American history. We wished to understand and evaluate the present temper of life in the United States.

We began our trip in Oyster Bay and continued by car across country toward the Pacific Coast, sailing eventually from Portland, Oregon, the beautiful city on the banks of the Willamette River.

A list of the States which we visited, adding also a Province of Canada, will indicate the extent to which we were able to accomplish our purpose to "see America first." Here it is.

New York, (Eastern) New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York (Western), Ontario, Canada, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Wyoming, Idaho, Oregon, Washington.

Add to this background an extensive correspondence with residents of other States, plus numerous visits to New England cities and towns, and we have the base of a new pyramid of understanding to be erected out of Far Eastern material. All this in addition to wide travels in the United States in 1925, 1926, and 1931, plus a localized residence in the vicinity of New York between 1931 and 1935.



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We were fortunate in many ways as we made our plans to start for Manila. Everything went smoothly. The advice of valued friends gave us encouragement. Preliminary visits and interviews worked out to perfection. Each idea dovetailed with all the others. There was no grinding of gears. Even the weather worked in our favor.

We made our first decision in the Adirondack mountains in the delightful camp of Dr. and Mrs. F. B. Stockdale on Twitchell Lake. The location made for clarity of thinking and gave us opportunity for careful conference with thoughtful friends.

We felt we were in the midst of friends constantly and that we were moving on among friends to a new world of friends. Actually on such a foundation the world of the future must and is to be built.

We have always been interested in co-operative measures of faith and fellowship. Our acceptance of that principle has often given us success while only defeat could have been expected under another banner.

So, our helpful relatives, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Kelly came to Oyster Bay, lived with us in the "packing period," ran the household, gathered our possessions together and consigned them to boxes which were later sent in every geographical direction.

A brother, Frank, arrived and a sister-in-law who worked over a busy week-end to bring final order out of chaos.

Friends were in and out always helpful, always kindly, though not always understanding why we were leaving delightful associations to go to a totally new environment. Yet they bade us farewell with invitations innumerable to visit them on our return—if and when!

Leaving New York was not just driving across Queensboro Bridge and 57th street to the over-head highway along the Hudson. It was not seeing the Empire State Building and Riverside Church recede into the distance. It consisted rather in thinking of our new experiences-to-be in the same terms as taking the short 125th Street Ferry ride from Manhattan to New Jersey—in the knowledge that the Eastern and Western hemispheres are drawing increasingly close together.

On this trip we missed the Sky-way over the New Jersey meadows. But we entered Hackensack by a new overland and river bridge which avoids several congested centers. The engineering feat is a symbol of what we must do in social relations—recognize difficulties in certain types of human traffic—and avoid them.

Planning of a wide variety of types is evident in the United States. Some of the developments look hit-or-miss (like the view of Hollis and vicinity from the Northern State Parkway, where some builder proved the fact of his one-track mind in designing roof-tops and houses each exactly like every other.) But over and again we were caught with the significance of carefully thought-out plans carried to completion.

The experiment of a new type of highway light that eliminates shadows and will help to prevent motor accidents, is evidence of the recognized necessity to care better for people. Travel needs to be made increasingly safe—and is being so made by thoughtful scientific minds.

At the beginning of our continental trip we were impressed once more that, though depression and bank failures and loss of employment come and go now as never before, Mr. and Mrs. American Citizen have struck a balance of judgment in local and world affairs that has the possibility of making them valuable residents in the new world that is being

fashioned around the globe, but particularly in the continent and bordering islands of Asia.

When many expected Americans to revolt and overturn ideas of generations, they accepted new ideas without revolting—they proved their ability to experiment.

So long as Americans can experiment, fail and try again, we need have no fear of disaster. New Jersey some time ago, opened a toll bridge on the Pennsylvania line to free traffic. It is a sign of advancing progress when we will build bridges of understanding in all our relationships and stop putting hindrances in the way of those who might better be friends than foes.

Many people will probably be dissatisfied when they pass through the pearly gates to Paradise. For they will find just outside and just inside so many ordinary human affairs still being carried on. They will expect something totally different and will meet the same kind of people as on earth.

There is something of that sort of experience in proceeding through the Delaware Water Gap where ages ago the ice tore out a channel for a great river and where now the moon gleams quietly over the high cliffs above the modern Delaware flowing on to the sea.

Years ago honeymooning couples found their way to this spot in almost as great profusion as they did to Niagara. Now the great hotel where they stayed is in ruins. But tourists from distant points slow up to see the beauty of the river and the hills, stay briefly at curio shops or overnight in a charming cabin.

So we go through the beautiful natural gateway and people conduct their normal affairs as of old. The quaint city of Stroudsburg clasps our hand in passing and we roam down into Paradise Valley, slightly off the main stream of traffic.

Some one had the vision to pur for the most of the distance through the Valley one of the best-laid cement highways in eastern United States. A lovely small river runs beside the road. A spot where we have often stopped for an open-air lunch beside the river is now being built upon. A cabin is going up under the direction of one who appreciates a quiet resting place.

On either side of the valley the ridges of the Poconos stand out. A few leaves are yellow and red from the fingers of the frost. Filling stations that assist our progress are spaced at longer intervals and indicate less strenuous competition than on some other highways we might mention. The petrol filling stations are symbols of the failure of excessive competition, for competition is the death as well as the life of trade.

The road leads us upward from the valley to slopes from which we can look back over the way we have come. It is a good moment. For the beauty of success is there as well as failure.

Not all of the best experiences are ahead. Some we have had can never be taken away from us. It is good to recall Calcutta and Lahore and Boston and Lake Ronkonkoma and Washington and Singapore and Mandalay and Asansol and Stratford-on-Avon.

Sullivan's Trail lies to the east of one section of the Susquehema River. One can still see where the trees were cut out to make way for the wheels of the wagons carrying his supplies.

In that country the visible evidences of early days are still present. One thousand-acre farm which we visited is still in the same family which settled in that section. The site of a planned colony for royal refugees of the French Revolution can be seen in a



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fertile valley with the river flowing placidly beside the farmed fields.

Tunkannock and Laceyville and Towanda and Skinner's Eddy whisper of the days when ferries were the only means of crossing the river, when lumbering was a good means of livelihood, when game was prolific, when white men were taking over great territories from the red men.

It is not necessary to go to the Far West to be close to pioneering adventures. We found them in the Pennsylvania hills.

The river was high and muddy due to excessive rains above, that had overflowed the banks of smaller tributaries. Here and there little gardens along the bank had been flooded out and the work of weeks destroyed. But the power of the river was, for the most part, a controlled force.

There is something terrible about uncontrolled might whether it be a car in the hands of a drunken driver or the deluge of a monsoon.

The history of advancing civilization is that of controlling power. There is still much running wild that needs guidance and direction.

Whether the politicians should control business or economists control government remains to be seen. We can agree that some control—either voluntary or compulsory—is required. The new highway by the Susquehema does not follow Sullivan's Trail.

THE EVOLUTION OF HINDUISM.*

(His HIGHNESS MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA.)

In America last year, I had the privilege and pleasure of presiding at the World Conference of Religions. It was one of the most interesting experiences of my life, for gathered under one roof were distinguished exponents of every religion and creed. It was indeed a Parliament of Religions in which we were assembled together for the purpose of pooling our knowledge, convictions and experience. We hoped that through our discussions we might arrive at a truer conception of essentials and a truer understanding of what religion could contribute to the solution of our individual and collective problems. It was a memorable gathering and the effect it had upon me personally was to confirm my belief in the essential unity of all religions and in the primary importance of frank discussion and constant study.

During my subsequent travels, and particularly of late, I have devoted much time to the study of current trends in religion in India and other countries. I have sought, when opportunity offered, to bring together men of learning, culture and experience, in order that I might listen to them and benefit from their views and understanding and from an expert knowledge to which I can make no claim. In the hope that something may thereby be added to our store of knowledge, to our capacity for understanding and to our desire for study, I have prepared a short series of discourses which indicate the nature of my recent reflections and of certain conclusions at which I have arrived. For the first of these discourses I have chosen the subject of "the Evolution of Hinduism."

All sects and schools accept the Bhagwad Gita as their text books. They realise that in its 'shlokas' (श्लोक) there is authority for all kinds of teachings and practices; it is all-inclusive. It is itself an Upanishad, and one specially adapted to the needs of the laity; and has for two thousand years inspired and comforted millions. It makes three schools or ways—Karma Yoga, Bhakti Yoga, Jnyana Yoga—clear and attractive. These all have their roots in the

earlier Upanishads and in religious experience, and they all are needed for a fully rounded religious life—the whole personality, will, emotion, and intellect being involved. Again the moral teachings of Duty, Detachment, Desirelessness, Devotion, are of permanent value. For the Gita is the layman's Upanishad, and sets the life of duty above the life of renunciation—Dharma above Saanyasa. If we analyse this comprehensive book, we see that it is made up of eighteen chapters and that these fall into three books, dealing with Karma, Bhakti, and Jnyana, and that while all are concerned with each of these three ways, the emphasis is on Karma in the first six chapters, on Bhakti in the second six and on Jnyana in the last six. "Do your duty without attachment" is the main teaching of Krishna in the first of these books:—"Do it in loving devotion to me" is His teaching in the second:—"Illumination is the fruit of action and of devotion," that is the burden of the third book. The saints are those who have realised this supreme truth.

The great moral summaries of the 16th chapter are notable.

The Gita provides a ladder for the lay people to climb to salvation. It may also suggest a syllabus of religious education for our schools; which must aim at training the whole personality. Devotion to a personal God of noble character does this best. But to Bhakti we must add Karma.

Let us then look upon the Gita as our source book and without being bound by the letter seek the spirit of its teachings, balance one against another, and correct some emphasis by the collective impression of the whole. Thus if Krishna seems to teach in one place that men are puppets of a God who has His sport with them and the world, this is corrected by His continual emphasis on duty; man is responsible and free to choose good or evil. Again if Maya seems to imply the unreality of matter as Vedantists have insisted, there are many passages which say that matter is eternal, and that life is real. The world is in fact not unreal, except as contrasted with the one supreme reality—it is this Atman which gives all a measure of reality, for it is in all. And in realising it as the soul and breath of all, man finds salvation.

The very comprehensiveness of the Gita has meant that various teachings have been over-emphasised by various schools, and even perverted, e.g. the caste-system becomes too rigid; or Bhakti becomes erotic; and Maya becomes a denial of the reality of the world. For the intellectuals Jnyana is emphasised, with its Advaita philosophy, or monism. This has the danger of pantheism, e.g., obliteration of moral distinctions. For the masses Bhakti is taught with its dualisms of God and the soul; this has the danger of particularism, and over-devotion to some local deity. For the priests Karma becomes a matter of religious and ritual acts, with the danger of priestcraft. For the warrior it becomes a matter of acts of bravery, with the danger of callousness.

The emphasis on Bhakti has been overdone by devotees like Chaitanya and by the common people, who give their devotion to unworthy idols till the Puranic Krishna takes the place of the noble Krishna of the Gita, or Kali is appeased with bloody sacrifices, and Ahimsa forgotten. Eroticism may go to extreme lengths, as symbols are too realistically interpreted, e.g. the Devadasis and the *Jus primus noctis* of priests of some sects. Even the moral lesson of Upeksha may be perverted, as by anarchists who appeal to the authority of Krishna in committing murder. Without trained and spiritually minded teachers the emphasis will continue to be one-sided and poetry will be read as prose.

* Abstract of address delivered at Baroda during His Highness' Diamond Jubilee.



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This is the tragic story of religion. And Indians, too often unhappy and unsuccessful against the forces of nature and men, have sought in Sannyasa (संन्यास) or in romantic visions of an unreal world of gods to escape. This is romanticism. We want realism. And the Gita has both. It tells that the Unseen is Real: Plato and Saint Paul agree. But like them it says that the earthly scene is also real, and that man must do the tasks of today in the light of eternity. This teaching is today almost lost. On one side there is the over-emphasis on Vedantic monism—over-subtlety; on the other the over-stressing of the Krishna-cult. But a middle path is needed. We must find a God who is in His world, making it real, and yet not exhausted by His world; and the Gita does hint at such a God—in-carnates Him from age to age when unrighteousness triumphs and righteousness grows weak.

Side by side in the Gita are Sankhya Vedanta and Theism. All cannot be true; if one is, the others are not: if there is one personal God as Theism requires, there cannot be only one impersonal reality, or two eternal realities as these schools teach. But the Gita offers these alternative emphases, and often interpreters turn poetry into prose. Of these philosophies, Theism, with its emphasis on personality, is the only tenable one. Man—a person—must think in terms of personality and emphasise personal values. In India much new emphasis must be laid upon human needs and upon the value and meaning of human life. Life is good; man must live fully and purposefully; in serving his fellows he is honouring God; God is father of all, and has no favourites; men must behave as brothers; such simple and profound truths need restating and incarnating in action. So Bhakti and Karma will lead unto Jnyana a new vision of truth.

Indian reformers from Buddha to Dayanand Saraswati have been largely concerned with reshifting of emphasis. Such a reformer is now needed to blaze a middle path between (a) scepticism and superstition, (b) religiosity and secularism, (c) other worldliness and mere worldliness, (d) Dharma in its rigid forms and Adharma in its anarchical forms, (e) Maya in the sense of unworldly ambition and the utter denial of the meaning of life. In this reform the human values must be re-affirmed—and the true nature of God; Sat (सत्) Chit (चित्) Anand (आनन्द) re-asserted; God in His world making it real: so idols must be distinguished as good symbols (as for example Krishna and his flute) and bad symbols (e. g. the Lingam) which lead to bad practices by over emphasising sex. The goodness of life and its joys must be boldly asserted. The prayer, From the unreal to the real, From darkness to light, From death to life, must be intelligently explained and used. And Reality, Light, Life must be interpreted in more ethical terms and related to modern life.

The Upanishadic teachings of transcendental truth, of one Reality are accompanied by simple ethical maxims. But our categories of personality and of values are lacking. The old order is passing and as India enters the full and complex life of today, she needs a new statement of social and individual ethics. Life is real, not illusory; and good, not evil. Man must live in the world and keep himself detached from its false lures. Let us keep the Upanishadic spirit and adapt it to the new needs: e. g. salvation must mean harmonious and useful living. The disinterested quest of Truth—not of mere mystical experiences. The relative ethic of the four Ashramas is sound, but must be freed of the rigidity of caste. The freedom and intellectual interests

of Upanishadic women, and the acceptance of inter-caste marriages are examples of the value of the Upanishadic ethics, even in the totally different world of today. But it is idle to use them as the beginning and end of wisdom. And even the Gita needs re-enforcing and re-interpreting. It has no teaching on some of our most pressing problems, and it gives no adequate place to women, whose emancipation and education is the main task of modern India. Chauvinism and true patriotism are at war in this vital field—new Kurukshetra.

If we seek in another direction, we find in the teaching of Buddha a middle path of sanity and moderation which has still much to teach us. Rooted like the Gita in the early Upanishads, the middle path of Shaky Muni avoids the extremes of religiosity and scepticism, of worldliness and austerity, of legalism and revolt from law. It teaches two paths—one for busy people a way of simple morality,—“Do good, cease from evil, cleanse the thoughts of the mind.” By good Karma bad Karma is to be counteracted, and by occasional doses of monastic observance the laity may nerve their wills and kindle their affection for the Buddha and his law. “He that attaches himself to me with love and faith,” says an early scripture, “will go to heaven.” This is the way, and this is the goal for lay people, a better rebirth by way of personal loyalty to the founder, his law and his order—three jewels of Buddhism. But for disillusioned and world-weary people, there is a higher goal to be reached by a more-difficult road. “He that aspires for—Nibbana (निब्बान)—cessation of evil and re-birth, let him tread the Eightfold Aryan Path”. This is a ladder for the mystic—beginning in right views, ending in rapture and ecstasy. Shaky Muni is in fact the great Yogi or Rishi represented in early sculptures, “Like a flame in a windless place,” eyes closed and hands folded. He is also like Krishna an active teacher exhorting and questioning, as other sculptures show him. Krishna and Shaky Muni were both Kshatriyas and both made their appeal to the will through the affections. So may enlightenment—Bodhi or Jnyana be reached.

From Buddhism, in fact, Hinduism absorbed much; its emphasis on Ahimsa and on Upeksha, detachment: the clear recognition that desire is the great enemy; its devotion to the Guru. Buddhism in fact stands between the Upanishads and Gita. From the Upanishads it takes the concept of a great mystic experience. This is alone Real. In this, man is one with Atma. This is gained in both teachings by morality and ascetic practices. But Buddha insisted more on the former and less on the latter, and he freed essential Upanishadic teachings from their Brahmanic emphasis; not by sacrifices but by self-discipline must really be won. The Dhammapada or verses of the law may be studied as the best summary of monastic Buddhism: the Sigalo Vada Sutta and the Jatakas for lay Buddhism. What are the essential ethics of these two paths? For the laity the duties are almost the same as those for the Grihastha in Hinduism. And Ashoka's edicts are a useful summary—filial duty, respect for teachers, love of truth, earnestness, and zeal in work, tolerance to all, Ahimsa—these are their main note.

The monk has in addition the duties of his office, periodic fasting and meditation, and above all the duty of teaching. In practice Buddhism means a division of labour. “The monk to preach, the layman to feed and clothe the monk.” This is an exaggeration, and the idea of merit—of buying a good re-birth by such offerings, kills the true



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nerve of Buddhism, which is kindness to all, attachment to none. Other exaggerations are an over-emphasis on the sanctity of celibate life, and occasional austerities, such as burning the scalp, are even self destruction in the pursuit of Nirvana. The ethical content of this ideal again is largely lost, and it is negatively interpreted as cessation of being. This is as much an aberration on one side as the sensuous paradises of the northern schools are on the other. Shakya Muni refused both extremes. And Buddhism like Hinduism needs to return to sane and serene faith and a wise agnosticism as to the hereafter. It is essentially a doctrine of justice in a world causally controlled, and it begins with the affirmations. 'Not of like result are good and evil.' 'As a man sows so is his harvest'; 'One thing only do I teach—sorrow and its cessation'. That man can be happy; that no capricious demon or God can affect him—that he must work out his salvation—this is the essence of Buddhism. It has been perverted by the abuses against which its founder protested, and is today either a dreary rationalism or a superstitious blend of polytheism and book-keeping.

But the admirable figure of Buddha—calm authoritative, reasonable and kindly—remains, and he and the sanity of his middle path can be recovered from the confusion of the texts. He called himself Elder Brother of men. Subsequent ages have made him God above the gods. He was a mystic with a great experience; schoolmen have made him a rationalist. If he appealed to reason he also appealed to faith. And in challenging the will, he did not neglect the emotions. A great personality, he called out a personal response, and Buddhist saints have been men of strong character. Attacking egoism he has been accused of destroying personality. Attacking religiosity, he has been labelled Atheist. But his was a religious spirit, believing in a just universe and in the power of men to live sanely and temperately. He is India's greatest son, and her ambassador to the rest of Asia. In him the West has a master-key to the understanding of the East.

WOMENS STATUS AND ORGANISATION.

Woman is the true measure of social progress. In her all changes in social life are accurately recorded. She changes when really a change comes. Otherwise she dreams away her time in the expectation of an uncertain future happiness. Her realism lies in the coming future, in her growing child. But man's desires end with economic values. He likes to see that the child grows useful and economically valuable. Man is a realist and woman is an idealist. By nature they are perfect partners. Their mentalities are complementary to each other.

If any society is eager for growth, if it really aspires to realise ultimate happiness, it has to be just to women, it has to enable them to give correct training to that growing generation of which they are in charge. Scientific knowledge must be added to their sentiments and they should have the full freedom of expression and choice.

We are slaves today because our women are slaves. Idealism and the great qualities that surround it are suppressed because its chief inspiration, the heart of woman, is enslaved. The country that wants true freedom, the country that aspires to grow, must free its women first, for with them lies the emotion for the ideal life. As both the law and custom are against her, woman is absolutely powerless. But custom preceded law. Law can maintain it only as long as it exists, as long as there is nothing better to replace it. Government is but a minor

phase of the main social life. When social relationship is fundamentally changed, governments are bound to change both in colour and in substance. But how to change the custom, how to reconstruct the whole society into a better order? Only one way there is to do this. That is the method of modernisation, by efficient organisation, militant propaganda and education. Small scale reform in this connection produces nothing but strain on the society as well as on the reformers themselves. It cannot give any results for the real good can come only when the complete mass of womanhood is relieved from the thralldom of custom and ignorance. This is not a question of external morals so that demonstrations and exemplary actions might be undertaken with a view to effect conversions by and by.

If our women should be free, there is the need of a positive large scale programme. All organisations that claim to work for the redemption of the country, including the Indian National Congress, must have their auxiliaries for women as even Turkey had during its period of national rejuvenation. To every university also must be attached auxiliaries for women. Then only even women behind purdah would be able to take part in them—and most of our women are under the curse of purdah of one form or other. There must be considerable agitation towards this end. The society and its reformers should see that education, for a girl in this country specially, does not mean prohibitive expenditure. For in a country like this where industrialisation is at its lowest ebb, no young woman can expect to earn an independent living after finishing her education. Therefore even the middle-class people, not to speak of the poor, will not be inclined to invest any 'capital' on their girls when there is no prospect of adequate 'return.' And unfortunately even the boys are being educated nowadays on this profit and loss basis. But when the social reformer comes to the poorer classes he is not only confronted with seething poverty but also some sort of apathy for a higher life. This is the effect of consistent slavery and social and economic oppression. It is here, when the reformer comes to these people, the poorer classes of the country, that his heart burns in scathing indignation against the privileged 'drones' and he turns his face away from all the problems of education and enlightenment and begins to think only of their economic redemption. But in that perturbed condition of mind, he entirely forgets the reality of realities that freedom, economic or otherwise, lies not in his hands but in the hands of those very poor people for whom he feels so much; that it is they that have to work out their freedom, and that they require some sort of education before they actually realise their condition and are able to imagine what freedom could be. It is for the reformer to see that the poor amidst these very conditions receive education and begin to know what they are and what they could be; and it is for the expert to devise means to convey truth to their very doors. Whether there is unemployment in the middle classes or there is depression in the richer classes, the country does not suffer from or bother about. The country really suffers in its poorer people.

Even there education to the woman is as important as education to the man, if not more. Let it be even going to the poor people and lecturing or reading something to them—this is also education—you must see that women also received your message of truth. If they are behind purdah and cannot come before you, let a woman approach them and give them lessons or lectures, whatever is possible. You cannot wait until purdah is removed. Purdah like many other customs will not leave the



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society until there is something to replace it. Purdah is nothing but a social formality or habit. No faith or sentiment is involved in it. And it will break of itself when true education permeates social life.

Nothing can remove the impediments in the way of woman's progress except an organised movement conducted on a mass scale. Individual efforts are there but they lead them nowhere. A Mahila Vidyapith here and a Women's Conference there can do very little. And fight for franchise would gain nothing but a false satisfaction. Mass movements, unlike individual actions based on opinion, demand scientific organisation and objective study. Facilities for reformation work will be found only when individuals and faiths dominate the movement. People may lack reason but they possess that instinct to understand what is good and what is bad. They always lack any movement that offers to lead them forward and despise cynics and calculators. If there are failures, they are due to the defects in the organisations that conduct the movements. Not merely scientific but also sincere leadership is necessary. Then only something permanent would survive the efforts of individuals who are always labouring hard to bring the struggle of humanity to a happy end.

Allahabad.

M. N. RAO.

SOCIAL WORK IN NAZI GERMANY.

(BY A CORRESPONDENT.)

Shortly before this year's summer vacation, notices were put up in the University of Berlin asking women students to do three weeks' factory work without pay, so as to enable a corresponding number of working women to get a paid vacation. A similar scheme had already been carried out, with conspicuous success, by the University of Konigsberg a year ago. The number of those who volunteered to do that work was so large that the organizers—*vis* the National Socialist Public Welfare Board and the "Strength through Joy" organization—had some difficulty in making a selection, because not every applicant was considered suitable for the work. Some did not possess the required standard of physical health whilst others lacked the necessary amount of practical training. "Work students" are not exactly a novelty in Germany; but formerly the main object of their work in the factories or elsewhere was to earn money. The social effects resulting from such co-operation between manual and intellectual workers were more or less accidental. To-day, the position is different. Men students and working men get to know one another thanks to their common activities in the Labour Service, the S. A., the S. S., and the Winter Relief organization. Both of them are champions of the same national ideals. It is no longer necessary for them to meet in the factory workshops in order to get acquainted. Women students, on the other hand, are in a different category. They are less intimately associated with the Labour Service, and the two semi-military organizations just named are out of the question altogether in so far as they are concerned. It is therefore particularly necessary to provide means through which they can be brought into contact with the women employed in factories, etc., so that they may obtain a practical knowledge of their life and work, their joys and sorrows, and their social life all round.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Miss Katherine Mayo's Book:—The Government of India have prohibited the entry into the country of copies of the book entitled "Face of Mother India" by Miss Katherine Mayo as it contains many passages likely to outrage the religious feelings of Hindus, and also to embitter relations between Hindus and Mussulmans and intensify communal feeling. We are opposed to these prohibitions. When there was a demand in the Legislative Assembly that Miss Mayo's "Mother India" should be banned, we wrote against it. In the first place, such prohibitions are futile. Several copies of the book have probably been sold. Reviews in foreign periodicals have told us something about the contents of the book. In the next place, Miss Mayo's criticisms are not likely to outrage anybody's feelings. India knows her for what she is. Even British newspapers which welcomed her "Mother India" have shown her the cold shoulder this time. One of the most virulent of these was the *New Statesman* which went beyond Miss Mayo in its invectives against Indians in reviewing the book. It dismisses her new book with a short small type notice this time. "Whether the bleating kids of Benares are a more pitiful spectacle than the stockyards of Chicago", remarks Mr. Robinson Moody "can be judged only by those who have seen both, but Miss Mayo can justly answer by comparison of the motives for slaughter. The Indians kill to please God, the Americans to increase the number of millionaires in Chicago—evidently a far more honourable purpose." Nor is the prophet more honoured in her own country. "Readers who do not share her passionate hatred of Hindu ways", writes *Time*, "are likely to remain unimpressed by her purple prose, her tirades against native terrorists and agitators. Holding that "terrorism" in India is now devoted to the "overthrow of any non-communist Government..."

by multiplication of single murders, by mass killings," she lists a number of atrocities, suggests that Gandhi's essential purpose is the extermination of the Muslim population, ends with a fervent plea that Mahomedans may not be provoked to attack the British as a result of Hindu intrigues. Turning from this hysterical and somewhat cryptic analysis to the photographs in the volume, readers may get an impression of an India far more serene than Katherine Mayo's words suggest." By banning her book, the Government of India have effectually banned the exposure of the palpable and malignant falsehoods in which the book evidently abounds on their own showing. Such an exposure can be made only in India and by Indians. The world outside India is now deprived of the only means of getting an authoritative refutation of Miss Mayo's inventions. Mrs. Margaret Sanger declared at the All India Women's Conference at Travancore two weeks ago that she had come to make atonement for the misrepresentations of the people of India by one of her countrywomen. The matter might have been allowed to rest there. It is evident that Miss Mayo meant to do a good turn to the Government and she will be heart-broken to see that Government have repaid her by banning her book.

Women under Fascism:—In the interesting articles on "Social Work in Nazi Germany" published in the *Reformer*, reference is made to measures relating to women. The picture presented by our correspondent brings out the lights but leaves out the shades. The latter are presented in an article in the current *Hibbert Journal* by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. She begins with the proposition that Fascism and the emancipation of women are inherently opposed. She proceeds to prove this by citing instances from recent happenings in Italy and Germany. Since Fascism came to power in Italy laws have been passed depriving women of their long enjoyed right to study and teach in Universities. No woman, it is ordained, shall teach a male person over eleven years of age any subject which affects the formation of character. The minimum age of marriage has been reduced from 15 to 14, in pursuance of the policy of encouraging large families. The new Italian law punishes only the abuse of physical correction and discipline by the head of the family towards his wife and children,



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adopted children and other persons under his paternal authority. The Police are authorised to track runaway wives while husbands are free to go anywhere. Adultery by a wife has been made punishable with two years' imprisonment, while the husband incurs no penalty unless he keeps a mistress. Most astounding is Miss Pankhurst's statement that, since the concordat with Fascism, the Church in Italy may, and actually does, authorise a religious marriage, carrying no civil rights, between persons one or other of whom is already married to some one else! The National Socialist Government in Germany is even more drastic in its attitude to women. All women's organisations have been dissolved. Women are prohibited from holding any office and only ten per cent of women students who pass the Matriculation are admitted to Universities. Only 75 women are allowed to enter the Medical Profession in one year. Marriage loans are made on the distinct condition that the wives who receive them should not engage in wageearning occupations. "Unemployed women are drafted to camps, where they wash, mend and clean, and must undertake to do all work in house, stable, garden and field, and attend lectures in Nazi philosophy after their labour of ten to twelve hours a day is finished. Receiving no wages, with bad food, crowded together in sheds or barns, sleeping on straw, they live under an iron discipline, and are liable to severe punishment." Miss Pankhurst gives some instances of women having been brutally treated for holding opinions opposed to the Nazi regime. One girl had her head shaved and was dragged round the streets with a placard round her neck, for having kept company with a Jew. Of the two, the German regime would seem to be worse as being more thoroughly repressive of women's freedom. "Under Nazi Rule," Miss Pankhurst writes, "Germany compels some of her most intellectually gifted women to such (heavy agricultural) work, under conditions approximating to slavery."

Crusade against Caste Hindus :—B. R. Ambedkar is getting a bit muddled. Addressing a Conference of antyajas in Poona he is reported in the *Bombay Chronicle* of January 16 to have declared that, even if Mahatma Gandhi fasted unto death in order to persuade them not to leave the Hindu fold, he (the Doctor) would consider that he would be doing it in a wrong cause. Therefore, he would not heed any such steps by Gandhiji. He added: "I have seen his attitude at the time of the Poona Pact and I am convinced that he stands for the caste Hindus." So far as we know, nobody has suggested that Gandhiji should fast in order to prevent Dr. Ambedkar from leading his followers out of the Hindu fold. If Dr. Ambedkar found out at the time of the Poona Pact that Gandhiji stands for caste Hindus, why did he put his signature to it? In the opinion of many, including the

present Secretary of State for India, the Pact is unfair to caste Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar is further reported as having said that he expected to carry out his conversion programme in five to ten years and that the Hindus would find themselves then in an unenviable political, social and economic situation as opposed to the Muslims in India. The Muslims did not come to India yesterday. They have been here for twelve centuries, absolute rulers of large parts of the country for many centuries. Dr. Murray Titus, comparing the relative influence of the two religions on each other during the long period, concludes: "When all is said, there seems to be little doubt that Hinduism has wrought a far greater change in Islam than Islam has wrought in Hinduism which still continues to pursue the even tenor of its way with a complacency and confidence that are amazing." We are not overmuch concerned as to what happens to caste Hindus. If Dr. Ambedkar succeeds in reducing them to a minority, we suppose they will demand and get weightages as other minorities do now but at the expense of Muslims and the "scheduled castes" who follow him. The great truths of Hinduism are now safe in the keeping of many forceful minds outside India, and whatever happens to caste Hindus, they will prosper and fructify for the good of humanity.

Hindu Influence on Islam :—There can be no better illustration of the accuracy of Dr. Titus' observation than the wealthy, enterprising and progressive Khoja community, the Golden Jubilee of whose hereditary spiritual and social Chief, His Highness the Right Honourable Sir Aga Khan, was celebrated this week with cordial expressions of esteem and goodwill from all sides. The weighing of the Chief against gold, is a feature of the ancient Hindu coronation ceremony incorporated in the Khoja ritual. The very idea of avatar underlying the Aga Khan's position, is Hindu, especially so in that it is not circumscribed by any limitations as to the manner or mode of manifestation. Socially, the Khojas are a caste like any Hindu caste, standing apart and distinct from other Muslims in the same respects as Hindu castes. It is significant that the two all-India leaders of Indian Muslims today, His Highness the Aga Khan and Mr. Mahomed Ali Jinnah, are both of the same community. Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla is another eminent all-India leader who belongs to it. The Borahs like the Khojas are also a caste. Both follow, or followed until a few years ago, the Hindu law as regards succession and inheritance. The Borah community, too, has produced eminent leaders. Mr. Justice Badruddin Tyebji, one of the founders of the Indian National Congress, belonged to the sect. He was President of its fourth Session and his address was one of the most weighty delivered on the Congress platform. Sayani was another of the same group who held the presidentship. The venerable Abbas Tyebji, veteran nationalist, is a brother of Badruddin.



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His daughter, Mrs. Hamid Ali, occupies an international position as leader of the Indian Women's movement and is one of the most level-headed of the leaders of that movement. Sir Akbar Hydari is another all-India figure. He has raised Hyderabad from its medieval existence to the forefront of progressive India. A small print corrigendum prefixed to the Report of the proceedings of the Second Round Table Conference, supplies an omission in the body of it. At the conclusion of Sir Akbar's speech in the Federal Sub-Committee the Chairman, Lord Sankey, said: "I am sure we are all very much obliged to Sir Akbar Hydari for his speech. If he will permit me to say so, I am sure I am voicing the opinion of the Committee if I use a classical expression and say that, having regard to Sir Akbar's outlook and his experience, he is quite the Nestor of the Conference." That these two small communities which represent the maximum of Hindu influence on Indian Islam should almost monopolise its leadership, is a fact of profound interest to students of inter-communal influence.

Concessions to Antyaja Converts:—For some time past Indian Christian leaders have been demanding that the special concessions granted to the depressed classes of Hindus should be extended to converts from those castes to Christianity. The President of the Indian Christian Conference held in Allahabad some months ago laid stress on it in his address. The Madras Government has complied with the demand. Mr. C. Rajagopala Charya writing in *Harijan* of January 18, gives the substance of a Government communique he has just read. It says that the school fee exemptions and concessions that Harijan pupils enjoy shall hereafter be extended to the 'scheduled castes' irrespective of conversion to Christianity or any other religion. Neither shall any scholarship holder forfeit any concession already enjoyed by reason of giving up Hinduism. "The school fee amendment," he adds, "is but the end of the wedge. Every concession that is enjoyed or proposed for the Harijans will be the subject matter for revision and extension under pressure from the highly influential quarters that respond to Missionary opinion." We daresay he is right. Christian missionaries who believe in mass conversions find that their resources in men and money, for improving the educational and economic position of the converts, are dwindling owing to the realisation by their patrons in their home countries that there is sufficient scope for Christianising their own people before undertaking to carry the Gospel to the foreign heathen. The world depression has contributed to strengthen this feeling. Missionaries, therefore, have hit upon the idea of demanding that the concessions given to Hindu Harijans should be given to their converts also. The implication, that the converts must continue to be classified as Harijans even after their baptism, that they must be assigned to the castes in which they were born and brought up before conversion,

can not have escaped their attention. The receipt of grants for schools and colleges on condition that they restrict their Gospel of righteousness to spheres outside that of Government, was a comedown from the high pedestal of obeying a Divine mandate. The demand that the State should pay for the uplift of converts made without its request or consent, is a further descent which, in course of time, will deprive Missionaries of the last shred of justification for proselytisation. Professor Henry Elisha Allen in his book "The Turkish Transformation" which formed the subject of our article, "Turkey under Kamal Ataturk," in last week's *Reformer*, explains at length the reasons given by Turkish nationalists for disallowing foreign proselytising missions. They are applicable to every country in similar circumstances. We are glad that a non-proselytising agency to assist in social work is being planned under the auspices of the Society of Friends in England. We publish an outline of the scheme by Mr. Earnest Champness under the heading "An Indian Adult School Movement" in another column.

The Raza Ali—Ponnu Sammy Marriage:—The explanation of Sir Raza Ali that his marriage with Miss Ponnu V. Sammy of Kimberley involves no religious conversion, that his wife retains her own religion and property rights, should dispel the objections felt on the first receipt of the news and satisfy every reasonable person that there is no cause for criticism of the conduct of the Indian Agent General in the South African Union, who has acted with perfect propriety. Miss Sammy, now Lady Raza Ali, is presumably a major and is quite able to judge for herself. The marriage is contracted under the Union Statute. Sir Raza Ali holds that Indians in South Africa are citizens of the Union and he as a resident in the Union, though temporarily, is subject to the same laws. His claim that his marriage with a South African Indian girl, forms a fresh link between India and South Africa is not a vain one. The bride was given away by Sir P. Oppenheimer who held a reception subsequently in honour of the couple. The first two Agents left their wives at home in India, which was rather a handicap to them in their main task of establishing social relations with the South African community. Sir Maharaj Singh had a valuable co-adjutor in Lady Maharaj Singh and was able to advance the cause of good fellowship to a larger extent between Indians and South Africans. Syed Sir Raza Ali has done even better. He has found a partner in his work in South Africa as well as in life in that country itself. We trust that the Indian community there, will get over its excitement and co-operate with the Agent General and Lady Raza Ali in working for the removal of its disabilities in what, to most of its members, is their motherland.

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H. M. THE LATE KING.

"The King's life is drawing peacefully to a close." In these finely chosen words, the world was advised on Monday evening to expect the death of King George V. The end came in a few hours. The King breathed his last at about midnight the same day. The news has called forth tributes of sincere respect and admiration for the late King from all parts of the world. In India, it has been felt as a national calamity among all classes. To some extent, the warmth of feeling manifested on this occasion is directed to the monarchy which alone has survived the cataclysm which has overtaken most others in Europe, not only with undiminished but greatly enhanced prestige. To a very much larger extent, it is due to the late King's magnificent insight and courage in facing the extremely difficult problems with which he had to deal almost throughout his reign. For, though his end was peaceful, his lot was cast in stormy seas. "There had been no respite for him during the 25 years of his reign," said Mr. Baldwin in his feeling tribute broadcasted on Tuesday. "The whole world had been in a state of commotion and there never seemed to come a period when he could look ahead and feel all peace and quiet." His training as a sailor might have helped him but he had no other preparation for the position to which he was called, the throne of a world-wide Empire. When King Edward died, Mr. Asquith, then Prime Minister, wrote: "Now he has gone. His successor with all his fine and engaging qualities is without political experience. We were nearing the edge of a crisis almost without example in our constitutional history. What was the right thing to do?" This was the agitation over the Parliament Act limiting, the veto of the House of Lords. The King met the crisis in a manner which won the confidence of the country and the Empire. The Irish crisis followed. It is now known that it was King George's intervention which led to the abandonment of the policy of repression and the starting of the negotiations which led to the establishment of the Irish Free State. The Women's Suffrage troubles were another complication which caused anxiety in the first years of King George's reign. The Partition Agitation in India was finally closed by the personal intervention of His Majesty. The Coronation at Delhi was the King's own idea carried out in spite of shakings of the head by constitutional pandits. The incident on the Calcutta maidan when King George ordered his escort to fall back and allow the surging crowd to get a close view of Their Majesties, aroused popular enthusiasm to a high pitch and made the King's visit a great personal triumph. King George certainly understood the Indian problem better than many of his Ministers, and it is the general feeling that, if His Majesty had had a free hand in moulding Indian policy, the political situation in this country would have been very different. The King's death deprives India of a sovereign who understood her people and, within his constitutional limits, did his utmost to advance her to a position of equality with the self-governing Dominions. It is not a little due to his sympathy and goodwill that India, in spite of her obsolete system of Government, has grown to her present stature in national and international life. The Great War while it lasted was a fiery ordeal entailing much public as well as private sorrow to the late King. The cruel fate of the Tsar and his family, who were closely related by ties of blood and friendship to him, and the failure of his attempt to save them, must have been a heavy blow. But His Majesty did not allow this and other personal sorrows to interfere with the discharge of his public duties in every meticulous particular. Kingship in a constitutional government, some people think, is a sinecure. Of course, it can be a sinecure, if the King happens to be a non-entity. In that case, however, it will not last long. A constitutional sovereign has an important function in a democracy. He gives continuity and permanence to national life, he preserves values and traditions without which life for nations and individuals will be a daily gamble. No appreciation of the personality and reign of the late King would be adequate without reference to the large share of Her Majesty Queen Mary has had in them. A King without a Queen, the saying goes, is only half a King. To Queen Mary by his side it is due that King George V was the most complete King of our time. In India, certainly, Her Majesty, by her unfeigned interest in and appreciation of ideals of womanhood, created a new bond of understanding transcending differences of race and creed. His late Majesty has publicly acknowledged the great support she has been to him as a companion and counsellor in his lofty but lonely position. Though the Queen of a world Empire, she has all the virtues which good women all over the world possess. In a sketch of Queen Mary in an American journal, there was a good humoured reference to her care and frugality in the management of her household. Her Majesty, it was said, made sure that the lights in the Palace were switched off before she retired for the night. His Indian subjects join wholeheartedly in the prayer that the reign of their new sovereign, King Edward VIII, may be long and prosperous.



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INDIA AT THE NAVAL CONFERENCE.

A Reuter's message dated the 15th January announced the withdrawal of Japanese delegation from the Naval Conference and added: "It is understood that the Indian delegation regarded the arguments against the Japanese proposal for a common upper limit as overwhelming and shared the hope of other delegations that they would have the collaboration of the Japanese in seeking an alternative solution." This is the first mention of the participation of an Indian delegation in the Naval Conference. Had Reuter not been considerate enough to add that India's attitude at the Naval Conference was expressed by Mr. R. A. Butler, Under Secretary of State for India, the impression would have gone forth that Indian public opinion was overwhelmingly against conceding the demand of Japan for a common upper limit with Great Britain and the United States. Mr. Butler is a party politician and, as Under Secretary of State for India, he was bound to support the attitude of the British Government. In fact, the attitude of the Indian Government in such matters is necessarily that of the British Government and it is disingenuous to call it the Indian attitude. We do not, indeed, see why India should be dragged into the quarrel which concerns Great Britain and the United States. Having agreed upon naval parity between themselves, they insist on Japan agreeing to a lower standard. The British argument for superiority over Japan, as set forth by the British delegate, Lord Monsell, was: "A Power with world wide responsibilities must devote its naval forces to protect the communications between its various parts and must have forces far in excess of those of any Power able to maintain its whole force in home waters." The naval "responsibilities" of the British Power arise directly out of the policy of Australia and Canada of excluding the Japanese as a coloured race from their sparsely peopled territories, a policy which every thinking man must condemn as an exhibition of sheer race prejudice. If Great Britain dared tell these two Dominions that she can not undertake to support them in maintaining their irrational, dog-in-the manger policy, her "responsibilities" would at once diminish considerably. If Britain is afraid to do so, it is unfair and humiliating to India to make out that she approves of Britain maintaining a big navy in order to defend her two Dominions from risks which are directly due to their offensive and insensate policy of excluding coloured races from their territories. The argument of world-wide responsibilities as applied to the United States event is more flimsy. That country is a large, compact area and does not require a large Navy to protect communications with distant Dominions. She has even less need to move her warships beyond home waters than Japan. She has no doubt a

longer coast line but she has no powerful military neighbours to fear. She is "cock of the walk" in her Continent. We have seen it said that American philanthropic and missionary institutions constitute a special interest which needs to be protected. If these institutions are appreciated in the countries in which they operate, no danger need be apprehended for their safety. If they are there against the wishes of the people, they have obviously no business to be there and should be withdrawn. Japan's international commerce is as world-wide as Britain's and America's and she has as much right to protect her trade routes as these Powers. Over and above these, there is the European sentiment that coloured races exist to be exploited by them, and that is a standing menace to Japan.

The case for Japan was stated clearly and temperately in an article by Baron Reijiro Wakatsuki in the July number of the American quarterly, *Foreign Affairs*. The Baron was Japan's chief Naval delegate at the London Conference of 1930 and twice Prime Minister of the Island Empire. He explained the circumstances in which he was obliged reluctantly to agree to the ratio of 5-5-3 fixed at the London Conference. At the same time, he made it clear in a written statement that the London Agreement was not to serve as a precedent in any subsequent Naval Conference and that at the next Conference which was to meet in five years, the Powers should reconsider the whole question of ratios on a new basis. Contrasting the position of Japan with that of the United States, the Baron wrote: "Ours is a country consisting of many small islands, overcrowded and so poor in natural resources that we must largely depend on imports for our supply of raw materials. The neighbours with whom you (the United States) may have troubles are either small militarily or quite impotent. On the contrary we are face to face with two great continental Powers—China with an area sixteen times as large as ours and a population of four hundred millions, and the Soviet Union with an area thirty times as large as ours and a population of one hundred and sixty millions. Moreover, these two countries, by reason of the exceptional conditions prevailing in them, have been sources of constant anxiety to Japan." Admiral Kichisaburo Nomura had explained in the same journal in January, 1935, what Japan wants and why. He wrote: "Japan has become finally convinced that so long as she suffers from the stigma of 5:5:3 ratio, she cannot fulfil her mission of preserving order and peace in the Far East. This ratio must be abolished and Japan granted a position of equality with other Powers. Having once gained that status, Japan would then be content with the minimum of armaments adequate to guarantee her national security in the light of domestic and external circumstances. But to have an inferior ratio dictated to us by other Powers, that is resented just as strongly as the continued



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enjoyment of extra-territorial rights by foreigners was opposed by the Japanese in the early years of Meiji. What Japan ardently desires in the matter of national defence is the recognition of the principle of equal opportunity, and the right, within the scope of that principle, to freely provide herself with such arms as she may deem necessary to secure her defence. This is an aspiration with which India can not but entirely sympathise. Mr. Butler's "overwhelming" reasons against it, are not shared by the people of India. In the United States an influential body of opinion recognises the peculiar position of Japan and is far from disposed to dismiss her claim as mere military madness. If the claim to equality had been conceded, the Naval Conference need not have been broken up. Japan was prepared to discuss limitation of armaments on the basis of equality. In the Peace Conference at Versailles she was obliged to drop her claim to racial equality. Her nationals are regarded as undesirable and are not allowed to enter the British Dominions and the United States on the same footing as Europeans. She is now denied her right to equality in the vital question of Defence. How can India support this continued provocation to a proud and sensitive sister Asiatic nation!

Shapurji Saklatvala—The one word which comes up with the name of Shapurji Saklatvala, whose death from heart failure occurred the other day, is 'indomitable'. His was indeed an indomitable spirit. The first time this writer met him, he was a cripple wheeling himself about in an invalid's chair in Esplanade House. But his physical incapacity did not quench his mental alertness. He was posing questions to every one whom he came across. A great friend of the Jesuit Fathers of St. Xavier's College from where he took his degree, it was whispered among his friends that he might one day become a Catholic. But this he did not and he remained in the faith of his forefathers to the end of his days. The only effect of his education under Catholic auspices perceptible was a somewhat fanatical faith in the infallibility of his own judgment. Favourite nephew of Jamshedji Tata, he had the independence of his great uncle without his toleration for other people's feelings and sentiments. This, however, is a small failing compared to the sturdy faith in himself which led him resolutely to turn his back on the prosperous and successful career—as the world counts success—which would assuredly have been his had he agreed to compromise with his convictions. Riches and honours would have come to him as a matter of course and his days would have passed in ease and comfort. But he deliberately chose for himself the hard path of the pioneer. Not for him the cushion and the slipper, not for him the tame enjoyments of the man born to prosperity. His ambitions were pitched higher. The career of a captain of industry in Bombay, had no

attractions for him. He had seen it from behind the scenes and it had failed to attract him. Perhaps, it actually repelled him. However that may be, he left a safe harbour to launch his boat on the most tempestuous seas of our time. It was a hard and bitter struggle. He won the confidence of a British electorate and for a brief session he sat in the House of Commons as the sole Indian member. But his gifts were not those of a Parliamentarian. Besides, the prejudice against him as a Indian and a communist, was too strong to allow of his making his mark in Parliament. He married an Englishwoman and brought up his children in the same passionate hatred of oppression and wrong as fired his own breast. Was his life a success or was it a failure? The answer must depend on the values which each one cherishes. But there can be no two opinions about the value of such lives as Saklatvala's to human progress. They are the salt of the earth and but for them humanity would have remained much where it was in its nomad days.

WOMAN UNDER THE BUDDHIST LAW.

(BY MANEKJAL VAKIL.)

Buddhism is the most ethical of religions when applied to every day life in practice. It lays great emphasis on the eight-fold path of (1) right understanding, (2) right mindedness, (3) right speech, (4) right action, (5) right livelihood, (6) right endeavour, (7) right concentration, and (8) right re-collectedness. The emphasis on the supremely righteous character of the mode of life in these eight directions, i. e., socially and scientifically correct mode of life makes the religion practical and the mode of life elastic and dependent upon the knowledge of the individual to make him realise the correctness or incorrectness of his mode of life. Buddha laid great emphasis on this and on the capabilities of every man to work out his own salvation independent of gods and priests and rituals.

Marriage among Burman Buddhists have lost every religious character it might have had and at the present day it is purely a civil and consensual contract. Buddhist priests keep entirely aloof from such worldly affairs. No ceremony is necessary today for the validity of any marriage between two Burman Buddhists. Living together openly as husband and wife is presumptive evidence of marriage though in practice no marriage is contracted without some sort of show or the commonest form of entertainment of a tea party or without the knowledge of the people of the locality where the parties reside. Except in the case of widows or divorcees a girl under twenty years of age cannot contract a valid marriage without the consent, either expressed or implied, of her parents or guardians. But in the case of widows or divorcees the previous marriage had emancipated a girl from her parental control for the purpose of selecting a new husband.

A husband may marry a second wife during the continuance of the first wife though the wife is not permitted a similar right. But in practice the Buddhist law also contemplates the existence of other women of inferior standing who are described as inferior or lesser wives and are entitled to inherit the husband's properties along with the superior wives though receiving a



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smaller share. The Buddhist law speaks of wives and concubines. The word "mistress" of Western Europe cannot be used correctly in describing a lesser wife as the latter enjoys a higher status under the Buddhist law.

A marriage operates to create an impartible and joint interest, during the subsistence of a marriage, in all the "joint" properties of the couple, each keeping his or her own property at marriage as "separate" property. *Lettefwa* or joint property means all property acquired or inherited since marriage and includes profits or interest arising since marriage from the employment or investment of the separate property of either. In the case of the *payin* property and the property acquired or inherited by only one of the two during their coverture the party who brought it to the union has a two-thirds interest and the other party a one-third interest, while in the case of all other joint property each party has a one-half interest. If a Burman Buddhist male takes a second wife during the lifetime of the first, the second wife would seem to get her share of the interest in the estate of the husband alone subsisting at the time of the second marriage, while in the property jointly acquired during the second coverture all the three would get an equal share.

In the case of a divorce either by mutual consent or by reason of one of the parties contracting leprosy the joint property is divided in the above ratio, but in the case of a divorce effected automatically by desertion, the deserting party forfeits his or her interest in the joint property, but remains liable for the payment of all the joint debts. If the divorce is the result of adultery by the wife or adultery coupled with cruelty by the husband, the party at fault forfeits his or her interest in the joint property but remains liable for the payment of all debts, provided that where both the parties have already been married more than once, each party takes back his or her separate property. Where divorce is effected on account of the husband remaining in priesthood for seven or more days against the wishes of his wife, the wife is entitled to all the joint property and is also liable for the payment of all the joint debts.

Neither the husband nor the wife during coverture can act independently of each other to convey any joint property by way of sale, mortgage or gift. The joint property is however liable for the debts contracted and liabilities incurred by one party on behalf of the other party with the consent and knowledge, either express or implied, of the other party, as for instance in the case of ordinary trade or business usually carried on by either party and therefore to the implied knowledge of the other party.

Buddhist law recognises adoption though Buddhist religion says nothing about it. Adoption is thus merely in the nature of a contract and a minor cannot therefore adopt, nor give a child in adoption. Adoption may be for the purposes of inheritance or it may be an adoption out of pity not conferring rights of an heir. A second adoption during the life of the first adopted child is not prohibited. A woman can adopt a child to herself and children of both sexes can be adopted. A child may be adopted even though one may have one's own child. Even the adoption of adults is permissible. At the time of any partition and divorce it is the will of the parents which child should inherit from either in future, but on the attainment of the age of discretion it is the conduct of the child which determines whether it should inherit the

estate of the parent it has not followed. Ordinarily at the time of divorce the parties by mutual consent may arrange about the custody of the children in any way they please. Generally the husband is entitled to the custody of sons and the wife to that

of the daughters as also of very young sons. In the case of divorce on account of the specified legal faults of a husband or wife the innocent spouse gets all the properties of the couple and also the custody of the children, but if the children are sufficiently grown up to form an intelligent preference, their choice is not easily disregarded by a court of justice.

Under the Buddhist law no one can make a will or gift to take effect after his death though one may make a valid nomination under the Provident Funds Act. A Buddhist, however, may arrange before his death with all his heirs with their consent a division of all his property on his death so as to prevent any disputes later on.

Women have the same rights of inheritance as men under the Buddhist law. A wife or a husband takes the entire property of the other if there is no child of the union and gets a three fourths share of the estate if there is major eldest son or daughter who has the privileged position of getting one-fourth of the estate along with parent. The eldest daughter is the privileged child of the mother and the eldest son is the privileged child of the father. After the death of both the parents, both sons and daughters get an equal share and so also other male and female relatives of the same degree inheriting together.

The above is a brief statement of the present Buddhist law as administered in Burma by the British Burmese courts. There are, however, local or tribal variations in some of these rules due to earlier and ancient customs prevailing in certain localities or communities.

It will be thus seen that woman is treated in every way as an equal partner with the husband all throughout life and even after death regarding joint property except that the husband can marry more than one wife at the same time. A law for monogamy is however being discussed in Burma for some years and a Bill was brought in 1925 in the Burmese Legislative Chamber. The instances of two wives can happen only with the richer class of husbands as in the case of any other community where polygamy on the part of the husband is permissible. It is often remarked that the status of women determines the degree of civilisation and culture in a society or nation. This can only be subject to the degree of economic and industrial development that may have been reached in a given country. The equal status between man and woman under Buddhism has been in existence for centuries in the Buddhist countries of Burma, Indo-China, China, Japan and Ceylon though they were not industrially far advanced for want of mechanical transport and factories. Under favourable economic conditions they would progress at a much more rapid rate as in the case of Japan and can assimilate the socialist plan of production and exchange more rapidly. Even in socialist Russia of to-day the marriage laws have practically adjusted themselves from the Christian to the Buddhist code which has already been in existence for centuries elsewhere, though there is no property in modern Russia to inherit from the spouse or the parents except personal effects as all means of production are owned by the nation as a whole.

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THE HINDUSTANI ACADEMY*

(SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA.)

I am profoundly grateful to you for the honour you have done me by electing me President of the Conference of the Hindustani Academy. If I may say so your choice of me as President is justifiable on this ground only that I am one of those who believe that Hindustani has within it the potentiality of becoming, in the fulness of time, not only the *lingua franca* of this great country, to a much larger extent than is likely to be the case with either of its two highly artificial literary forms, popularly known as Hindi and Urdu, but also of producing a literature, both learned and popular, to serve the needs of all classes. I shall revert to this subject later. I may be permitted to add that by your electing me President, you have formally recognised that Bihar, the province of my birth is one of the great units in the future linguistic federation of India and, for this recognition, I tender to you my sincerest thanks. In my humble opinion, a linguistic federation of India, with Hindustani as its *lingua franca*, is no less important than the administrative federation of our country which is going to be inaugurated under the new Reforms.

The Hindustani Academy, under the auspices of which we are meeting to-day, was established under a resolution of the Government of Agra and Oudh, dated January, 22, 1927, and the institution was formally inaugurated, at Lucknow, on the 29th March of the same year, by His Excellency Sir William Marris, the then Governor of these provinces. It is to me a matter of great gratification to recall that the Academy owes its existence to the interest and enthusiasm in the languages and literatures of the principal vernaculars of Upper India on the part of my esteemed friend, the Hon. Rai Rajeshwar Bali, the then Minister of Education in Agra and Oudh. The Academy started its career with an annual grant of Rs. 50,000 from the local Government, but that amount has had to be substantially reduced, to our regret, owing to financial stringency. It has naturally entailed the curtailment of the work of the Academy. I earnestly hope that, with the setting in of better times, it will be possible for the Ministry of Education to secure the restoration of the original grant, the diminution of which, I am sure, the local Government regret as much as do the members of the Hindustani Academy.

So far as I am aware, no other province in British India has any institution corresponding exactly to the Hindustani Academy of these provinces. As the establishment of this institution came about in pursuance of a clearly expressed desire on the part of the local legislative council, a similar attempt was made in Bihar and Orissa, some time later, to get the Government of that province to inaugurate literary Academies—one at Patna, and the other at Cuttack. The resolution was accepted by the Government of that province and in pursuance of it, the then Education Minister (the late Sir Muhammed Fakhruddin) appointed a representative committee under the presidentship of the late Sir Sayed Ali Imam to work out a scheme for the establishment of literary academies in Bihar and Orissa. More than one member of this Academy was nominated a member of the Bihar and Orissa Committee and in the end, Sir Ali Imam was able to submit a report embodying a scheme which, in my opinion, was reasonable and practicable. But as the Bihar and Orissa Government found itself by that time faced with serious financial stringency, the report was shelved, and the proposal has not been revived since.

* Presidential address to third Conference, Allahabad, 12th January.

either by the non-official members of the legislative council or by the Ministry of Education in that province. This to me is a matter of deep regret, and I venture to hope that it may be possible for Bihar to have before long a Hindustani Academy of its own. Perhaps, the separation of Orissa and its constitution into a separate administrative unit, in the near future, might lighten the burdens of the future Bihar Government and enable them to start a Hindustani Academy, at Patna, corresponding to the one we have for these provinces, at Allahabad.

This institution has now been in existence for nearly eight years, and, in my opinion, it has placed to its credit good work in carrying out many of the objects for which it was founded. The record of its work is to be found in its annual reports but, if I may suggest it to our General Secretary, Dr. Tara Chand, it would be as well if he could bring out a short compendious report on the working of this institution during the last eight years of its existence. So far as I can gather from a perusal of the annual reports, 27 original and translated works have been published, till now, by the Academy, in Hindi, and 19 in Urdu. Many of the original works are of great merit, while the translations and compilations are highly useful publications. Apart from publishing books, the Academy organised from the time of its establishment, till 1933, courses of lectures by eminent scholars, six in Urdu and six in Hindi. These lectures—some, if not all, of which have been issued both as originally delivered, and also in translation from Urdu into Hindi and *vice versa*—were a notable feature of the work of the Academy, but I find, to my great regret, that they had to be dropped from 1934 onwards, very probably, for want of funds as the Government grant was substantially reduced.

The next item on the programme of our work is the awarding of prizes for books of merit in Hindi and Urdu, both to authors of distinction and also to deserving students of the Universities. Here, again, our record is by no means unworthy of our position as the only literary Academy in the whole of India, since as much as Rs. 8,000 has been awarded to authors of meritorious works, in both the literary idioms, while Rs. 800 has been given away in prizes to *bona fide* students of the Universities with a view to encourage them in the production of good books in Hindi and Urdu. I have not the least doubt that by awarding these prizes, to the amount of nearly Rs. 9,000, the Academy has rendered a valuable service to the growth and development of vernacular literatures in Upper India.

The *Hindustani*—the quarterly journal of the Academy in Hindi and Urdu—has sought to give publication to informing articles on serious subjects and has maintained a high standard of scholarship. Apart, however, from these tangible achievements, the existence of the Hindustani Academy has tended to produce results which cannot be assessed so directly, but which will find expression in the course of time. By the introduction of scientific and literary works among the Hindustani speaking people, it exercises an influence upon the mass mind which must produce, in the long run, beneficial results. Also, by bringing writers of Hindi and Urdu together, in the same organisation, and attempting to simplify these languages, it tends to bridge the gulf the existence of which is both a literary and civic danger. Lastly through the work of its committees for giving literary advice, and by awarding of prizes it exercises a

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wholesome influence over literary production and raises the standard of literature in the vernaculars.

I have felt justified in taking up your time in reviewing briefly the nature of our activities, and the creditable work done since the foundation of this Academy, because I have found, even in these provinces, a great deal of ignorance about these matters. As one of the objects of a Conference like ours is, amongst other things, to educate public opinion, I have thought it desirable to survey briefly its work activities since the establishment of this Academy, so that the public—and also the local Government—may have before them a clear conspectus of the work which it has achieved during the first eight years of existence. So far, this institution has depended mainly on Government grant, and on the small income it has derived from the sale of its publications. There is no reason, however, why it should not now attempt to make an appeal to the public at large for contributions and donations for carrying on its work. If such an appeal be made, I have no doubt that the numerous lovers of Hindi and Urdu literatures will generously respond to it. At any rate, the experiment is worth trying.

In this connection, I may also be permitted to state that it seems to me essential that there should be an annual conference held under the auspices of the Academy—preferably at different important places in these provinces, and even outside its boundaries in the Hindustani-speaking areas, if possible, to enable scholars and all others interested in the development of Upper Indian vernacular literatures to meet, discuss and compare notes on the many problems connected with the objects and the work of the Academy. I am glad to find that this suggestion has been editorially supported by the new Hindi magazine, the *Hansa* of Bombay, in its December issue. If my recollection serves me right the last Conference of the Hindustani Academy was held so far back as 1932, nearly four years ago. This is surely too long an interval. In my opinion, we should make it a rule hereafter to hold an annual session of our Conference. Probably, our executive have not been able to organise any session till now since we last met, owing to their crippled resources. If so, it is an additional reason why we should constantly keep before the local Government and the public our needs and requirements, so that we may be able to carry on our work in future more efficiently, with the aid of generous donors interested in the cause we stand for.

MAHARAJA GAEKWAR'S DIAMOND JUBILEE CELEBRATION IN NEW YORK.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

For the first time in history, a Hindu ruler's sixty years of sovereignty over a kingdom in India was celebrated by Americans of all faiths. His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda is the International President of the World Fellowship of Faiths which held this unprecedented celebration on Thursday evening, the second of January in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel New Yorker, New York City.

Dr. Alban G. Widgery of England, who was in the service of the Maharaja Gaekwar for over seven years in India, described His Highness' tireless labor in behalf of his people and especially emphasized his establishment of compulsory free education for all of his two and a half million subjects.

Sri Deva Ram Sukul, a Brahmin teacher of India, exhibited special pictures of the Maharaja and of Baroda and other Indian States. Mirza Ahmad Sohrab of Persia, discussed India's contributions to world civilization as exemplified in the benevolent

and progressive rule of the Maharaja Gaekwar. Rabbi B. Leon Hurwitz, Chairman of the Brooklyn Council of the World Fellowship of Faiths, spoke especially of the fact that His Highness came to Chicago in 1933 to deliver the keynote address, "Religion in a Changing World", which opens the recently published book "World Fellowship", that contains the 242 addresses delivered by 199 spokesmen of all faiths, races and countries in 83 meetings held by the World Fellowship of Faiths during Chicago's Century of Progress World's Fair.

Kedarnath Das Gupta General Executive of the World Fellowship of Faiths, recounted his several interviews with His Highness last Summer at the latter's English residence, "Aldsworth", former home of Lord Tennyson. When Mr. Das Gupta was expressing his appreciation of the Maharaja Gaekwar's great achievements, His Highness said, "Don't tell me what I have done. Tell me what I can do now."

The Rev. Jabez T. Sunderland, D.D., who has worked for many years on behalf of Indian progress, sent a special message which was read to the assembly. Sir Francis Young-husband, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., Chairman of the British National Council of the World Fellowship of Faiths, wrote expressing his appreciation of the great improvement effected in the State of Baroda under the leadership of His Highness since Sir Francis first visited Baroda more than fifty years ago. Lord Lamington, former Governor of Bombay, now a member of the British National Council of the World Fellowship of Faiths expressed his appreciation of the Maharaja Gaekwar in a message which was also read to the assembly.

Bhupesh Guha of India opened the meeting by playing Hindu music on the esraj and on the bansi. Charles Frederick Weller, General Executive of the World Fellowship of Faiths presided.

The text of message read from Sir Francis Young-husband is as follows:—His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda is one of the great Princes of India who have devoted most earnest attention to the advancement of the peoples committed to their charge. For sixty years he has ruled Baroda; and Baroda today is a very different State from what it was when I first visited it fifty-three years ago. The people are better educated, they live under better material conditions, and they are happier. And this has been accomplished through the Maharaja keeping firm to the old Hindu traditions yet being open to effect any necessary modern improvements and all the time being sympathetic with the feelings and ideas of adherents of other Faiths than his own.

"May his rule extend to many years yet."

A GREAT INDIAN RULER.

BY JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND.

I know of no modern ruler who seems to me worthy of more honour than His Highness, the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, the Diamond Jubilee or sixtieth anniversary of whose reign occurs in January, 1936. Not only has his reign been long but concerning the conditions under which it has existed, its achievements have been remarkable. From his earliest manhood he has been a reformer in his very blood. He has been large-minded. He has been forward-looking. He has shown himself a born leader. He has lived not for himself alone or primarily, but for his State and his People.

He has had the handicap of being under the control of a Power that has been suspicious of him, lest he do too much in the way of educating and enlightening his people. Nevertheless, he has persistently dared to lead his State forward to the very extremest



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limits of freedom, progress, enlightenment and independence possible in his circumstances. While in British India the Government has not faced the vital problem of universal education, with the consequence that an appalling illiteracy is still seen there, the courageous ruler of Baroda has created in his state universal compulsory education for both sexes, with the result that illiteracy there has been almost wiped out.

Nor has he stopped with this great achievement. He has made much provision for all the more important kinds of higher advanced education. He has waged constant war against the scourge of "untouchability" and has done much to mitigate the evils of caste. Besides providing liberal education for women, he has legislated and in various other ways planned to give them a freer and larger life. He has been steadily active in promoting agricultural and industrial improvements, public sanitation and hygiene, creating hospitals and providing enlightened medical service for all classes of the people. With all the rest, he has given his influence steadily against religious superstitions and in favour of religious intelligence, breadth and progress, in support of social reforms, and, so far as permitted, in promotion of political reforms.

Several other rulers of Indian States have advanced far in the directions in which he has moved, following in his footsteps; but he has been the leader, and deserves the honour as such.

The contrast in all those respects which we see between his rule and that of British India is a great honor to him and India.

Writing as I do in America, I take especial pleasure in calling attention to certain important activities of His Highness, in which he has associated himself with us. We have in this country (or in this country and England) an organization called, The World Federation of Faiths, created by two distinguished workers for the promotion of international, interracial and interreligious goodwill and brotherhood,—one an Indian, Mr. Kedar Nath Das Gupta, and the other an American, Mr. Charles Francis Weller. In connection with the recent Century of Progress Exposition in Chicago, this organization, under the vigorous leadership of these two men, held a great Parliament of Religions, lasting two weeks, with eighty-three notable meetings addressed by one hundred ninety-nine speakers, from nearly all the important countries of the world and representing all the world's important religions. At this great Parliament of Religions, His Highness was the Honorary President and gave the opening address. In July, 1936, a second similar great Parliament is to be held for two weeks in London and Oxford, in which he is to have an active and influential part. He is also the President of the International Council of The World's Fellowship of Faiths which has general supervision over these Parliaments and other activities.

His Highness has made several visits to America in past years, and is well known and highly esteemed here. Plans are made to celebrate his Diamond Jubilee in New York, by a public gathering in the Grand Ball Room of the Hotel New Yorker on January 2, 1936, and by a Banquet at the Hotel Baltimore on January 28, with distinguished speakers at both occasions.

Lovers of humanity and believers in human freedom not only in India and America but in all lands, may well unite in celebrating the Diamond Jubilee of such a ruler and such a man. He belongs to the world. Civilization is more secure and all nations are richer because of him.

SOCIAL WORK IN NAZI GERMANY.

(BY A CORRESPONDENT.)

"GOOD LIGHTING—GOOD WORK."

One of the many tasks which the "Beauty of Work" section, of the German Labour Front is grappling with is the matter of correct lighting in factory and office. With the assistance of the German Technical Light Society, the Work Community for Promoting the Electrical Trade and the State Supervisory Board, it is planning to canvass for betterment by means of a "Good Lighting—Good Work" week between October 21st and November 2nd. The aim is to enlighten the general public as to the importance of correct illumination on the working capacity and working incentive of the individual and no less on the earning capacity of the enterprise. Lectures and window displays, cinemas and street placarding are to illustrate the right and the wrong way of lighting. Area experts of the "Beauty of Work" organization, armed with the necessary apparatus for light registration, will patrol the working sites and indicate possible corrections or improvements. They will be assisted by officials from the State Trade Supervisory Board. The yearly reports of the latter officials indicate how called for such enlightenment is in the increasing number of complaints received as to inadequate lighting. Defective lighting was recorded in 2843 cases in 1932, 2976 in 1933 and 3631 in 1934. For lack of sufficient officials the Trade Supervisory Board is in no position to inspect even half the number of offices and will, therefore, never be able to remedy matters of its own accord. Hence co-operation is being solicited in this way from individual enterprises by the present publicity campaign purposing to bring home to employers and employees alike the greater advantage of suitable lighting.

ENCOURAGEMENT OF LARGER FAMILIES.

Two new measures have been added to those introduced by the National Socialist Government of Germany to encourage marriage and procreation. One of these is an arrangement by which the redemption of marriage loans which have been granted to many thousands of couples since 1932 is made easier and the other consists of special tax reductions and a child bonus for large families. Both measures are intended to make it easier for people with several children and to encourage larger families. The results of the marriage loan scheme and the Bill for Furtherance of Marriage passed in 1933 have been satisfactory. In the last two years 500,000 girls have benefitted by a State loan up to 1,000 Reichsmark on marrying. This has not only led to a rise in the number of marriages (in 1934 there were 230,000 of about 40 % more marriages than in 1932) but also two thousands of vacancies on the labour market. Marriage loans are only given on condition that the girl undertakes to give up her job and not take another. The loans are free of interest and the rate of redemption is 1%. At the birth of every child 25 % of the sum to be repaid is cancelled. During the two past years 2,208,000 couples have had children. Now regulations governing repayment have been greatly improved. The rate of redemption is no longer 1 % of the original loan but 1 percent of the remainder after the remission for children has been deducted. At the birth of every child parents will in future be granted the following facilities:—

- (1) a remission of one quarter of the original loan,
- (2) suspension from repayment for one year,
- (3) a reduction in the rate of redemption on resumption of payments.

In 1934 there were 218,000 more births in Germany than in 1933. 145,000 or more than half were born

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by mothers who had married on the state loan. But even numerous marriages and a general eagerness to have children are going to be of little avail in the long run unless provision is made that the children will grow up under tolerable conditions. There are still a large number of people, especially those with six children or more, who do not possess enough beds or bedclothes. The Reich Government has, therefore, decided to dedicate 2½ to 3 millions of the marriage loan fund to a Children's Bonus. Before Christmas about 300,000 children under sixteen years of age belonging to poor, large families are to be made an allowance of about 400 Reichsmark. A large family is one with four or more children. The allowance will be a gift and is not to be repaid. This scheme will be continued in the future so that 6,000 to 10,000 children will be receiving a bonus averaging 400 Reichsmark. This "Children's Bonus" is the latest step in the population policy which has been pursued by the Third Reich ever since 1933. At first income tax was assessed according to the size of the family; then fathers of large families were given preference in applying for vacant posts and now on October 1, this arrangement for giving direct help to the parents of many children will begin. This new measure may be termed the first step in an equalization of the family burden as announced for the near future by Dr. Gutt, Chief of the Population Department in the Reich Home Office. A Reich Family Compensation Fund has been planned for the benefit of all office and factory workers with small incomes.

MARRIAGE LOANS AND THE BIRTH-RATE.

The granting of Reich loans to encourage marriage which began in August 1933 was originally intended as a supplementary measure for reducing unemployment but in the course of the last two years it has proved a most effective means of raising the birthrate. Dusseldorf is the first German town to report that fertility in "subsidised" marriages was nearly 100 per cent. higher than in other marriages. This result confirms the opinion of Dr. Burgdorfer, Director of the Reich Statistical Office and one of the greatest authorities on population figures. According to the statistics there were 66 births for every 100 "subsidised" marriages from August 1933 to June 1934. Three-fifths, or 58 per cent. of the 1934 birth-rate increase is ascribed to marriages on the State loan.

MR. ELWIN'S CHRISTMAS MESSAGE.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Dear Sir,

Perhaps it is worth while sending you a word on your paragraph about my Christmas message. I do not think it was in any way inconsistent with the attitude I have maintained for the last five years, which is that it is possible to be a true and convinced Christian and yet have the deepest respect for the religion of others and a policy of non-interference with them. That is the religious basis of the Gond Seva Mandal. On the great Mussalman festivals, our Mussalman brethren invite us to their houses and we share their joy; at Diwali our Ashram blazes with scores of tiny lamps; one of our brethren is a leading Gond priest, and himself generally conducts the Gond festivals, which personally I always enjoy immensely; and on Christmas Day, when some of our Christian (and not only Christian, Hindu and Parsi as well) friends send presents for our children, we keep the festival of the Holy Child who has taught us (as I said in my broadcast) that a thing has only to be human to be precious.

That sentence was the heart of my message. It is all too easy to serve the poor and outcasts with the idea of adding them to one's own community, or of making political capital out of them, or of simply finding in them some sphere of work for one's own energies. The ideal is that we should have a great love for all humanity simply because it is human. That is what Christmas has taught me to see Christ, to see Daridranarayan, in all who wear the human dress. I venture to think, therefore, that Christmas is specially the festival of the humanitarian workers: it speaks of poverty, of childhood, of mother-love, and—whatever the centuries may have made of it—of a universal human generosity. You say that ours was not a typical Indian Christmas—that of course is true. But why should it not be typical? How could the birthday of one who was himself a poor man, born under a cloud of suspicion and political oppression, be better spent than by trying to bring some joy to those who live on the frontiers of starvation?

You need not suspect that a purely geographical expression like 'the lonely places of the Empire' contains a confession of a new political philosophy.

Gond Seva Mandal

Mandla District.

January 9th 1936.

VERRIER ELWIN.

If Mr. Elwin had stated in his broadcast that Hindu and Gond festivals were also celebrated at Karanjia, there would have been no occasion for our comment.—Ed. I. S. R.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND HINDUS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

A learned Brahmin friend, who is also an M. Sc. of the Madras University, has just been telling me that, during his railway journey last week, his fellow passenger, a Seventh day Adventist European missionary, had unceremoniously told him that he should immediately become a Christian. Nothing I could tell my friend seemed to assuage his feelings of resentment towards "the missionary and his religion." With due diffidence, therefore, I venture to write the following for the consideration of those of your missionary readers who are engaged in evangelistic work in India:—

1. It was a Hindu who refused to enter Heaven, unless the stray dog which followed him, unbidden, was also admitted with him. Compare this with the indifference with which the Christian nations of Europe regard the sufferings of the Ethiopians whom they are morally bound to defend.

2. Buddha being one of the best products of Hinduism, "The Light of Asia" by Sir Edwin Arnold, may be read side by side with the New Testament, particularly St. John's Gospel.

3. No Christian should be allowed to preach outside his church, unless he holds a certificate of having passed an examination in Hinduism, the textbooks for which having been selected by a committee of learned missionaries and Hindus.

4. Sir Valentine Chirol wrote in 1910: "The social relations between the two races in India—itsself always a problem of infinite difficulty—have certainly not been improved by the large influx of a lower class of Europeans, which the development of railways and telegraphs and other industries requiring technical knowledge have brought in their train." ("Indian Unrest" p. 3). While the lower class Europeans have steadily increased since 1910, the better class Europeans have considerably decreased in India. The former are alike deficient in the knowledge



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of the Christian religion and the good manners of a corresponding class of Indians. They should be evangelised first and good manners taught them before the Gospel is preached any more to the Hindus. Failing this, Christianity will not get its deserved reception among the superior class of Indians.

5. I was once privileged to be present at an important Indian State function which ended with what corresponds to "Presentation at Court." Amid the gorgeous splendours of the durbar hall, the members of the religious order, some of them clad only in small loin-cloths, were the first to be presented to and receive presents from the Maharajah. Even the Crown Prince had to wait until the humblest representative of the religion had been greeted with the utmost reverence by the Maharajah. When these proceedings were in progress, the Christian Chief Justice of the Maharajah's High Court whispered to me: "Can you picture a scene like this anywhere in Europe?"

6. Every thinking Asiatic asks himself why the Christian religion, which, on bended knees, has blessed Europe's greatest lunatic during his march to commit wholesale murders of a defenceless people, should be propagated among the coloured races, notwithstanding his knowledge that Jesus Christ still reigns in the hearts of a large number of European Christians.

7. In one of my letters published long ago in *The Examiner*, the best exponent of the Catholic religion in India, I observed: "The antagonism with which the Catholics and Protestants, especially those who are engaged in religious work, treat one another in the Press, has retarded Christian work in this land as few other things could have done.....Is caste feeling among the Hindus so bitter as the feeling of mistrust and un-Christian sentiments in which the Catholic and Protestant missionaries regard one another? Are not their real or pretended aims of influencing the Hindu and the Mahomedan very considerably weakened by the absence of charity among themselves?" *The Examiner*, July 27, 1918.

8. "Do not speak of God to the multitude; the man worthy of God is God among men" is an Asiatic saying which I quoted in a letter published in the *Times of India* three years ago, in grateful appreciation of the life and labours of an English missionary whose death was announced in the paper.

I conclude this with the following story:—One morning in 1928, the English principal of a well known Missionary High School was shocked to learn that a small Hindu boy, son of a lawyer, had fainted in his class room as a result of some beating inflicted upon him during scripture lessons. When the boy began to revive, the principal had him conveyed to his father, with a letter of the most profound apology, and requesting him not to institute any legal proceedings. The Hindu father's reply came a few hours later, and the principal read it out to those who were with him, six other English people and myself. Thanking the principal, the writer said that taking any legal action was unthinkable to him, but that he could not help expressing surprise that the boy should have been cruelly treated in a Christian school while he was being taught the life of Jesus who was so partial to little children. One of the company observed, "Is not that Hindu gentlemen an exemplary Christian?"

Sylvan, Coonoor,
15th January 1936.

Yours, etc.,
M. G. JOSEPH.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir, Radha Krishnan's exposition of Hinduism, otherwise lucid and illuminating, becomes somewhat obscure, when it claims that it is quest after 'truth'—a term which in common parlance implies an element of certitude. So far as Hinduism is a 'quest' it is perfectly logical and what is significant in this connection is that even Gayatri purports to seek no more than 'Light'—which is also the Upanishadic yearning ('Thamaso' ma Jotirgamaya' Lead me from darkness to Light.)—implying perhaps the recognition of the concept that any religious experience worth the name, can never be finite to merit being called an ascertained truth for all time. In this view it will be less risky to define Hinduism as 'ceaseless quest and adventure on the part of man, with only the next step for a goal, leaving what further may break into view in the spiritual horizon to be sensed from the point reached by renewed endeavour, with the growing joyful expectation that new endless visions lie behind.' This must be more or less what the eminent Professor himself means, when he says that there is no finality so far as religious life and quest are concerned.

This must a *fortiori* be so, as it is being borne on our mind that even the material Universe is itself discovered to be endless both in variety and extent, receding farther and farther away eluding telescopes, larger both in power and size as they are directed against space.

With this for our premises, it would be interesting to explore and trace the highest pinnacle so far reached, in religious experience by man ever since his appearance and evolution commenced on earth.

Hindu religious literature has called this pinnacle 'Vaishnavajnanam' or Samadarsanam known in English as Cosmic Consciousness. This is explained to be the man's capacity to live in entire harmony with nature making her respond to him at every turn. This capacity in terms of human understanding is said to comprise the power of locomotion at will with the speed of mind and strength to overcome all obstacles howsoever formidable they may be, friendliness and fellowship with the entire creation of which what we call Universal Brotherhood must be a very poor fraction and supreme earthly bliss transcending all sex sense. This is what is exemplified in the life of Shuka to whom Sreemad Bhagavat is attributed. Sage Kapila in his discourse to his mother Devahooti stressed on the same point when he said:

"Napasamyam param bhutam Akartuh Samadarsanam." Sreemad Bhagavath III Canto, Chapter 29.

Pennukonda,
(Anantapur Dist.) } T. SIVASANKARAM.

INDIAN ADULT SCHOOL MOVEMENT.

One of the chief debts of the Adult School Movement to the Society of Friends is the possession of an international-mindedness, which is a belief in man, irrespective of colour, race or nationality, based on a faith in the Spirit. Such a faith must seek to express itself in a practical way or lose its sense of reality.

It is obvious to any student of Indian affairs that there has been a deep estrangement between Indians and the British people. With the causes we are not now concerned, but we must ask if a large measure of reconciliation is not possible. Would an effort from these islands to help educational and social work in



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India carry with it a message of affection and reconciliation? I mean an effort which was obviously free from Imperialistic motives and was conducted in a spirit of appreciation of the best in Indian culture. Could we, in approaching Indians, show the conviction that we realised that we had to receive as well as to give of the deepest things of life? It is impossible to answer such questions in the abstract. The answers must come, if at all, from practical tests.

Much correspondence and many interviews during the last year and a half have produced evidence which, in my opinion, entitles one to say that the National Adult School Union, possibly in association with other bodies, could do an important piece of international service by helping to start an Adult School Movement in India.

The exact form that such an Indian Adult School Movement should take is for the moment of lesser importance than the spirit in which the enterprise is undertaken. The form of Adult School most suited to any district in India can only be determined in that land. Nevertheless, in order to facilitate discussion and investigation, a *provisional* scheme has been drawn up and submitted to many people capable of forming a judgment, and has met with much approval. This scheme in brief outline is as follows:

(1) "Study Adult Schools" should be established in the towns of India, in particular, where there is a College. The twofold purpose of such Study Adult Schools would be:

To create a passion for adult educational and social work, especially among students.

To study, among other things, the best methods by which such adult educational and social work could be carried out in the villages and towns of India.

For the use of Study Adult Schools, it is proposed to publish in India a special Adult School Handbook written in English.

(2) "People's Schools" should be formed in the villages and towns of India to carry out the ideals and methods, which have been considered by the study Adult School groups.

The preparation of the first Indian Handbook is proceeding rapidly. The aim is to have the majority of the lessons written by Indians. At the time of writing, twenty-two ladies and gentlemen have promised to write lessons for the Indian Handbook. These writers will deal with subjects of which they have a special knowledge. As planned, the articles may be divided into the following groups: Descriptions of educational and social experiments; Indian social and health matters; methods employed in adult education; the League of Nations and India.

Running through the Handbook, in sets of two—Indian and non-Indian—will be a series of biographical studies under the title of "Leaders and Thinkers." It is hoped that the consideration of the motives which have urged men and women to devote themselves to the good of their fellows will help to give the Indian Adult School Movement some sense of the underlying guidance of the Spirit of God.

A considerable amount of adult educational work is being done in India, and the National Adult School Union, in desiring to help such work, would, of course, seek to co-operate as closely as possible with existing societies. Some Indians are attracted to the formation of an Indian Adult School movement because, in their opinion, it might help to link up and unify much scattered and loosely-organised work. As far as I know, such unifying work is not being done on any large scale in India outside the Bombay Presidency.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Gandhi-Sanger Dialogue:—Mr. Mahadev Desai writes a five column article in *Harijan* of the 25th January controverting Mrs. Margaret Sanger's versions of her interview with Gandhiji at Wardha on different occasions. He gives the correct renderings of what Gandhiji said, with his own elucidations of their significance. We have tried by excising passages which did not seem quite necessary to the narrative to bring the article within manageable limits for reproduction in the *Reformer*. The difference between Gandhiji and Mrs. Sanger is fundamental. Gandhiji regards the sexual act except as a means of procreation as self-indulgence. Animals copulate only to breed and man should not in this matter be capable of less self-restraint than a dog or a goat. Mrs. Sanger, on the other hand, holds that the sex act is itself a spiritual exercise and that procreation is an irrelevant and embarrassing consequence which can and should be cut out by means of chemicals or mechanical apparatus. As a matter of fact, we may be sure, neither Gandhiji nor Mrs. Sanger hold these extreme views into which they were driven by the ardour of their argumentation. Gandhiji certainly does not regard it as sinful to experience enjoyment in procreation; nor does Mrs. Sanger wish to give a charter to libertines of America and India. Gandhiji claimed that he knew thousands of his countrywomen, but we doubt if they have taken him into his confidence about their conjugal relations. To generalise from one's own case is neither safe nor reliable because one is apt either to underestimate or overestimate the part which volition played in bringing about the birth of a child. Mention is made in "Women in Soviet Russia" of a woman who declared that she would like to have twelve children, but each of them by a different husband! Few women in this country would tell Mrs. Sanger that they got a baby because they wanted one, although

it might be the bare truth, as it would seem immodest. Mrs. Sanger may rest assured that the Indian wife is not such a helpless body as Western people are apt to think because she does not dance or try to forget herself in what is called society. Birth control can be beneficial in specific cases and should be made available in such cases.

Next Congress President:—It is now certain that Pandit Jawharlal Nehru will be elected President of the next session of the National Congress to be held in Lucknow. Its date has been postponed from March to April to suit his convenience. The Pandit, interviewed in London where he is on a short visit, spoke with greater freedom as regards the task before the Congress than he has permitted himself hitherto. An Indian Allied News message dated 27th January reported him as declaring in an interview with British and foreign journalists that the only question for Congress was how it should approach the matter of elections. A fuller version of the interview has been since issued by Reuter's Agency. The Pandit thought it highly probable that Congress would put up candidates in the elections. On the question of acceptance of office, the Pandit merely said that it would be one of the main questions for decision at Lucknow. He went on to say that his test for any constitution for India was how far economic questions, unemployment, education, health and questions relating to land tenure could be satisfactorily dealt with. "Under the New Constitution," he added, "you can not lift a little finger on these questions." That is also our view, though we may not see eye to eye with the Pandit as to the best way of dealing with some of the subjects mentioned by him. India is very much in arrears as regards social reform and the test of any constitution is how far it facilitates the adoption of measures for the amelioration of the conditions of life of the population. We do not expect any Party to take a different view. Where the difference comes in is as regards the possibility of advancing social legislation under the New Constitution. While we think with the Pandit that very little can be done under the New Constitution, we cannot ignore, as he does, the fact that a not inconsiderable section of our countrymen, practically the whole of the Muslim community, the Justice Party of non-Brahmins in Madras and their counterparts in Maharashtra, the



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"scheduled castes" who follow Dr. Ambedkar, and, after the recent Nagpur session of their Federation, the Liberals, believe that the New Constitution can be worked with benefit to the country and should be so worked. Therefore, it is our view that these groups should be given the opportunity of proving the correctness of their opinion and those of us who differ from them can best serve the country by standing aside, if we cannot support them in carrying through their beneficent measures. If, nevertheless, they fail in their endeavours, the New Constitution will have collapsed, and the time will come for devising a more acceptable constitution. We have much respect for Congress leaders as men of integrity and patriotism, but there are men outside that body also who are quite as honest and patriotic, and we feel that their opinions also are entitled to weight.

Congress Socialist:—In welcoming the *Congress Socialist (Reformer 11)* we confessed to some perplexity in understanding the significance of the double designation. Pandit Jawharlal Nehru seems to have anticipated the difficulty. In his message to the Socialist Conference, reprinted elsewhere, held at Meerut a few days ago, he has explained for himself the appropriateness of the double nomenclature. He is a Congressman because he wants political freedom and he is a Socialist because he wants social freedom. There are other freedoms, such as intellectual freedom, religious freedom, to mention only two. These too every body wants but apparently one need not start a party to work for them. Otherwise, we shall have Congress intellectualists, Congress religionists and so on. The Pandit, indeed, recognises that social freedom includes political freedom but in the political condition of dependence of India, he thinks a separate movement is called for. So far his position is clear though not scientific as he claims his socialism to be. The practical question, however, is how far are Socialists justified in collaborating for political freedom with a capitalist or bourgeois. The first Labour Government in Great Britain was supported and indeed placed in office by the bourgeois Liberals. The position was soon found to be intolerable and the Cabinet resigned. The second Labour Government split on this question, the majority going into opposition and a small minority remaining and becoming part of the National Government. Politics nowadays is largely based on economics. In fact, the new nationalism is economic nationalism. The solution which would suggest itself to a socialist for a given economic question will be in the nature of things different from that which would commend itself to a believer in the present system of which private property is the cornerstone. The large majority of Congressmen have not renounced private property and a small minority are wealthy men. This may be said even of socialists. It is, perhaps, this which does not make the co-opera-

tion between the two crucial enough, at this stage, to call for a definite treatment in the Pandit's message.

A Reading Reminiscence:—Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru has supplied the public with information of historical value in the course of three lengthy interviews in the *Leader of Allahabad*. We should much wish them to be published in the form of a pamphlet. Later, it may be hoped, Sir Tej will publish his reminiscences as Member of the Government of India and of the Round Table Conference in which he was the most outstanding figure from British India. Sir Tej was a member of the Government of India at the time the events recorded in his interviews happened. They are, in fact, now recalled as a testimony to the statesmanship of Lord Reading who died recently and who was then Viceroy of India. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's reminiscences show that Lord Reading's judicial training and tradition made him exceedingly averse from resorting to Executive action in dealing with political unrest. In his first interview he mentions two instances which vividly illustrate the dangers of the statutory division of India into several autonomous Provinces. Though the Presidencies were not autonomous they caused great embarrassment to the Central Government in its negotiations for a peaceful settlement of political differences—the Bengal Government by arresting Mr. C. R. Das, when Lord Reading had called a meeting of his Executive Council at Calcutta itself to consider a settlement, and the Bombay Government by arresting Mr. Gandhi, against the decision arrived at a few days previously by the Government of India. An interesting point of some topical interest is that, while Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was standing out successfully in the Government of India against the arrest of Gandhiji, his fellow Liberals in the Government of Bombay—there were at least three of them, Members and Ministers—would seem to have acquiesced in it. The incident gives point to our remark in the *Reformer* of 18th January that acceptance or non-acceptance of office, is more a matter of personal scruple than of political principle in the present state of our political development. If the Liberals in the Bombay Government had taken as strong an attitude as Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru in the Government of India, the course of recent political history might have been very different. There is of course, the consideration that Sir Tej had to deal with one who had been Lord Chief Justice of England before he came to India and the Bombay Liberals, with one who had only a forceful personality. It is quite probable that if the Liberals in the Bombay Government had resigned, others with only communal affiliations would have been ready to take their places. But their resignation would have strengthened the hands of the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montagu, who, we gather from Sir Tej's



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reminiscences, was inclined to back the Government of India.

Federal University at Delhi:—The *Reformer* has more than once suggested that a Post Graduate University at Delhi would be the best means of maintaining a high standard of education in the Universities of India especially after the introduction of provincial autonomy. To study and achieve distinction in such a University will be the ambition of the brightest students all over the country and even of students from abroad. The Professors will likewise be recruited from all over the world without distinction of race or nationality. The Imperial University at Delhi, as we should prefer it to be called, will be one of the great cultural centres of the world. The University will have liberal endowments for the encouragement of all departments of study, Religion, Philosophy, Science. Our dream of the Imperial University of India is thus far more ambitious than his which the Commissioner of Education with the Government of India described in a Delhi broadcast some days ago. According to an Associated Press summary, Sir George Anderson explained how Delhi might become the seat of a great Federal University. He said: "The youngest but more beautiful university would require to make its colleges surrender part of their autonomy for a common endeavour and to regulate education on lines chalked out by the Central Advisory Board." He asked the authorities of Delhi University not to enter into competition with other universities, but to strike a new line in respect of certain higher studies. "Delhi University could develop and specialise in the study of political science, which would be of special use at the capital where the greatest experiment in human history was to be tried. Similarly, instead of the present miserable Law Colleges of India, Delhi University could develop a Law Department, including the study of constitutional law. Again, instead of having the Lady Irwin College for Women as a derelict institution, Delhi University might specialise in higher studies for the women of India. If the authorities of Delhi University developed plans on such lines, the Government of India might also assist. He hoped Delhi University would give a lead to the entire country." This scheme, so far as it goes, is on right lines, though the reference to "the greatest experiment in human history" need not have been brought into this educational and non-controversial context. We do not understand Sir George Anderson to mean that the present undergraduate teaching should be dropped. Post graduate studies can prosper only when there is a background of undergraduate teaching. Delhi as a provincial University is a wasteful superfluity. As a University for advanced studies it has practically a virgin field.

Iqbal on Islam:—The last issue of the Lahore fortnightly, *Islam*, appeared as a booklet of about thirty small pages containing an essay by Sir Mahomed Iqbal entitled "Islam and

Ahmadism with a reply to questions raised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru". We reprint the latter part of the essay with a few omissions necessitated by exigencies of space. In the first and larger half, Sir Mahomed sets forth at length his reasons for regarding Ahmadism or Qadianism as being opposed to Islam as well as the interests of Indian nationalism. We are not sufficiently informed about Qadianism to estimate Sir Mahomed's animadversions against it. But we have great admiration for Bahaism with which he couples it more than once. If Qadianism is even in broad outline similar to Bahaism, it must be regarded as a valuable contribution to the spiritual progress of the human race whatever its relation may be to the orthodox interpretation of Islam. The Poet goes so far as to suggest that the two movements have been encouraged by non-Muslim Imperialist Powers for their own sinister ends. "Russia," he writes, "offered tolerance to Bahaism to open their first missionary centre in Ishqabad. England showed Ahmadis the same tolerance in allowing them to open their first missionary centre in Woking. Whether Russia and England showed this tolerance on the ground of Imperial expediency or pure broadmindedness is difficult for us to decide." What Imperialist interest is furthered by the mosque at Woking? A great Bahai temple was half-completed in Ann Arbor in the United States three years ago. What Imperial interest can the United States have in allowing this place of an alien worship to be raised on its soil? Sir Mahomed Iqbal, for a great poet, is singularly inappreciative of the spirit which welcomes light from all sides and deems it a point of national honour to offer hospitality to all search after Truth. Imperialism has acquired a bad odour since it became associated with colonialism in modern times, which, it is our earnest hope, it will outlive. True Imperialism is uniting, harmonising, uplifting. Such was the Imperialism of Asoka and Akbar, of the Moorish rulers under whom Spain shone as the light of Europe in her dark ages, of the Emperors of China under whom Religion and Art flourished exceedingly. Sir Mahomed regards toleration as most often the result of weakness and intolerance as a sign of spiritual virility. In the latter part of his essay, however he veers completely round and makes out that Kemal Ataturk's reforms, including the abolition of the Caliphate, are according with the spirit of Islam.

Ismailis and Islam:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, it would seem, had expressed a doubt as to whether Ismailis of whom His Highness the Aga Khan is the spiritual head, are to be regarded as an integral part of Islam. Sir Mahomed Iqbal points out that it is a mistake to regard Qadianis and the Ismailis as in the same category. It is quite clear that His Highness stands for the solidarity of Islam but his words, quoted by Sir Mahomed, sound rather like a new dispensation a reminder of a forgotten one, than that to which they have long adhered.



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BOMBAY, February 1, 1936.

PRINCES AND FEDERATION.

The Journal of the East India Association for January prints the paper read by Sir Patrick Cadell on the "Accession of the Princes to Federation" read before the Association on the 16th October last year and the discussion which followed. Earl Peel, at one time Secretary of State for India, presided and made the only attempt at meeting the criticisms of Sir Patrick and the other speakers, nearly all of them British officials who had served in India. All those who took part in the proceedings professed great concern for the future of the States and some of them quoted from private conversations with Princes (happily dead) in corroboration of their own views. Reuter had cabled the story of Sir Patrick's conversation with the late Jam Sahib of Jamnagar. "He told me in the spring of 1932," said Sir Patrick, "that he did not believe the States would last more than twenty years after Federation. I was considerably surprised at this view but when I asked other people, some of them rulers, some Dewans, and others who, after being somewhat extreme politicians in British India, had accepted posts in Western Indian States, I found a singular unanimity that some such period as twenty years would about represent the existence of the States." Sir Stuart Fraser, another retired Indian official, put his view of the Princes' position in a hypothetical form. "I am sure" he affirmed "that in the case of a large number of Princes, when they ask themselves why they supported the idea (of Federation) the reply would be: 'Well, we did not at first quite understand what Federation meant. We did not grasp that it meant the sacrifice of certain of our sovereign rights which we have to surrender into a common pool for the sake of what is supposed to be a common interest and ambition; but we did understand that it was the wish of Government that it should take place, and our leaders, many of them the cleverest men amongst us, said it was a good thing for us, and so we find ourselves committed to it'. Sir Stuart pictured another Chief of one of the Kathiawad States with a big seaport and huge revenue from Customs asking: "Is it worth my while to accede if, as I recognise, under the principles of Federation my customs revenue in whole or in part must pass under Federal management?"

Mr. C. A. Kincaid whose gift for telling stories is known to a wide circle of readers, gave the most piquant reports of conversations with his Princely friends. One of them, "one of the most distinguished, most able, and most charming of them," whose guest he was, took him for a drive some way out of his capital town. Mr. Kincaid asked him casually, "What do you think of the future of India? Don't you think that the Congress and the extremists generally are trying to scrap your

State?" The Prince replied: "Most certainly they all talk about it and publicly express their intention to do it when they get a chance." And he said, pointing to an open ground, "On that plain my ancestor, with the whole of his troops, met the Moghul Empire, was defeated and died. There, too, I shall try to save my State and die for its independence." Another great Prince whom Mr. Kincaid could claim as a friend, because he was born in his territories, was less pessimistic. Mr. Kincaid writes: "I said 'what will you do when they try to scrap your State?' He said: 'Mr. Kincaid, I have in my forts Rs. 30 crores, not your beastly paper money, but silver rupees. If they try to scrap my State my armies will cross the Jamna. The treaties my ancestors entered into with the English people I shall keep, but not when you cease to exercise rule in India'. I said: 'But you will be defeated at once by the Indian Army.' He said: 'With my 30 crores of silver rupees I shall soon win the Indian Army on my side, and I shall get myself crowned Emperor.' 'You will, in fact, Maharaja Sahib, be the new Yudhishtira'. (Mr. Kincaid had studied the Mahabharata in search of material for his short stories in Anglo Indian journals.) 'Yes,' he said, 'I shall be Samrat of Bharatkhand (Emperor of Hindustan)'. I said: "I hope your wishes may be fulfilled." But unfortunately death claimed him before the opportunity arose." The most sensible suggestion as to the motives of the Princes and also the one consonant with the claim of some of them that they had themselves started the idea of Federation several years before the Round Table Conference took it up, was made by Sir Malcolm Seton who said: "All sorts of influences have been tending to push India towards a greater unity. Some of you will remember a very able and sinister pamphlet published in the days of Lord Minto entitled "Choose, ye Princes." I do not think for a moment the Princes were frightened by that warning, but it set some of them thinking, and Indian Princes, justly proud of their inheritance and their race, began to reflect on their position in India and have become increasingly unwilling to set themselves in opposition to what the majority of educated Indians feel to be the best line of development for their country as a whole."

Sir Patrick Cadell, though he professed not to agree with the late Jam Sahib's gloomy prophesy, framed his arguments on the basis of its fulfilment. He earnestly pleaded for the continuance of the States. He said: "In the first place the British Government is, of course, bound by treaties and guarantees to maintain the States; and that obligation seems to imply that the States should not be placed in a position which will entail their early demise. Secondly, I believe it to be certain that the system in the Indian States serves a useful purpose. It is far more consistent with Indian tradition than the necessarily Europeanized system established, and now unchange-

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able without greater evils, in the British Indian Provinces. It is far more of a personal rule than the administration in a British province can ever be. The average Indian ruler is not an autocrat, however autocratic his power may be in theory. He is easily accessible, and he is subject to many influences which bring him into touch with his people." All this is true, but for the fact that the protection afforded by the British Power has emancipated the Indian Princes from the obligations of tradition and the influence of social institutions. It has been more than once declared on the platforms of States' People's Conferences that, were it not for the British protection, they would be able to persuade their rulers to respond sympathetically to the people's demands. The history of the last few years proves that several Princes have ignored tradition and sentiment. Sir Patrick went on to say: "The people of an Indian State must have, it is true, if they are to live happily, certain elementary safe guards—justice in the Courts, and security of life and property. Given these safeguards, however, they have many local advantages and local interests, which they know that they would not continue to enjoy if their State became an outlying portion of a large British Indian Province." In winding up the discussion on his paper, Sir Patrick definitely stated that these elementary safeguards are already provided in the great majority of the States! The Butler Committee, if we remember, had a different story to tell. Sir Patrick further took upon himself to voice the feeling of States' subjects. In answer to his question whether they wished to join the Federation, the people whom he consulted, asked "Sahib, will it cost more?" He had replied, he hoped with perfect accuracy, that it would cost more. Then the answer, generally, has been: "Then, Sahib, we don't want it here."

As for Treaties, international jurists are becoming concerned at the absence of any machinery for the revision of Treaties which constitute the law governing the relations between States, similar to that which exists for the revision of laws in every country in accordance with changing circumstances. The only way at present in which independent nations can secure revision of a Treaty which has become too onerous or obsolete, by force of circumstances, is to break them. A war may follow and a fresh treaty at the end of it. Or, as in the case of Hitler's Germany, no Power may be inclined to challenge the treaty-breaker in the battle field, and his treaty obligations cease to have force. In the case of Indian States, even if a State finds that its Treaty with the Government of India has become a bar to its progress, it has no means of getting the Treaty revised. The disputes about seaports and customs arise from the absence of provision to adjust treaty rights and obligations to new conditions and to new ideas of good government. This is one of the questions which a Federal system will have urgently to face.

SOLIDARITY OF ISLAM.

BY SIR MAHOMED IQBAL.*

In the year 1799 the political decay of Islam reached its climax. There can, however, be no greater testimony to the inner vitality of Islam than the fact that it practically took no time to realize its position in the world. During the 19th century were born Sir Syed Ahmad Khan in India, Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani in Afghanistan and Mufti Alam Jan in Russia. These men were probably inspired by Mohammad Ibn-i-Abdul Wahab who was born in Najad in 1700, the founder of the so-called Wahabi movement which may fitly be described as the first throb of life in modern Islam. The influence of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan remained on the whole confined to India. It is probable, however, that he was the first modern Muslim to catch a glimpse of the positive character of the age which was coming. The remedy for the ills of Islam proposed by him, as by Mufti Alam Jan in Russia, was modern education. But the real greatness of the man consists in the fact that he was the first Indian Muslim who felt the need of a fresh orientation of Islam and worked for it. We may differ from his religious views, but there can be no denying the fact that his sensitive soul was the first to react to the modern age.

The extreme conservatism of Indian Muslims which had lost its hold on the realities of life failed to see the real meaning of the religious attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan. In the North-West of India, a country more primitive and more saint-ridden than the rest of India, the Syed's movement was soon followed by the reaction of Ahmadism—a strange mixture of Semitic and Aryan mysticism with whom spiritual revival consists not in the purification of the individual's inner life according to the principles of the old Islamic Sufism, but in satisfying the expectant attitude of the masses by providing a 'promised' Messiah. The function of this 'Promised Messiah' is, not to extricate the individual from an enervating present but to make him slavishly surrender his ego to its dictates. This reaction carries within itself a very subtle contradiction. It retains the discipline of Islam, but destroys the will which that discipline was intended to fortify.

Maulana Syed Jamal-ud-Din Afghani was a man of a different stamp. Strange are the ways of Providence! One of the most advanced Muslims of our time, both in religious thought and action was born in Afghanistan! A perfect master of nearly all the Muslim languages of the world and endowed with the most winning eloquence, his restless soul migrated from one Muslim country to another influencing some of the most prominent men in Persia, Egypt and Turkey. Some of the greatest theologians of our times such as Mufti Muhammad Abduh, and some of the men of the younger generation who later became political leaders, such as Zaghlul Pasha of Egypt, were his disciples. He wrote little, spoke much and thereby transformed into miniature Jamal-ud-Dins all those who came into contact with him. He never claimed to be a prophet or a renewer; yet no man in our time has stirred the soul of Islam more deeply than he! His spirit is still working in the world of Islam and nobody knows where it will end.

It may, however, be asked what exactly was the objective of these great Muslims. The answer is that they found the world of Islam ruled by three main forces and they concentrated their whole energy on creating a revolt against these forces.

*Islam, January 22.

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Mullahism.—The Ulema have always been a source of great strength to Islam. But during the course of centuries, especially since the destruction of Baghdad, they became extremely conservative and would not allow any freedom of *Ijtihad*, i. e., the forming of independent judgment in matters of law. The Wahabi movement which was a source of inspiration to the 19th century Muslim reformers, was really a revolt against this rigidity of the Ulema. Thus the first objective of the 19th century Muslim reformers was a fresh orientation of the faith and a freedom to re-interpret the law in the light of advancing experience.

Mysticism.—The masses of Islam were swayed by the kind of mysticism which blinked actualities, enervated the people and kept them steeped in all kinds of superstition. From its high estate as a force of spiritual education mysticism had fallen down to a mere means of exploiting the ignorance and the credulity of the people. It gradually and invisibly unnerved the will of Islam and softened it to the extent of seeking relief from the rigorous discipline of the law of Islam. The 19th century reformers rose in revolt against this mysticism and called Muslims to the broad daylight of the modern world. Not that they were materialists. Their mission was to open the eyes of the Muslims to the spirit of Islam which aimed at the conquest of matter and not flight from it.

Muslim Kings whose gaze was solely fixed on their own dynastic interests and who, so long as these were protected, did not hesitate to sell their countries to the highest bidder. To prepare the masses of Muslims for a revolt against such a state of things in the world of Islam was the special mission of Syed Jamalud-Din Afghani.

It is not possible here to give a detailed account of the transformation which these reformers brought about in the world of Muslim thought and feeling. One thing, however, is clear. They prepared to a great extent the ground for another set of men, i. e., Zaghul Pasha, Mustafa Kamal and Raza Shah. The reformers interpreted, argued and explained; but the set of men who came after them, although inferior in academic learning are men who, relying on their healthy instincts, had the courage to rush into sun-lit space and do, even by force, what the new conditions of life demanded. Such men are liable to make mistakes; but the history of nations shows that even their mistakes have sometimes borne good fruit. In them it is not logic but life that struggles restless to solve its own problems. It may be pointed out here that Syed Ahmad Khan, Syed Jamalud-Din Afghani and hundreds of the latter's disciples in Muslim countries were not westernized Muslims. They were men who had sat on their knees before the Mullahs of the old school and had breathed the very intellectual and spiritual atmosphere which they later sought to reconstruct. Pressure of modern ideas may be admitted; but the history thus briefly indicated above clearly shows that the upheaval which has come to Turkey and which is likely, sooner or later, to come to other Muslim countries, is almost wholly determined by the forces within. It is only the superficial observer of the modern world of Islam who thinks that the present crisis in the world of Islam is wholly due to the working of alien forces.

Has then the world of Islam outside India or especially Turkey abandoned Islam? Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru thinks that Turkey has ceased to be a Muslim country. He does not seem to realize that the question whether a person or a community has ceased to be a member of Islam is, from the Muslim point of view, a purely legal question and must be

decided in view of the structural principles of Islam. As long as a person is loyal to the two basic principles of Islam, i. e., the Unity of God and Finality of the Holy Prophet, not even the strictest Mullah can turn him outside the pale of Islam even though his interpretations of the Law or of the text of the Quran are believed to be erroneous. But perhaps Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru has in his mind the supposed or real innovations which the Ata-Turk has introduced. Let us for a moment examine these. Is it the development of a general materialist outlook in Turkey which seems inimical to Islam? Islam has had too much of renunciation; it is time for the Muslims to look to realities. Materialism is a bad weapon against religion; but it is quite an effective one against Mullah-craft and Sufi-craft which deliberately mystify the people with a view to exploit their ignorance and credulity. The spirit of Islam is not afraid of its contact with matter. Indeed the Quran says: "Forget not thy share in the World." It is difficult for a non-Muslim to understand that, considering the history of the Muslim world during the last few centuries, the progress of a materialist outlook is only a form of self-realization. Is it then the abolition of the old dress or the introduction of the Latin script? Islam as a religion has no country; as a society it has no specific language, no specific dress. Even the recitation of the Quran in Turkish is not without some precedent in Muslim history. Personally I regard it as a serious error of judgment; for the modern student of the Arabic language and literature knows full well that the only non-European language which has a future is Arabic. But the reports are that the Turks have already abandoned the vernacular recitation of the Quran. Is it then the abolition of Polygamy or the licentiate Ulema? According to the Law of Islam the Amir of a Muslim State has the power to revoke the "permissions" of the law if he is convinced that they tend to cause social corruption. As to the licentiate Ulema I would certainly introduce it in Muslim India if I had the power to do so. To the inventions of the myth-making Mullah is largely due the stupidity of the average Muslim. In excluding him from the religious life of the people the Ata-Turk has done what would have delighted the heart of an Ibn-i-Taimiyya or a Shah Wali Ullah. There is a tradition of the Holy Prophet reported in the *Mishkal* to the effect that only the Amir of the Muslim State and the person or persons appointed by him are entitled to preach to the people. I do not know whether the Ata-Turk ever knew of this tradition; yet it is striking how the light of his Islamic conscience has illumined the zone of his action in this important matter. The adoption of the Swiss Code with its rule of inheritance is certainly a serious error which has arisen out of the youthful zeal for reform excusable in a people furiously desiring to go ahead. The joy of emancipation from the fetters of a long-standing priest-craft sometimes drives a people to untried courses of action. But Turkey as well as the rest of the world of Islam have yet to realize the hitherto unrevealed economic aspects of the Islamic law of inheritance which Von Kremer describes as the "Supremely original branch of Muslim law." Is it the abolition of the Caliphate or the separation of Church and State? In its essence Islam is not Imperialism. In the abolition of the Caliphate which, since the days of Omayyads, had practically become a kind of Empire it is only the spirit of Islam that has worked out through the Ata-Turk. In order to understand the Turkish *Ijtihad* in the matter of the Caliphate we cannot but seek the guidance of Ibn-i-Khaldun—the great philosophical historian of Islam, and the father



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of modern history. I can do no better than to quote here a passage from my *Reconstruction*.

Ibn-i-Khaldun in his famous Prolegomena mentions three distinct views of the idea of Universal Caliphate in Islam; (1) That Universal Imamate is a Divine institution and is consequently indispensable. (2) That it is merely a matter of expediency. (3) That there is no need of such an institution. The last view was taken by the Khawarij, the 'early Republicans of Islam. It seems that modern Turkey has shifted from the first to the second view, i. e., to the view of the Mutazila who regarded Universal Imamate as a matter of expediency only. The Turks argue that in our political thinking we must be guided by our past political experience which points unmistakably to the fact that the idea of universal Imamate has failed in practice. It was a workable idea when the Empire of Islam was intact. Since the break-up of this Empire independent units have arisen. The idea has ceased to be operative and cannot work as a living factor in the organization of modern Islam.

Nor is the idea of separation of Church and State alien to Islam. The doctrine of the Major Occultation of the Imam in a sense effected this separation long ago in Shia Persia. The Islamic idea of the division of the religious and political functions of the State must not be confounded with the European idea of the separation of Church and State. The former is only a division of functions as is clear from the gradual creation in the Muslim State of the offices of Shaikh-ul-Islam and Ministers; the latter is based on the metaphysical dualism of spirit and matter. Christianity began as an order of monks having nothing to do with the affairs of the world; Islam was, from the very beginning, a civil society with laws civil in their nature though believed to be revelational in origin. The metaphysical dualism on which the European idea is based has borne bitter fruit among Western nations.

In the history of Muslim political experience this separation has meant only a separation of functions, not of ideas. It cannot be maintained that in Muslim countries the separation of Church and State means the freedom of Muslim legislative activity from the conscience of the people which has for centuries been trained and developed by the spirituality of Islam. Experience alone will show how the idea will work in modern Turkey. We can only hope that it will not be productive of the evils which it has produced in Europe and America.

The innovation specifically mentioned by the Pandit is the adoption by the Turks and Persians of racial and nationalist ideals. He seems to think that the adoption of such ideals means the abandonment of Islam by Turkey and Persia. The student of history knows very well that Islam was born at a time when the old principles of human unification, such as blood relationship and throne-culture, were failing. It, therefore, finds the principle of human unification not in the blood and bones but in the mind of man. Indeed its social message to mankind is: "Deracialize yourself or perish by internecine war." It is no exaggeration to say that Islam looks askance at Nature's race-building plans and creates, by means of its peculiar institutions, an outlook which would counteract the race-building forces of nature. In the direction of human domestication it has done in one thousand years far more important work than Christianity and Buddhism ever did in two thousand years or more. It is no less than a miracle that an Indian Muslim finds himself at home in Morocco in spite of the disparity of race and language. Yet it cannot be said that Islam is totally opposed to race. Its history shows that in social reform it relies mainly

on its scheme for gradual deracialization and proceeds on lines of least resistance. "Verily," says the Quran "We have made you into tribes and sub-tribes so that you may be identified; but the best among you in the eye of God is he who is the purest in life."

It is, therefore, clear that if the Ata-Turk is inspired by Pan-Turanianism he is going not so much against the spirit of Islam as against the spirit of the times. And if he is a believer in the absoluteness of races, he is sure to be defeated by the spirit of modern times which is wholly in keeping with the spirit of Islam. Personally, however, I do not think that the Ata-Turk is inspired by Pan-Turanianism, as I believe his Pan-Turanianism is only a political retort to Pan-Slavonism, or Pan-Germanism or Pan-Anglo-Saxonism.

If the meaning of the above paragraph is well understood it is not difficult to see the attitude of Islam towards nationalist ideals. Nationalism in the sense of love of one's country and even readiness to die for its honour is a part of the Muslims' faith; it comes into conflict with Islam only when it begins to play the role of a political concept and claims to be a principle of human solidarity demanding that Islam should recede to the background of a mere private opinion and cease to be a living factor in the national life. In Turkey, Persia, Egypt and other Muslim countries it will never become a problem. In these countries Muslims constitute an overwhelming majority and their minorities, i. e., Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians, according to the law of Islam, are either "People of the Book" or "like the People of the Book" with whom the law of Islam allows free social relations including matrimonial alliances. It becomes a problem for Muslims only in countries where they happen to be in a minority, and nationalism demands their complete self-effacement. In majority countries Islam accommodates nationalism; for there Islam and nationalism are practically identical; in minority countries it is justified in seeking self-determination as a cultural unit. In either case, it is thoroughly consistent with itself.

The above paragraphs briefly sum up the exact situation in the world of Islam to-day. If this is properly understood it will become clear that the fundamentals of Islamic solidarity are not in any way shaken by any external or internal forces. The solidarity of Islam, as I have explained before, consists in a uniform belief in the two structural principles of Islam supplemented by the five well-known "practices of the faith." These are the first essentials of Islamic solidarity which has, in this sense, existed ever since the days of the Holy Prophet until it was recently disturbed by the Bahais in Persia and the Qadianis in India.

MARRIAGE IN INDIA.

The ancient institution of marriage, which has existed from times immemorial in India, as followed by the Hindus, has now degenerated into a mere fetish, a very cumbersome and tedious affair and needs to be shorn of all its complexities and conventionalities. The history of India depicts clearly how our forefathers, the Aryans and Dravidians, regarded marriage. Since then it has passed through various phases and has at last resolved itself into a not wholly desirable thing.

True, every country, tribe, sect and nation has got its own peculiar ceremonies and rituals. Accounts of the customs and manners relating to marriage of some communities interest us like fairy tales. But most religions and faiths treat marriage with a sacredness and solemnity. Marriage is regarded as a holy state and an indissoluble tie.



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Religion, having been the mainstay of the people and the broad tenets not being held open to question, generally the opinion prevailed that to break off the marriage tie was sinning against God and man.

This belief is so particular a characteristic of the Hindu faith and this notion having remained undisturbed for a long time, religion does not sanction divorce. The husband and wife are life partners, thrown into each other's path by a supernatural destiny working as the instrument of an omnipotent God, enjoined to lead a life according to the rules of *Grahashta Dharma* for the final attainment of the Divine state of (uncertain) *Moksha*. Accordingly marriage rites were designed with an especial diligence and craftiness so that the two-lives may not attempt to evade set rules. *Agni*, one of the upper-world gods was to be the chief witness. Others were to be invoked. A too complicated and lengthy performance was ordained, carried through a flowing stream of *Mantras* or Vedic hymns. The marriage rites were not to end in a day but should continue for days, four, seven and so on according to particular rites of caste. Somehow or other, the belief was to be created in the minds of the married couple that one of the most important acts of life were being solemnised, a life from which they ought not to seek avenues of escape. Who could have thought that this would descend into a money making business? All attempts at justification of these round about ceremonials would be to argue within a circle. The Hindu scriptures ask us to take for granted many assumptions and hypotheses. There is a wide gulf between marriage and religion. Marriage is not a religious function at all. It is a social affair. It is not for religious purposes that you do it. It is a means for the preservation of the race.

The Hindu girl looks with the greatest respect on marriage. It is but meet that she should do so, but the border lines are crossed when she thinks it as the greatest, perhaps the only important, event in her life that matters. Her life is not set for marriage alone. She does not come into this world for being married to a person who could bring forth any number of children. Her life has to receive and assimilate the proper amount of other ingredients that make it pleasant, happy and useful. After all, in modern days, one would regard a wife fit for a bedlam who polishes the shoes of her husband, washes his feet every morn and eve and performs *pooja* over them. The idea is inconceivable in the year of grace 1936. My observations do not imply in the least that the wife must not be a useful and intelligent partner of her husband.

If then marriage is to be viewed from an angle not at all religious, we should naturally think that many of the wonderful and singular phenomena that attend it none have no place. Marriage has become more or less an exploitation now; exploitation by the male's parents for money; of the priests trading upon credulity for money; for excluding healthy intercaste mingling; to exploit childhood, to exploit poor widowhood! Religion may have given caste, but not marriage. And if marriage is to be free and to have any utility, the many anomalous conditions surrounding it should be removed. Healthy marriage does not depend upon caste, community or creed. It would be national suicide in a country with such peculiar problems and difficulties as India to prohibit intercaste marriages and to persist in plural marriages when to support one wife is a serious problem, to complicate simple natural phenomena and still continue instead of abandoning age-old customs and practices which are today costly and ruinous. Happiness after

marriage is to be the aim, not pomp and show, finally insolvency at the time of marriage. A healthy mind in a healthy body is to be the corner-stone and not artificiality of marriage.

Madras.

V. VENKATACHALAM.

PANDIT NEHRU REVIEWS SITUATION.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, speaking to press-representatives last week, said he hoped while in England to meet leaders of different political parties. Arrangements had already been made to meet Major Attlee, Mr. Morrison and also representatives of the Liberal Party, while negotiations with Conservative leaders were proceeding. Pandit Nehru hoped also to address a meeting of the House of Commons. Questioned regarding the political position in India after the adoption of the constitution of the India Act, Pandit Nehru, referring to the suggestion that there is a view widespread in England that the Indian question had been disposed of said that he had hesitated for a long time before agreeing to hold a meeting in the Commons because of the difficulty of saying anything effective about India in a comparatively short time. It would be futile for him and his critics to try to make points against each other. He had a feeling that those who called themselves experts in Parliament were stupendously ignorant of the condition of affairs in India. In talking about India, he started from a different set of facts than that of the average Briton and they argued in different tracks.

The problems facing India, according to his viewpoint, were entirely different from the problems of which the average Briton thought. It was extraordinary how even the Secretary of State for India was ignorant of the history of India—inevitably they went wrong from the very beginning. The Constitution Act was a "trivial affair." It did not touch a single problem of India.

One of India's biggest problems was unemployment, which was mostly prevalent among the peasant class. It started with the suppression of the old forms of Indian industry and the introduction of new methods from outside. A large portion of the unemployed reverted to the land and no outlets were provided for 100 years under British rule.

Pandit Nehru held that under the constitution they could not move their little finger towards a solution of that problem together with the problems of land and land tenure and industrial development. Further, under the Act every single vested interest in India was protected and could not be touched by any legislature or council.

CONGRESS AND REFORMS.

Asked whether the Congress Party would attempt to work the constitution, Pandit Nehru said that the constitution pre-supposed a democratic constitution and for that reason "constitutional activity" was not correctly applied to India at all. When there was no such thing as a democratic constitution the only question was whether one should break the law or not. There was not a section of political feeling in India which had accepted the constitution, although he understood that some quarters had said that they would attempt to work it. Nobody in India was thinking in terms of the constitution doing much good. As far as Congressmen were concerned, there was not the shadow of a doubt that the constitution could not be worked and nothing would be gained by working it. The only question was how to oppose it best, but on that issue he was unable to give a reply. He thought it was highly likely that the Congress would put up candidates for election, but



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with the definite idea in their minds of opposing the constitution. The question of Congressmen taking office was one which they had to decide. He gathered that there was some difference of opinion on that question. Pandit Nehru averred that the India Act had mortgaged India to a number of vested interests, converting India into a magnified Indian State.

Questioned regarding the possibility of direct action, Pandit Nehru pointed out that in India such a phrase meant non-co-operation. The mentality of such an action was there, but whether it would be adopted depended on so many factors. He did not think that it was the immediate issue. Pandit Nehru declared that abnormal measures were being taken even in normal times and the Criminal Law Amendment Act hardly gave a good foundation for the generous measure of self-government to India. Questioned concerning the censorship of the press, Pandit Nehru said he would not censor the press but would certainly proceed against it if necessary under certain conditions, though without involving the Criminal Law Amendment Act and similar legislation.

Pandit Nehru declared that the communal problem was very much overrated and overstated. It was not religious, though occasionally religious passions might have been aroused. It was partly an economic problem and partly a middle class problem and largely a political problem. Indeed, there was far more religious bitterness in North Ireland than in India. Apart from occasional trouble over religious processions, the communal problem was born in the last 25 years. It did not touch the masses and it was purely a middle class struggle as to who should get more jobs. It was a political question in that it led the middle classes to think in terms of "getting the spoils". Because it was not essentially religious, he did not think it was the most difficult problem to solve. Speaking of his personal beliefs, Pandit Nehru said that his personal attitude was "Socialism completely", but how it should be applied to India depend on many factors and on the time at which it could be applied. It depended on the strength of the peasantry. The land problem could only be solved by collectivisation which would involve expropriation, but in order to have a peaceful settlement one should go as far as possible, to win over vested interests though India's resources would not make direct compensation for expropriation possible.

Pandit Nehru said he would like to spread education, and ideas of sanitation and other benefits apart from changing the land system. People would expect immediate relief from the burdens they were suffering from, but he admitted that his proposals would mean a reduction in revenue. Personally, he also wanted industrialisation on a large scale. The first item of the Congress programme was to put an end to the Government of India Act, concluded Pandit Nehru.

CONGRESS SOCIALISM DEFINED.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has sent the following message to the All India Congress Socialist Conference which met at Meerut on January 18:

"I have been told that the Congress Socialist Party is holding a Conference this month at Meerut and I have been asked to send it greeting. I do so gladly.

The members of the Party will not expect me to discuss from a far country the immediate issues that agitate the mind of our people. I am not yet in a position to do so. I can only qualify myself for approval or criticism after closer touch with my colleagues of the Congress and full discussion with

them. I cannot of course retain a blank mind on vital issues affecting our country, but to give a concrete opinion requires more intimate knowledge of the exact situations and human material than I claim to possess at present. I may not therefore consider in this message the detailed programme of the Congress Socialist Party, so far as I have come to know it.

Nevertheless I desire to send the Conference and its members my good wishes and greetings. The Congress Socialist Party, as its very name implies, stands for the Congress and for Socialism. For twenty years or more I have been closely associated with the Congress and have worked for it to the best of my ability, till I have come to consider myself almost as having merged into it. I have given the best part of my life to it because I believed that it was working for the ideals that I had in my heart. Inevitably, therefore, the Congress occupies a great part of my being and the ties that bind me to it are hard as steel. I have also progressively accepted the ideology of a scientific socialism and I may claim to be now a Socialist in the full sense of the term. Any organisation that claims to represent these two ideas and ways must, therefore, have my good will, quite apart even from the detailed programme it might advance. I find further that many of my old colleagues whose opinions I have valued are now in the ranks of the Congress Socialist Party.

I have mentioned the two ways that have moved me, and I take it that they move also, in varying degrees many of my countrymen. These are Nationalism and political freedom as represented by the Congress and social freedom as represented by Socialism. Socialism, it is obvious, includes political freedom, for without that there can be no social and economic freedom. But India being unhappily still politically a subject country, nationalism is the dominant urge of most of her politically minded classes. That is a factor of primary importance and any socialist who ignores it does so at his peril. But no Socialist need be reminded that nationalism by itself offers no solution of the vast problems that confront our country and the world; it ignores indeed the world and fails to realize that in doing so it makes an understanding of even the national position impossible. For, the Indian problem is but a part of the world problem of imperialism, the two are indissolubly linked together, and that world problem is essentially an economic problem, though it has many changing phases.

To continue these two outlooks and make them an organic whole is the problem of the Indian Socialist. Scientific Socialism itself teaches us not to follow slavishly any dogma or any other country's example, which may have resulted from entirely different circumstances. Armed with a philosophy which reveals the inner workings of history and human relations and with the scientific outlook to guide him, the Socialist tries to solve the problems of each country in relation to its varied background and stage of economic development, and also in relation to the world. It is a hard task. But then there is no easy way.

Ideas are the essential basis for action. But behind ideas there must be the men to carry them out and the character and discipline to translate them into results. No Socialist can be true to his creed or mission if he seeks satisfaction merely in brave ideas and in criticism of others who do not argue with him. This is the way of facile intellectual opportunism. He has to remember that he is no armchair politician but one working for an object—for achievement, and achievement requires character and discipline and united



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action and the readiness to sacrifice the individual self for the larger cause. That discipline and character, have been sadly lacking in India in recent months and the brave memory of united and effective action is almost a dream that has faded. It is for us to make that dream real again, and real in an even more fundamental sense than it was in the past, for in the future it must be built up on a clear and well-understood ideology.

'THE MAN AMONG KINGS'

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

If living is a fine art, King George was perhaps its greatest exponent in recent times. The simple human traits in his career which outshone splendour and pomp and pageant of a colourful imperial character revealed an inward discipline which, without effort or austerity appear to have been almost a second nature with him. No greater legacy could a sovereign leave to his Empire in the life he lived, than what stands bequeathed by this man among kings, whose demise the world all over mourns to-day.

Singularly free from pride of Empire, what was most marvellous in his life was that he always and unerringly returned in the privacy of his heart to its simple human basis for refuge each time after performing this or that function, discharging this or that royal duty to which his august position was called, as if with the ruling conviction that that position was after all adventitious.

For proof of this detached attitude of mind we need not go far beyond the tone, temper and earnestness of his very recent Christmas and Jubilee Broadcast messages to listen to which he called his people all over the far flung Empire. What was his singular good fortune, was that it was during his reign time and distance were almost annihilated as if the kindly Providence meant to set a premium on his yearning to get into closer touch with them. There could be no doubt that his heartfelt greetings made every listener to feel that he or she was a member of the great family of the British Commonwealth and the speaker was only a Patriarch intimately talking to every one of them face to face from the hearth of his home, breathing in every word he uttered a burning sense of sympathy and fellowship to all, even children not excepted, and not the King Emperor addressing from his Throne.

There may be many who may differ, and violently differ, from all that he is made rightly or wrongly to stand for in Royal convention in the political sphere, but it would be sacrilegious on an occasion like this to confound it all up with simple human graces which adorned his life. He showed that one needed no kingship to be great at heart and could even be that in spite of such kingship.

It is given to few to be a King or Emperor but it is open to all on the fair face of earth to endeavour to live a simple normal human life and earn the kind of beautiful death which fell to the lot of this man among kings.

The new king is a great lover of little children and according to the small anecdotes we have been hearing of his doings and his unconventional ways, His Majesty has every promise of following in the foot steps of his Royal Sire, and is it wrong for us to expect that it might be given to him even to excel his ancestor to that superb human estate?

The whole picture puts me in mind of a familiar Sanskrit saying of old which I can not resist reproducing in conclusion.

'Yadi raama yadieha Rama
Thanayo vinayagunopetah
Thanayo thanayotpathih
Suravara magare kimadhikyam'

Rendered into English it would read as follows:

'With a woman as good as Lakshmi (consort of God Vishnu) for a wife, with one endowed with true humility for a son, and a son born to that son, what else could there be to excel even in Indra's abode (Heaven).

Penukonda,
(Anantapur Dist.)
24th January 1936.

T. SIVASANKARAM.

MRS. SANGER'S INTERVIEW WITH MAHATMA GANDHI*

Gandhiji poured his whole being into his conversation. He revealed himself inside out, giving Mrs. Sanger an intimate glimpse of his own private life. He also declared to her his own limitations, especially the stupendous limitation of his own philosophy of life—a philosophy that seeks self-realization through self-control, and said that for him there could be one solution and one alone. "I could not recommend the remedy of birth control to a woman who wanted my approval. I should simply say to her: 'My remedy is of no use to you. You must go to others for advice.' Mrs. Sanger cited some hard cases. "I agree," said Gandhiji, "there are hard cases. Else birth control enthusiasts would have no case. But I would say, do devise remedies by all means, but the remedies should be other than the ones you advise. If you and I as moral reformers put our foot down on this remedy and said, 'You must fall back on other remedies,' those would surely be found." Both seemed to be agreed that woman should be emancipated, that woman should be the arbiter of her destiny. But Mrs. Sanger would have Gandhiji work for woman's emancipation through her pet device, just as believers in violence want Gandhiji to win India's freedom through violence, since they seem to be sure that non-violence can never succeed.

Well, this is what he said: "My wife I made the orbit of all women. In her I studied all women. I came in contact with many European women in South Africa, and I knew practically every Indian woman there. I worked with them. I tried to show them they were not slaves either of their husbands or parents, not only in the political field but in the domestic as well. But the trouble was that some could not resist their husbands. The remedy is in the hands of women themselves. The struggle is difficult for them, and I do not blame them. I blame the men. Men have legislated against them. Man has regarded woman as his tool. She has learned to be his tool and in the end found it easy and pleasurable to be such, because when one drags another in his fall the descent is easy.....I have felt that during the years still left to me if I can drive home to women's minds the truth that they are free, we will have no birth control problem in India. If they will only learn to say 'no' to their husbands when they approach them carnally! I do not suppose all husbands are brutes and if women only know how to resist them, all will be well. I have been able to teach women who have come in contact with me how to resist their husbands. The real problem is that many do not want to resist them...No resistance bordering upon bitterness will be necessary in 99 out of 100 cases. If a wife says to her husband, 'No, I do not want it,' he will make no trouble.

* *Harbian*, January 25.

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But she hasn't been taught. Her parents in most cases, won't teach it to her. There are some cases, I know, in which parents have appealed to their daughters' husbands not to force motherhood on their daughters, and I have come across amenable husbands too. I want woman to learn the primary right of resistance. She thinks now that she has not got it."

Gandhiji told her that when she went to Calcutta she would be told by those who knew what havoc contraceptives had worked among unmarried young men and women. But evidently for the purpose of the conversation, at any rate, Mrs. Sanger confined herself to propagation of knowledge of birth control among married couples only.

What was to be done with couples who wanted to resist the impulse of sex and yet could not do so?

Mrs. Sanger was thus led on to her apotheosis of "sex-love", which she said "is a relationship which makes for oneness, for completeness between husband and wife and contributes to a finer understanding and a greater spiritual harmony." The distinction that Gandhiji drew between love and lust will be evident from the following excerpts from the conversation:

G.: When both want to satisfy animal passion without having to suffer the consequences of their act it is not love, it is lust. But if love is pure, it will transcend animal passion and will regulate itself. We have not had enough education of the passions. When a husband says, "Let us not have children, but let us have relations," what is that but animal passion? If they do not want to have more children they should simply refuse to unite. Love becomes lust the moment you make it a means for the satisfaction of animal needs. It is just the same with food. If food is taken only for pleasure it is lust. You do not take chocolates for the sake of satisfying your hunger. You take them for pleasure and then ask the doctor for an antidote. Perhaps you tell the doctor that whisky befores your brain and he gives you an antidote. Would it not be better not to take chocolates or whisky?"

Mrs. S.: No, I do not accept the analogy.

G.: Of course you will not accept the analogy because you think this sex expression without desire for children is a need of the soul, a contention I do not endorse.

Mrs. S.: Yes, sex expression is a spiritual need and I claim that the quality of this expression is more important than the result, for the quality of the relationship is there regardless of results. We all know that the great majority of children are born as an accident, without the parents having any desire for conception. Seldom are two people drawn together in the sex act by their desire to have children.....Do you think it possible for two people who are in love, who are happy together, to regulate their sex act only once in two years, so that relationship would only take place when they wanted a child? Do you think it possible?

G.: I had the honour of doing that very thing and I am not the only one.

Mrs. Sanger thought it was illogical to contend that sex union for the purpose of having children would be love and union for the satisfaction of the sexual appetite was lust, for the same act was involved in both. Gandhiji immediately capitulated and said he was ready to describe all sexual union as partaking of the nature of lust. He made the whole thing abundantly clear by citing facts from his own life. "I know," he said, "from my own experience that as long as I looked upon my wife carnally, we had no real understanding. Our love did not reach a high plane. There was affection

between us always, but we came closer and closer the more we or rather I became restrained. There never was want of restraint on the part of my wife. Very often she would show restraint, but she rarely resisted me although she showed disinclination very often. All the time I wanted carnal pleasure I could not serve her. The moment I bade good-bye to a life of carnal pleasure our whole relationship became spiritual. Lust died and love reigned instead."

Mrs. Sanger is so impatient to prove that Gandhiji is a visionary that she forgets the practical ways and means that Gandhiji suggested to her.

"Must the sexual union take place only three or four times in an entire lifetime?" she asked.

"Why should people not be taught," replied Gandhiji, "that it is immoral to have more than three or four children and that after they have had that number they should sleep separately? If they are taught this it would harden into custom. And if social reformers cannot impress this idea upon the people, why not a law? If husband and wife have four children, they would have had sufficient animal enjoyment. Their love may then be lifted to a higher plane. Their bodies have met. After they have had the children they wanted, their love transforms itself into a spiritual relationship. If these children die and they want more, then they may meet again. Why must people be slaves of this passion when they are not of others? When you give them education in birth control, you tell them it is a duty. You say to them that if they do not do this thing they will interrupt their spiritual evolution. You do not even talk of regulation. After giving them education in birth control, you do not say to them, 'thus far and no further'. You ask people to drink temperately, as though it was possible to remain temperate. I know these temperate people."

And yet as Mrs. Sanger was so dreadfully in earnest Gandhiji did mention a remedy which could conceivably appeal to him. That method was the avoidance of sexual union during unsafe periods confining it to the "safe" period of about ten days during the month. That had at least an element of self-control which had to be exercised during the unsafe period.

But I come to a third aspect of Mrs. Sanger. Her address to the World Fellowship of Faiths is most revealing. She frankly speaks there on behalf of her country where "there are more criminal abortions performed than in any other country in the world. The national total of abortions has been estimated to top 2,000,000 per year. This total does not include the number brought about by drugs or by instruments used by the pregnant women herself." Let it be remembered that it is not only the married woman who is thought of here. It is the unmarried woman too, and Mrs. Sanger would not really mind arming them with contraceptives.

But I have come across in her address a startling argument which would take away from the seriousness of all her other arguments. "Japan, is breaking her own record for population increase! The whole crisis in the Far East—so menacing to the peace of the world at large—grows out of this 'full speed ahead' cradle competition between Asiatic races. Is it not time for the League of Nations or the World Court to turn on this red traffic light? Japan's determination to find an outlet for this surplus population precipitates the so-called 'undeclared war' against the Chinese, the creation of the puppet state of Manchukuo, the breaking of solemn treaties, the sowing of the seeds of another World War." Another yellow peril? Is it a humanitarian that speaks here or some-one vastly different therefrom? I wonder.

M. D.



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INDIAN FEDERATION OF INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIPS.

The Federation of International Fellowships has for its motto, "Under one heaven, one family". Its Council is composed of two representatives appointed by each Local Fellowship and co-opted members, among the latter being Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. T. R. Venkatrama Sastry, Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetty, Mr. G. D. Birla, Mr. J. M. Kumarappa and Mr. Verrier Elwin. Professor P. A. Wadia is Chairman of the Council. The Council held its last meeting at Wardha from the 27th to 31st December last, and passed important resolutions on (1) propaganda about India, (2) Conversion and (3) Village service on an inter-religious basis. The resolution on the subject of propaganda by missionary bodies through films and exhibitions, runs thus: "This Council of the Federation of International Fellowships, a body which exists to promote better understanding between people of different races and different faiths, having read with interest the statement issued by the British Missionary Film Committee, that films are being produced depicting sympathetically Indian life to illustrate the work of the Christian Church in India, venture to suggest that this end will be best served, if, in the further plans for the making of these films and before they are publicly exhibited, a Committee of representative Indians be consulted. Reports received lead us to believe that unless something of this kind is done, serious protests will be made on the ground that such films are likely to cause misunderstanding or strained relationship between British people and Indian people, between Indian Christians and other Indians and between Christians and Christian Missionaries in India, resulting in serious harm to the cause of the Christian Church in India." With regard to exhibitions and other such agencies of propaganda, we would suggest that, as far as possible, similar methods be adopted.

We would further suggest that in all missionary propaganda, whether through films or exhibitions, literature or addresses by missionaries, or other means, due reference be made to similar efforts that are being made by non-Christian agencies for the social and spiritual uplift of the people of India." Propaganda by agencies other than missions, was also considered. It was resolved that in view of the false interpretation of Indian life contained in many productions such as films, literature and lectures, this meeting authorises the officers of the Fellowship to get in touch with such bodies as might be helpful to prevent such things being done both in Europe and America.

The Council further resolved that in view of the fact that tourists from foreign countries visiting India often return without a proper understanding of the Indian people and their culture for lack of opportunity of coming into contact with representative Indians, this Council solicits the co-operation of the Local Fellowships and its members in making possible such contacts. The General Secretary be asked to get in touch with various organisations abroad which might keep him informed of such visitors. In view of the fact that the peoples of the West have an opportunity of having Indian life and culture interpreted to them from the Indian point of view, this Council requests the Local Fellowships and its members to inform the General Secretary the names of responsible Indians who are going overseas in order that their services may be utilised for this purpose.

The Council adopted important resolutions bearing on the subject of conversions. They are as follows, "This Council recognises the right of the individual

to conversion in the sense of a purely spiritual change of heart, whether within the faith of his birth or to another faith, realising that it is the purpose of God that all His children shall have personal knowledge of and communion with Him. This implies that conversion is to be understood only in the sense of the turning of the soul to God. This Council, while recognising the right of the Harijans to adopt any legitimate means for their social and economic betterment, cannot regard migration of the Harijan community from one faith to another for such purposes as in the category of conversion. As a Fellowship we record our deep sympathy with the Harijans in their struggle for freedom and respectfully suggest to the leaders of the Hindu religion that the present crisis is a call to them for a deeper consideration of the destiny and birthright of these children of God. This Council, while appreciating the good and valuable work that is being done by the various Missionary groups in the country, feels that such work is very often misunderstood because of a lurking suspicion in the minds of the people of this country that there is lack of sympathy towards and lack of understanding of Indian national aspirations on the part of these various groups. This Council commends this opinion for due consideration on the part of Missionary friends, in different Fellowships in the country.

With regard to village service on an inter-religious basis, the Council approved in general the scheme of rural reconstruction in India on an inter-religious basis, presented by the Rev. R. R. Keithahn, and appointed the Rev. R. R. Keithahn, and Dr. (Mrs.) Keithahn to be responsible for this work. The following Committee be appointed to act as an Advisory Body:—

Seth Jannalal Bajaj, Wardha; Rev. H. A. Popley, Erode; Mr. S. S. Bharathi, Chitambaram; Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, Salem; Mr. M. Jamal Mohammed, Madras; Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Tiruchengodu; Mr. J. N. Jayakaran, Coimbatore; and Mr. R. R. Keithahn (Convener).

MISSIONARIES AND WAR.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Dear Editor,

In a world where the forces of religion are finding themselves more and more in conflict with those of materialism it is significant to know what are the ideals of the opponents. A recent poll of the Peace-convictions of the congregational church of the U. S. A. has revealed the attitudes of its missionaries. The report comes as follows:

"Up to December 19th, votes had been received from 227 of the 492 missionaries of the American Board (over 50 of them in India) to whom ballots had been sent. Their detailed vote is as follows:

A. I believe as a Christian I should bear arms in or otherwise support:

1. Any war which the United States Government may declare ... 5 2%.
2. Any war declared by the United States Government against an internationally recognized aggressor ... 13 6%.
3. Only a war declared by the United States Government after making utmost use of every agency for peace. 57 25%.
4. Only a war in which United States territory has been invaded. ... 17 7%.
5. No war which the United States



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Government may declare ... 183 60%
 B. In the meantime I will work for peace by
 advocating for our country: Yes No.

1. Membership in the League of Nations ...	193	90%	22
2. Consultation with other nations in support of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact and other peace agreements ...	217	98%	3
3. National isolation through strict neutrality legislation ...	44	28%	148
4. More equal distribution of world resources and markets ...	209	99%	2
5. A larger army, navy and air force ...	1	0%	200
6. Abolition of compulsory or military training ...	216	98%	5
7. Government control of the munitions industry ...	217	100%	1

Missionaries are often said to be the best workers for world peace and friendship as they represent the best of their country. Such questionnaires as the above will do much to help us ascertain the correctness of that point of view.

Devkotte, S. India, } Yours sincerely,
 Jan. 27, 1936. } RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN.

NEGRO DELEGATION AT SANTINIKETAN.

The Negro delegation arrived of which Dr. Thurman, leader of the delegation in an interview, to the press said, 'Ever since my meeting with Dr. Tagore in America and London, I looked forward to coming to Santiniketan and hence I am very happy today. Our mission is a pilgrimage of friendship from the students of America to the students of India. We have received wonderful response everywhere and we are thankful for the same. We are interested in Indian arts and music too.'

Dr. Thurman is staying here for five days and others will be leaving tomorrow. The delegation is meeting the poet in the afternoon.—A. P. I.

300 CHAMARS EMBRACE CHRISTIANITY.

With reference to the press report that 5,000 Harijan Hindus of Agra villages have embraced Christianity, Mr. A. V. Thakker, General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, has shown that only about 300 Chamars of ten villages, near Khandoli, changed their faith on account of the bank realising its dues from the Chamars. Mr. Thakkar adds that the officials of the bank sought help from police who are said to have beaten the defaulters. Christian Missionaries helped some of the latter by stepping between them and the bank authorities, promising settlement of the dues by instalments. On account of this relief, Chamars, with their dependents, changed their faith.

Pickwick Festival in London.—Delegates from the Dickens Fellowship in all parts of the world are coming to London in the last week of March for the centenary of the first monthly number of *The Pickwick Papers*.

They will see "Pickwickians" drive in a coach from London to Rochester. They will attend a luncheon arranged by the Mayor of Portsmouth—Dickens' birthplace—and a dinner at which a toast to the memory of Dickens will be proposed by the Duke of Kent.

During the visit, the valuable Forster collection of manuscripts of nearly all Dickens' works will be on view at a special exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Another exhibition devoted to *The Pickwick Papers* is being arranged at 48, Doughty Street, London, where the work was completed in 1837.

The exhibits at the latter exhibition alone are expected to number more than a thousand.—*Reuter*.

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The Council further resolved that in view of the fact that tourists from foreign countries visiting India often return without a proper understanding of the Indian people and their culture for lack of opportunity of coming into contact with representative Indians, this Council solicits the co-operation of the Local Fellowships and its members in making possible such contacts. The General Secretary be asked to get in touch with various organisations abroad which might keep him informed of such visitors. In view of the fact that the peoples of the West have an opportunity of having Indian life and culture interpreted to them from the Indian point of view, this Council requests the Local Fellowships and its members to inform the General Secretary the names of responsible Indians who are going overseas in order that their services may be utilised for this purpose.

The Council adopted important resolutions bearing on the subject of conversions. They are as follows, "This Council recognises the right of the individual

to conversion in the sense of a purely spiritual change of heart, whether within the faith of his birth or to another faith, realising that it is the purpose of God that all His children shall have personal knowledge of and communion with Him. This implies that conversion is to be understood only in the sense of the turning of the soul to God. This Council, while recognising the right of the Harijans to adopt any legitimate means for their social and economic betterment, cannot regard migration of the Harijan community from one faith to another for such purposes as in the category of conversion. As a Fellowship we record our deep sympathy with the Harijans in their struggle for freedom and respectfully suggest to the leaders of the Hindu religion that the present crisis is a call to them for a deeper consideration of the destiny and birthright of these children of God. This Council, while appreciating the good and valuable work that is being done by the various Missionary groups in the country, feels that such work is very often misunderstood because of a lurking suspicion in the minds of the people of this country that there is lack of sympathy towards and lack of understanding of Indian national aspirations on the part of these various groups. This Council commends this opinion for due consideration on the part of Missionary friends, in different Fellowships in the country.

With regard to village service on an inter-religious basis, the Council approved in general the scheme of rural reconstruction in India on an inter-religious basis, presented by the Rev. R. R. Keithahn, and appointed the Rev. R. R. Keithahn, and Dr. (Mrs.) Keithahn to be responsible for this work. The following Committee be appointed to act as an Advisory Body:—

Seth Jannalal Bajaj, Wardha; Rev. H. A. Popley, Erode; Mr. S. S. Bharathi, Chitambaram; Mr. S. V. Ramamurthi, Salem; Mr. M. Jamal Mohammed, Madras; Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, Tiruchengodu; Mr. J. N. Jayakaran, Coimbatore; and Mr. R. R. Keithahn (Convener).

MISSIONARIES AND WAR.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Dear Editor,

In a world where the forces of religion are finding themselves more and more in conflict with those of materialism it is significant to know what are the ideals of the opponents. A recent poll of the Peace convictions of the congregational church of the U. S. A. has revealed the attitudes of its missionaries. The report comes as follows:

"Up to December 19th, votes had been received from 227 of the 492 missionaries of the American Board (over 50 of them in India) to whom ballots had been sent. Their detailed vote is as follows:

A. I believe as a Christian I should bear arms in or otherwise support

1. Any war which the United States Government may declare ... 5 2%.
2. Any war declared by the United States Government against an internationally recognized aggressor ... 13 6%.
3. Only a war declared by the United States Government after making utmost use of every agency for peace. 37 25%.
4. Only a war in which United States territory has been invaded, ... 17 7%.
5. No war which the United States

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Government may declare	183	60%
B. In the meantime I will work for peace by advocating for our country:	Yes	No.
1. Membership in the League of Nations	193	90% 22
2. Consultation with other nations in support of the Kellogg-Briand Peace Pact and other peace agreements	217	98% 3
3. National isolation through strict neutrality legislation	44	28% 148
4. More equal distribution of world resources and markets	209	99% 2
5. A larger army, navy and air force	1	0% 200
6. Abolition of compulsory or military training	216	98% 5
7. Government control of the munitions industry	217	100% 1

Missionaries are often said to be the best workers for world peace and friendship as they represent the best of their country. Such questionnaires as the above will do much to help us ascertain the correctness of that point of view.

Yours sincerely,
Jan. 27, 1936. } RALPH RICHARD KEITHAHN.

NEGRO DELEGATION AT SANTINIKETAN.

The Negro delegation arrived of which Dr. Thurman, leader of the delegation in an interview, to the press said, 'Ever since my meeting with Dr. Tagore in America and London, I looked forward to coming to Santiniketan and hence I am very happy today. Our mission is a pilgrimage of friendship from the students of America to the students of India. We have received wonderful response everywhere and we are thankful for the same. We are interested in Indian arts and music too.'

Dr. Thurman is staying here for five days and others will be leaving tomorrow. The delegation is meeting the poet in the afternoon.—A. P. I.

300 CHAMARS EMBRACE CHRISTIANITY.

With reference to the press report that 5,000 Harijan Hindus of Agra villages have embraced Christianity, Mr. A. V. Thakker, General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, has shown that only about 300 Chamars of ten villages, near Khandoli, changed their faith on account of the bank realising its dues from the Chamars. Mr. Thakkar adds that the officials of the bank sought help from police who are said to have beaten the defaulters. Christian Missionaries helped some of the latter by stepping between them and the bank authorities, promising settlement of the dues by instalments. On account of this relief, Chamars, with their dependents, changed their faith.

Pickwick Festival in London.—Delegates from the Dickens Fellowship in all parts of the world are coming to London in the last week of March for the centenary of the first monthly number of *The Pickwick Papers*.

They will see "Pickwickians" drive in a coach from London to Rochester. They will attend a luncheon arranged by the Mayor of Portsmouth—Dickens' birthplace—and a dinner at which a toast to the memory of Dickens will be proposed by the Duke of Kent.

During the visit, the valuable Forster collection of manuscripts of nearly all Dickens' works will be on view at a special exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Another exhibition devoted to *The Pickwick Papers* is being arranged at 48, Doughty Street, London, where the work was completed in 1837.

The exhibits at the latter exhibition alone are expected to number more than a thousand.—*Reuter*.

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BY

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice : I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Ramakrishna Centenary:—We publish in another column the prospectus of what promises to be a monumental volume on the religious and cultural movements in India, which is under preparation as a part of the world-wide celebrations commencing from the 24th February in commemoration of the one hundredth birthday of Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa. To the world at large the Paramahansa is known as the Master of Swami Vivekananda, the apostle of dynamic Hinduism, to whom is largely due that today in many countries its basic principles are known and appreciated. Sri Ramakrishna's greatest achievement, however was that, at a time when Agnosticism was professed by some of the master-minds of the nineteenth century, when John Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer were the prophets of Young India, and when Materialism seemed to have finally established itself as the creed of educated men, he demonstrated in his own life the supremacy of the spiritual and turned some of the best minds of India to the value of their ancient heritage. Raja Ram Mohun Roy had established the Brahmo Samaj as the organ of the highest teachings of Hinduism. He was careful not to depart from the traditional basis.

Relation to the Brahmo Samaj:—Sir Albion Rajkumar Banerjee in his loving memoir of his father, Sasipada Banerji, who was one of the first adherents of the Brahmo Samaj, has mentioned the little known fact that Raja Ram Mohun Roy had made belief in the Vedas a part of the creed of the Brahmo Samaj. Maharshi Devendranath Tagore, father of the Poet, while not accepting this belief, drew his inspiration entirely from the Upanishads and adhered to the social conventions of Brahminism. Under Keshab Chandra Sen's leadership alien elements crept into the Brahmo

Samaj and destroyed its power to influence the course of Hindu religious evolution. Sri Ramakrishna stepped into the breach. He had great regard for the Brahmo Samaj and they for him. Every religious revival must have behind it direct religious experience. The Brahmo Samaj springs had run dry. The Paramahansa was able to affirm, as did the Vedic seer of old, that he had realised in his own experience the Divine Presence and he assured others that they could also do so if they observed the necessary discipline. As usual, the West had to appreciate the genius of the Paramahansa before his own countrymen knew that there was born and lived and moved amongst them a Man of God. The Ramakrishna Centenary should recall India to her true mission to the world.

Congress in the Assembly:—Congress members have not acquitted themselves as well as might be expected in the opening days of the Legislative Assembly. They behaved like school-boys in not standing up when the resolution of condolence on the King's death was passed and, again, when a message from His Excellency the Viceroy was read. It is good manners to stand up when a condolence resolution is passed even at a public meeting on the death of a private citizen. To omit to do so when the resolution related to the death of the Sovereign to whom Congress members, like others, of the Assembly have sworn allegiance, is the height of incivility. The Viceroy, again, addressed the House not in his private capacity but as the representative of the Sovereign, and the omission to show the courtesy due to his position, was another sign of mental immaturity. If we wish to take part in public life we must have regard to established conventions which involve no principle and, at the same time, help to promote a sense of being engaged in a common public cause among all parties. The withdrawal of the adjournment motion in connection with certain paragraphs in "India in 1933-34" is a capital blunder. The proper motion was to demand that the offensive passages should be expunged. Adjournment motions have a specific and narrow range which does not cover cases of this kind. Having given notice of adjournment, however, it was very foolish to withdraw it, unless the mover was convinced that he had based his motion on a mistaken view of facts.

A Bad Blunder:—In the present instance, the blunder is aggravated by the publication



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on the same day as the news of the withdrawal of a Government communique defending and justifying the offending paragraphs. We have no time now to go into details. But the charge that the Bihar Relief Fund raised by Mr. Rajendra Prasad was wrongly used to give relief to sufferers from floods in the same area, is palpably absurd. The floods, we are told, had nothing to do with the earthquake. But the sufferers were the earthquake sufferers on whom the floods came as a further visitation; and only men whose soul is steeped in sealing-wax and bound with red tape, would think that this was a matter for criticism. The Quetta Relief Administration was not such a success as the official propagandist says it was. Press criticisms were punished by demanding heavy securities. But the public is not at all satisfied that the Quetta relief would not have been more much, more, efficient if the proffered non-official co-operation had been availed of. The paragraphs in "India in 1933-34" are of a piece with the attack on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in the Bengal Administration Report, which had to be withdrawn. The Congress leaders in the Assembly have made Mr. Rajendra Prasad's position very difficult by their lack of forethought.

The Next Congress President :—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been elected President of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress by a practically unanimous vote. Two years ago, the *New Statesman* in a leading article compared the Pandit in Indian politics to the Prince of Wales in British politics. It is remarkable even as a coincidence that when the Prince succeeded to the British throne, the Pandit should be elected to the presidentship of the largest political organisation in India. The two offices are totally different but the event marks a supreme moment in the lives of the Prince and the Pandit who are nearly of the same age. The Prince on becoming King pledged himself to follow in the footsteps of his Father as a constitutional sovereign. The Pandit, on the other hand, has been, on the eve of his election as President of the Congress, proclaiming in interviews and speeches in London, views some of which can not but be highly embarrassing to his fellow Congressmen in this country. Thus the Pandit, for instance, avowed that he was in favour of large scale industries whereas the Congress has definitely declared itself in favour of ruralisation of industries.

Cross Currents:—The Pandit is barely tolerant of Khadi—hand-spun and hand woven cloth—which, he holds, has no future. The Congress has made the wearing of Khadi obligatory on all office-bearers. The *Leader* of Allahabad calls attention to his statement in favour of expropriation of land without direct compensation and asks, pertinently, what indirect compensation the Pandit has in his mind. Above all, while the retiring President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, has been telling Liberals that the Congress can not give up the goal of independence, the Pandit

has declared himself in London in favour of a constitution which enables him to carry out his programme of socialisation. In fact, the Pandit's movements in London suggest that he is inclining to an alliance with the British Labour Party for bringing about a socio-economic revolution in India. The Pandit, it is true, has also declared that his socialism is scientific which means that its application to Indian conditions would be tentative and experimental at each step. But he has also said that it is complete. The Pandit does not seem to have been aware that he was likely to be elected to the Presidentship. His nomination was rather sudden and was apparently made without ascertaining his views on some of the crucial problems which the Congress at Lucknow will have to face.

The Aga Khan as Governor:—His Highness the Aga Khan is reported to have told a deputation of his followers in Karachi that he would not accept any office under the new constitution less than a Governorship. We can hardly believe the report. That the Aga Khan will make an excellent administrator, we have no doubt. We had ourselves suggested (*Reformer*, June 3, 1933) that His Highness would have made an admirable Governor if he could have been appointed to the Bombay vacancy. In the Punjab, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan would have never allowed the Shahidgunge dispute to develop to its present impasse. He would have managed to bring the parties together somehow and his great social and personal influence would have been exerted to the utmost to pour oil on the troubled waters. He is now a glorified cashier as Vice President of the Reserve Bank where his administrative capacity is utterly wasted. In the Aga Khan's case, a provincial Governorship would mean a distinct descent from his present position. His influence would be restricted and it will have to work through a barrage of Ministers each intent on advancing the interests of his own particular caste or sect. Besides, His Highness as spiritual head of an enterprising community, would be combining in himself Church and State if he undertook the secular duties of a salaried Governor. The position would be exceedingly anomalous, unless the Aga Khan ceases to be the spiritual head of his community, at least so long as he holds office under the Crown, for which there is, so far as we know, no precedent. Since the above was in type, we have received the *Sind Observer* which gives a full report of the Aga Khan's interview with journalists at Karachi. Many questions were put to him and he answered them all. About Governorship, the report runs :—"If he were made Governor of a Province, and if Congressmen were in a majority, what would be his attitude? His reply was that he would ask them to form the Government. 'How would he deal with the civil disobedience movement if it was revived?' His reply was : 'Let me become the Governor; then we will see what I do.'"

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Women and Co-education :—A recent debate on the subject of separate colleges for women, held by the Bombay Secondary Teachers' Association, had resulted in a tie but for the casting vote of the Chairman who was no other than our genial Mayor and whose stirring speech in support of co-education, carried the day and helped to maintain the traditional policy with regard to women's education in the Presidency. The too familiar arguments of moral dangers and psychological differences, were brought in and emphasised only to be demolished by the supporters of co-education. But the surprising feature of the debate was the support accorded to separate colleges for women by the only lady speaker, herself, perhaps, a product of co-education. Perceiving the anomaly of her position, she almost apologised for advocating separate institutions and professed to speak on behalf of those girls of "a shy and retiring nature" who were overwhelmed by the majority of men students in mixed colleges. When one comes to think of it one feels that there cannot be a better antidote for shyness than rubbing shoulders with men students in the college days. This will serve not only to wear off the shyness of those afflicted by it but enable them to come out of their shells. Many of our women who figure prominently in the civic and social life of the city owe much to the training they have had in co-educational institutions.

Women's Colleges :—The difficulty which our women's colleges, in which the subjects taught are identical as in men's, experience to maintain the standard and temper of education, is great. But where these Colleges are limited to the special curricula deemed suitable for women, they invariably deteriorate into glorified schools. The only excuse for women's colleges to exist is that here are no other institutions in certain localities which impart any education at all for women. It is an irony that some women who have received their training in co-educational institutions should lower the flag of women's education by declaring in favour of inferior education. It is not unusual for these women to support ardently a Vernacular University or a Lady Irwin College but at the same time taking care to send their own girls to mixed Colleges. The attitude of these estimable women would seem to be that the education which they advocate is good enough for the generality of women but not for their own daughters. In the same spirit we often find women leaders holding up the ideals of Sita and Savitri to their sisters while in their own lives there is very little evidence of their living up to them.

Unemployment in the United Provinces :—One of our leading articles today deals with some of the main points of the report of the Committee on unemployment among educated men in the United Provinces over which Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru presided. It is a very elaborate document and we shall have to refer to it now and again. Meanwhile, we are glad to learn from an *Associated*

Press message from Lucknow that the report is not to be shelved. It is, we are told, receiving full and careful consideration from the Education Department. Mr. S. P. Shah, I. C. S., has been placed on special duty to deal with the report. The public has been invited to offer suggestions and criticisms and the report will be discussed in the forthcoming Council Session when it is believed that the Rt. Hon. Sir T. B. Sapru will be nominated to the Provincial Legislature to guide its deliberations on the report. Apparently, there is to be a report on the report by the Special Officer after receiving suggestions from the public. Sir Tej himself is to be appointed to the Provincial Legislative Council to "guide the deliberations". If we may venture a forecast based on prolonged experience of official methods, the probabilities are that the recommendations which are likely to lead to reduction in the already small expenditure on Education will be accepted and those which require increased or additional expenditure will be postponed pending improvement in the finances of the Provinces.

The Dowry Demon :—Some years ago the country was thrilled by the self-immolation of a Hindu girl, Snehalata, by setting fire to her clothes, after drenching herself in kerosine oil in order, as she wrote in a pathetic letter to her father, to save him from the worry of being unable to find the dowry which would secure a bridegroom for her in the matrimonial market. The news comes this week of four sisters having sought to end their lives by taking opium in order to relieve their old father a pensioned officer, aged 70, from the trouble of finding suitable husbands for them. Three of the sisters died, and the fourth is lying in hospital in a precarious condition. Mr. Kishori Mujumdar had seven daughters three of whom are married. His son, Sushil, with the girl whom he loved drowned himself in a tank some months ago. It behoves leading men and women among Hindus to investigate the root causes of such tragic happenings and find a remedy.

Apocryphal ?—A friend writes to point out that the great Indian Prince who was Mr. C. A. Kincaid's friend and who told him of his thirty-crores of silver rupees with which he would buy up the Indian Army after crossing the Jumna, and crown himself as Samrat of Bharatkhand, (mentioned in the leading article in the *Reformer* last week) could have been only one ruler whose identity would readily occur to persons even superficially acquainted with Indian States. His Highness died some years before the Round Table Conference met and adopted Federation as the future form of government for India. The question, what he would do if the Congress party in the Federation tried to "scrap" his State, would, therefore, have been premature, to put it mildly. Was Mr. Kincaid suffering from a lapse of memory not unnatural in old pensioners or has he taken the incident from one of his story books yet in the making?

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BOMBAY, February 2, 1936.

"EXCLUDED AREAS."

The steam roller has begun rolling. Three Orders in Council have been issued so far in connection with the Government of India Act. Two of them constitute Sind and Orissa into separate Provinces from the 1st April next each under a Governor who will be the Local Government pending the application of the Government of India Act to other provinces. He will receive a salary of Rs. 66,000 a year with such allowances as the Secretary of State may determine, will have no Executive Council, and may seek and accept the help of an advisory Council to be nominated by himself. The two new Provinces are thus to enjoy one man rule before entering into the blissful state of full provincial autonomy. New Orissa will remain under the judicial control of the High Court at Patna. The Sind members of the Bombay Legislative Council will cease to sit in it and the number of elected and total members of the Council will be reduced correspondingly. The third Order in Council referring to areas to be excluded from the operation of the provisions of the Act wholly or partially, is of sociological interest. The areas to be excluded are inhabited largely by aboriginal tribes who are supposed to be too primitive to be able to appreciate the privilege of voting. The Secretary of State for India was evidently anxious to extend the "excluded areas" as much as possible. He told the Government of India that the House of Commons will not be satisfied if only the areas now under Executive control were excluded. He instructed them to furnish him with a full statement of the grounds "not only for proposals for including specified areas within the category of excluded or partially excluded, as the case may be, but also for proposals for not including any area the population of which consists to an appreciable extent of aborigines or very backward people." The Madras Government after a detailed examination of the figures in each district, made some strong observations against unduly extending the excluded areas under pressure from the House of Commons. They wrote: "The people in these areas have always been subject to the ordinary laws and the ordinary system of administration, and the Scheduled Districts Act has never been applied to them. The innovation of declaring any or all the areas in question to be excluded or partially excluded areas, can not but be construed as an implication of distrust of the honesty or capacity of Ministers under the new constitution and will be resented. Such an affront to Indian public opinion should not, in the opinion of this Government, be risked unless it can be shown that there was a definite danger that the position of primitive tribes, or backward communities will be worsened under the

new constitution. The two directions in which primitive tribes stand to suffer, are exploitation or neglect. It is difficult to imagine how any Ministry could evolve a policy of exploitation even if they have a wish to do so. As for neglect, it is, of course, possible that a Ministry short of funds might be tempted to cut short the allotment for education, water supply, medical relief and other amenities of backward areas. But the sums so saved, considering the very limited possibilities of useful expenditure in such areas, would be negligible. The danger of deliberate exploitation or deliberate neglect is, therefore, in the opinion of the Madras Government so improbable as not to require further examination."

This strongly worded protest of the Madras Government had its effect and the Government of India and the Secretary of State did not venture to go behind it; and the Order in Council excludes wholly and partially only the two areas recommended by the Madras Government. The memorandum submitted by the Government of Bombay was equally cogent though less aggressive in its language. It pointed out that such progress as the aboriginals and backward classes had made was due to their contact with the more advanced classes and that a policy of segregation can only lead stagnation. The advance made by some aboriginals was so marked that several thousands of them would be qualified to vote under the new franchise rules. "It would be an absurd exaggeration to say," observed the Bombay Government, "that any of these classes are totally isolated from civilization. If this were so they would be savages whereas actually they live peacefully a life which at every step is regulated by the laws of society. Through poverty or for excitement they may commit more offences than the ordinary men but they know what acts are offences and what the consequences of detection, are. They understand the working of the revenue, forest, educational, excise and other Government Departments so far as it effects them. Large numbers are engaged by contractors of forest, and such classes as Dodhias and Dublas are largely employed on field labour by landholders. They are in continual contact with the outside world. No doubt they are socially backward with little or no interest in education, and their economic condition is also bad. But this state of things cannot be attributed to the introduction of the democratic principle of government. There is no reason to think that the Legislative Council and Ministers have been less sympathetic towards these classes than the Government under the pre-reform period." We quote these passages at length because they should dispel the general impression that Provincial Governments are illiberal and that the slow pace of reform is due to their obstruction. The Bombay Government definitely stated in their despatch that except the Mewasi estates and the Akrani Mahal in the West Khandesh district, there was no area in the Presidency proper or in Sind

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which was so backward as to justify its declaration as an excluded or partially excluded area. "But for some reason or other, the Bombay Government nowadays do not seem to carry as much weight with the Government of India as some other Provincial Governments. The Government of India in their despatch to the Secretary of State coolly ignore the arguments of the Bombay Government. They accept without change or with very little change the recommendations of all other Provincial Governments. In the case of Bombay alone do they make an exception. "In Bombay," they observe, "we have departed somewhat extensively from the limited recommendations of the local Government. Taking the Western portions of the West Khandesh district as the chief home of the Bhil tribes we have proposed special protection for them over a wide area in that district, and we have added areas in the East Khandesh, Nasik, Thana and Panch Mahals districts which on the facts before us have seemed to merit special protection." What facts could they have had before them contradicting those furnished by the Bombay Government? The Order in Council follows the Government of India's recommendation. The Bombay public and the Legislative Council should not allow this high-handed action to go without protest.

THE SAPRU REPORT ON UNEMPLOYMENT.

The Report of the Sapru Committee on the problem of unemployment among the educated is in many respects better than Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's recent interviews had led the public to believe it would be. But it is not free from certain prejudices which have coloured Sir Tej's other pronouncements on education. The reference to the work of earlier committees in other parts of India conveys the impression of deep study of parallel conditions elsewhere but it is obviously superficial. The Committee, except in two cases, have not troubled to find out how far schemes for relief have worked successfully. The sections devoted to foreign countries adds to the bulk of the volume but we really do not see how they bear on the report.

The key points of the recommendations are, (1) limiting general education; (2) selection of vocations at the secondary school stage; (3) increasing facilities of training for and opportunities of employment in new professions; (4) 'so far as research work is concerned, Universities should study the needs of industry'; and (5) raising the primary school age-limit to 12 or 13. These are the chief decisions affecting education and all of them, except the last, are utilitarian proposals which will sorely disappoint the Committee if worked. Raising the school-age and introducing compulsory primary education will be a real benefit, not because it will make primary education more efficient and find employment for a number of teachers' but because it will keep little children from roaming on the

streets or engaging in blind alley occupations. It will relieve unemployment by removing from industry a source of cheap unskilled labour which clogs the wheels of social, or even economic, progress. The other proposals are of little value. It would have been worth the labours of this Committee if the primary education proposal had been accepted by the Government but it is obviously the last one which a retrenching administration will adopt.

Is it really necessary to restrict admissions to the university in order to attract students to vocational schools? Sir Tej seems to think so. He has demanded the reduction of the age-limit for subordinate Government posts to enable young men to enter life without a university degree, he has asked for deciding careers for boys at the secondary stage, and lastly he wants the universities to make themselves the hand-maids of commerce and industry. Still he has a lurking fear that young men will not after all forsake the advantages of a good general education for the doubtful blessings of a vocational training. Apprehensive that even if adopted by the Government, his elegant structure might prove a failure, he seeks to force young men into his scheme. It is as if, in the expectation of the Indus changing its course, the Sukkur Barrage had been built over a hypothetical future course and then engineers had directed their efforts to divert the river's path to the sea. There is overwhelming evidence to show the futility of vocational training in the conditions prevailing today. There is the instance of the cadets trained in the Dufferin training ship, which has evoked strong protest only a few days back from Indian business. The special training has resulted merely in the production of social misfits who are not absorbed in the occupation they are trained to; in spite of the Government having conceded the desirability of compelling coastal shipping to take them on. There is Mr. Vishnu Sahay's evidence, 'of a brilliant University graduate trained in the manufacture of paper at Manchester at Government expense and, after four years of unemployment, turning to law.' What would he have done without his general education? There is the Chairman's own instance of another graduate trained in England in Agriculture accepting the Assistant Registrarship at a U. P. University. And, lastly, there are the engineers who seem to suffer more than the others.

But it is really distressing to observe the dilemma thrust on our graduates by these educational experts who are convinced that there must be vocational training. If they are prepared to accept any job, they are sneered at—university graduates selling milk is a frequent charge brought against them. If they refuse to accept jobs out of expediency, they are accused of being white-collar wage-slaves who will not take their coats off and get to work. A distinguished politician once boasted that he paid more to his cook than most graduates earned, unconsciously censuring an



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outlook which pandered grossly to one's palate. Yet even a cursory glance should prove that the graduate generally has little trouble in getting employment, the trained-to-a-trade man more. Few people can make up their minds what profession to take up even when they have grown up. Sir Tej expects boys in the secondary school to show aptitudes. He feels that headmasters should advise parents on the jobs for which their children are suited and, as the headmaster might find it difficult, the Committee recommend the import of a few 'psycho-technical' experts to help him or the training in foreign countries of a few Indian teachers in this new science. This is the most absurd of the Committee's proposals and it surprises us how these men of the world have seriously advanced it. In the old days parents of girls used to write to heads of boys' schools for bridegrooms. We have little hope that the teachers' new task of employment adviser will be more successful than the old one of match-maker.

Sir Tej Bahadur—for he is the domineering figure in the Committee—has curiously enough produced two sets of conflicting proposals for Government servants and lawyers. For the first, he advises reduction of the age-limit for subordinate posts; for the second he desires the restoration of an old rule that before permission to practice in the High Court is allowed law graduates should put in some years of practice in a district court and that the course of study at the University should be increased to three years—the most sensible reform here would be to reduce it to one year and make it a full-time course instead of the present hour or two each day. For Government servants, Sir Tej enforces a rigid rule of retirement; he is silent on the need for such measures in the legal profession. His desire to restrict legal education to a few while initiating at the same time a thorough and well-considered overhauling of the system, which promises to widen its scope, is incomprehensible. Sir Tej Bahadur's special emphasis on legal education reform is understandable. But his desire to restrict it to a few can be explained only on the basis that he too believes there are too many lawyers in the country.

The decision of the U. P. Government which is strangely silent on the scheme of reform suggested by Sir Tej's Committee, will be most probably to shelve the Report. This is unfortunate—but only because these earnest Committee members have wasted their labours. Few people seem to realise the implications of the recommendations. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru is known for the rather extreme social reform views which he has frequently expressed. One would have expected a distinguished lawyer to realise the dangers of his proposals. It seems to us that this restriction of general education and vocational careers, decided at an early age, can be compatible, only with caste. It certainly is calculated to perpetuate the system.

THE ECONOMICS OF CONVERSION.

It was rather ingenious of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar to make a dashing political move and he meant to time it well. But the threat has fallen very flat; it had no force in it; it failed to create the fear its author wanted to create; it did not serve the purpose of its birth. For surely he knew, though he would not admit it, that he could do nothing by mere empty volleys. Threats are of no more use. Perhaps he wished to follow one of his creators but there is no comparison between threats of fasting and threats of conversion. One would ask, why did he not fast himself to death if all the Harijans were not raised in their status and their disabilities removed? If he had no mind to do this why did he not become a Christian or join the Muslim faith, or if he does not believe in these two also, create a new religion as Guru Govind did? A new religion would have been wiser as he could have enjoyed the enviable privilege of a founder. There was ample time since his dramatic announcement to take definite steps in any direction. Perhaps he is awaiting some divine inspiration as was revealed to Buddha!

All this is mere eye-wash. The problem is fundamental. If Dr. Ambedkar is at all practical and wants to face facts, he should calculate what his chances are in other religions. But let him not reckon without his host. In any religion, the economic condition of the Depressed classes is not likely to advance of itself. Nobody can deny that economic progress is the immediate necessity which outweighs all other considerations. Under the Christian banner they are not going to be offered higher salaries in Government services or in private firms, companies or factories, so long as they remain backward in education. A certain minimum of qualifications is necessary for any post and if a person does not possess that he is simply unfit for the job. Already there is a hue and cry that because of dilution the general intelligence of the services, is deteriorating and the best positions are not filled by the most suitable men. Government will not waive their present rules of recruitment if the Harijans join another religion *en bloc*. The converts need not aspire to higher wages if the employers are not prepared to grant them. What the latter class want is labour at the cheapest rate, irrespective of any religious considerations; for if an employer is to be moved by other considerations he would have to quit his business. On the other hand, the new converts have everything to expect by way of new difficulties which they may not have the foresight to see now.

Another point of economics that I want to stress is, that not only will their material position remain unchanged in their new mask, but they will still have to depend upon their former Hindu masters for keeping soul and body together. As things are at present, with the exception of some Zamindars, much of the land is held by caste Hindus. The patadars of every village are mainly non-Harijans. The major portion of the wealth is in the hands of caste-Hindus with a small proportion in the hands of the Muslims, the two crores of Indian Christians, having very little compared to the Hindus. The Harijans, as I said before, have very little land, and they work in the fields of their caste Hindu masters; they do all menial work for them from the barber to the plougher of the soil and reaper of the harvest. The Christians have very little to offer in this respect. The Muslims cannot afford to do it as the major portion among them depend upon wealthier Muslims, whose possessions cannot be much as a whole. The net result is that even after conversion the sixty millions have yet to bow down before the feet of Hindu masters! This being the truth, suppose

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the caste Hindus, in a retaliatory spirit, as a whole object to the new converts working in their fields. What would the position of the Harijans be? The consequences are only too dreadful to think of. Disillusionment followed by misery, riot, anything, and the end may be anywhere.

The bare and unpleasant truth is this; that by conversion nothing is to be gained but everything—daily food etc—is to be lost if it comes to that. The converts cannot revolutionise the economic structure of the country as they are powerless to do it, all the money being in the hands of their masters. The religion may lose something in numerical strength but the caste Hindus don't mind it if their economic strength is not undermined. Mere numbers can't do anything. If antyajnas persist in such futile things as temple entry let them do so. There is no gain for them in that. As soon as the first mist of mysteriousness in the temples clears off, they will repent that they have sacrificed the substance in the pursuit of a shadow. There is nothing but stone idols and repugnant figures with blood-thirsty tongues and protruding organs in temples and other places of worship. Temple entry will not in the least raise the economic status of Harijans. Ancient religion is an anachronism in Modern India and is losing force day by day; its living days are numbered. Therefore, it is futile to strive for anything religious. Religion is not going to help the depressed people in the least. In the history of the world we have heard of no nation becoming suddenly prosperous by a change of religion. Prosperity is attained by industry, diligence, perseverance and risk. This is the economics of conversion.

Evidently Dr. Ambedkar did not consider all these points before he expressed his wishes. After all his assumptions, one is tempted to ask, is he the real leader of the people whom he professes to represent? Indeed, it is well known that the majority of the Harijans do not want proselytisation and are not in need of it. Mr. M. C. Raja is opposed to it. More and more facilities are being offered to Harijans as days pass on. Thirty years ago Dr. Ambedkar could not have dreamt of sitting in the same table with a high caste Hindu. Today it is an accomplished fact. Untouchability is receding into the background. We often hear of inter-marriages. All these speak for the good augury of social emancipation.

Instead of sidetracking problems and creating wheels within wheels, with his influence and position, the Doctor could well turn his attentions to the industrialisation of the country. I offer him a practical suggestion. If he cares to take it up, it would bring forth good results. He should approach those wealthy men whose money sleeps now and try to start first class industrial concerns—manufacture of chemicals, of glassware, of photographic materials, ironware, electric goods, rubber goods, any profitable thing—and turn wasting labour into useful channels, employ Harijan labourers in the factories offering all modern amenities of work such as the 40-hour week, education, recreation etc., as are done in countries where labour is most advanced. In the course of a few years he would have much bettered his own community, he would have brought happiness and contentment to suffering homes much more than by conversion. Then he would certainly be revered as a great national leader, who laboured for the well-being of his community, for his nation and for his country, as the late Jambhedji Tata is being revered by his countrymen as a pioneer in the national and social industrialisation.

Madras,
31st January 1936. }

V. VENKATACHALAM

CONGRESS AND THE LIBERALS.

Babu Rajendra Prasad in a statement about the suggestion for coalition of different political parties and the Congress says:—

I have read with care and due respect to the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri and Mr. Venkataram Sastri their speeches at Madras during the last few weeks. I have also received communications from friends suggesting that the Congress should take steps to bring about a coalition, if not fusion, of the parties. I have been considering the matter, and while it has not been possible for me to consult the Congress Working Committee and my other colleagues and co-workers, I may state the position as it strikes me.

I very much appreciate Mr. Sastri's reference to the Congress and would wish that others, who do not agree like him with the present programme and policy of the Congress, would recognize that that institution is of great help and service in the national struggle for freedom and deserves support even from those who do not see eye to eye with it. But when I come to consider the difficulties he points out in the way of the Liberals joining the Congress and the suggestion that the Congress should remove them, I am faced with a problem which baffles me. An analysis of those difficulties shows that in order to induce the Liberals to join, the Congress should do four things: (1) It should change its object or creed of independence, (2) it should declare that it gives up civil disobedience as a method—its suspension or withdrawal at present does not satisfy him, (3) it should give up its discipline of manual labour, and (4) it should give up its uniform of Khaddar.

INDEPENDENCE.

Now as regards the object of independence, even the Government has not insisted upon the Congress giving it up. It was after that creed was adopted at Lahore that the Round Table Conferences were held and the Congress invited to send representatives to them, and the Congress representative was permitted to put it forward on behalf of the Congress at the second Conference.

As regards civil disobedience it is not altogether a new thing in the Congress although it has been actively carried out only recently. In 1917 when Dr. Annie Besant was in internment and the Congress was run by those who subsequently seceded from it. Nearly two years later civil disobedience was not only talked of but actually recommended by several provinces and Congress Committees and had not to be resorted to because of the early release of Dr. Besant. Earlier than that it had commenced as passive resistance in South Africa and secured active support of the Congress which sent funds, and it also received the blessings of Mr. Gokhale. Since then we have gone through it in this country. I can understand the objection that it is inopportune at a particular moment or in particular circumstances, but I do not understand how the Congress can abjure it once for all and for ever and declare that it shall not resort to it under any circumstances. These two suggestions present insuperable difficulties in the way of the Congress and if they are equally insuperable for the Liberals, clearly the fusion of the Liberal Federation and the Congress is impossible.

KHADDAR

As regards Khaddar I am afraid the question has not received the consideration it deserves and a lot of prejudice has been created round it. The manual labour franchise was born in an atmosphere of suspicion and unwillingness to give effect to it on the part of even many Congressmen and has not been able to overcome these in spite of what many amongst us consider to be their merits. If the

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objection was confined to them alone it should have been possible to find a middle course. I have suggested before this that fusion of parties and organizations may not be possible but it should not be impossible to find points of agreement and work jointly in respect of those matters. In Mr. Venkataram Sastri's speech I am glad to note that he also suggests that areas of agreement should be explored if joint action is desirable—there can be no doubt that it is this line of approach which promises to be more fruitful. Constructive work in the country and combined front against encroachment on fundamental civil rights of citizens, such as liberty of person and freedom of Press, furnish such areas of agreement and considerable consensus of opinion regarding the merits of the new constitution may also provide occasion for joint attack, and all these may be explored.

Regarding the first two the Congress programme and attitude are well known and whatever differences may be with others, it will probably be about emphasis on particular items and about particular methods. These can be composed. With regard to the last the Congress must obviously decide its own line of action at Lucknow before it can take any effective steps.

SRI RAMAKRISHNA CENTENARY MEMORIAL VOLUME.

In pursuance of the general scheme of the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Celebration, a Memorial Volume, entitled "*The Cultural Heritage of India*," is shortly going to be brought out through the hearty co-operation of a galaxy of distinguished scholars of the country. That such a work embodying a comprehensive survey of the gradual unfoldment of the creative genius of the Indian people from the Vedic age to the modern times is an imperious need of the hour, can hardly be gainsaid; and it is indeed gratifying to note that through the grace of the Lord this long-felt want of the country is soon going to be fulfilled. The book includes not only the golden fruits of Indian civilization but incorporates as well the manifold achievements in the field of modern scientific researches and investigations carried on by the master minds of the land. We sincerely believe that such an encyclopedic volume while throwing a flood of light on the spiritual, intellectual and material treasures of India as well as on the possibilities and the creative urge of her dynamic spirit, would contribute largely to the reconstruction of our national life and the evolution of a synthetic international culture, and thereby promote mutual understanding, goodwill and amity amongst mankind. The importance and exhaustive nature of this consummate piece of literary workmanship will be evident from a bare outline of the variety of subjects accommodated in the volume. It is interesting to note in this connection that about ninety eminent scholars of India representing fifteen Indian universities, have contributed articles on the subjects in which they have specialized. The book with its excellent get-up and nice printing covers about 2,000 pages of double crown octavo and has been embellished with more than 100 suggestive plates illustrating India's cultural evolution and thus making its successive stages crystal clear to the readers. It will be brought out in two parts, part 1st dealing with the fundamental unity and part A the spirit of Indian Culture.

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Those who want to avail themselves of the pre-publication price should register their names by sending money by the 1st of April 1936. Mofussil subscribers are advised to send the postage (Inland) Rs. 3/8, (Foreign) \$2.50 or 10 sh. along with the price while ordering.

THE ACCESSION OF THE PRINCES TO FEDERATION.*

A meeting of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S. W. I. on Wednesday, October 16, 1935, when a paper entitled "The Accession of the Princes to Federation" was read by Sir Patrick Cadell, C. S. I., C. I. E. The Right Hon. Earl Peel, P. C., G. C. S. I., G. B. E., was in the chair. He spoke as follows winding up the discussions.

The Chairman: I think we shall all agree that we have heard a very comprehensive paper by Sir Patrick Cadell. I find myself very nearly in agreement—I say very nearly—with many points which he has brought forward. He has raised the fascinating question of what were the precise motives that induced the Princes to make their famous offer of entry into Federation. I like the question because it is a highly speculative one, and speculative questions are always much more interesting than practical ones. I take it that one of the answers to the proposition is to look at the map of India. It is extremely difficult to see how for very long that particular distribution of units and governments could go on in India without a very much closer tie than exists at present. I invoke the old and familiar question of the Customs against which the Princes have constantly protested—that of being in a position of having to pay these Customs through their subjects, and at the same time having no voice in the distribution of the money itself. I quite agree with many who contend that the advantages they get from the security of the army is really a payment in kind for these Customs contributions made by their own subjects. But I suppose that dominant in their motives at least was the feeling that in discussions and negotiations with the Government of India they had not really the authority which they would have liked to have, and that if they became part of the Government themselves, their position would be very much strengthened, and also the very legitimate ambition which they naturally had to take part in the general affairs of the Government of India.

Our lecturer has commented on the danger pointed out to the Princes by their legal advisers—a danger of which they are conscious themselves—that the tendency of federations elsewhere has been of a centralizing character, that more and more the constituent units have got to yield more of their authority up to the Central Government. No doubt this is true, but the Indian Federation, as both its opponents and supporters agree, is unique in the world. I am inclined to think that the very fact which has been urged against Federation of the different character of the units—that some are governed on democratic principles and some governed by the Princes—that very fact would tend at least to delay for a long time any sort of increase of that tendency which has been observed in other federations. Indeed, I have always regarded it as one of the advantages of Federation in India that these units were of a different character, because they would bring out of their different experience much of value to the Central Government by the mere fact that they were governed in different ways. It is a matter of mere guess-work what the future is going to bring forth, and it is rash even to express an opinion on such a subject, but it is quite probable that the

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States will for a long time maintain their position and authority as contrasted with the Provinces. No doubt democratic government is an admirable thing, but it does develop certain unfortunate evils and vices which has caused it to be superseded in many of the countries of Europe.

Another point I would like to say a word upon is that of individual representation of what the lecturer calls the middle States. That is rather an interesting point, and I agree with the lecturer that it would have been an advantage if this could have been effected, without the construction of too large a central body. I think that it was suggested at the first Round-Table Conference that as the powers that were to be granted to the Central Government were limited—certainly limited in comparison with the great powers to be exercised by the provinces and States—it would be much better to have a correspondingly small body, and that there should be a single Chamber which would be quite competent to keep the executive in order, and would have a range of activity sufficient to occupy its time. That, of course, as you will remember, was strongly advocated by Sir Akbar Hydari.

That idea passed away partly because British India had an attachment to an Assembly and partly because the Princes themselves felt very strongly what the lecturer has said that they would get very small representation; in fact, they feared that the representation of the great States would be too dominant in this diet. Therefore the diet was superseded by the subsequent scheme of two Chambers—the Assembly and the Council of State. The Princes were accorded representation of 40 per cent. of the total in the Upper and 33 per cent. in the Lower Chamber. While thus the two Chambers were more or less equal in authority, the balance of numbers was given to the Lower Chamber. If disputes were to be settled by joint session, it was felt that where the decisions were very closely contested, the view of the elected Assembly should prevail. Again if the middle Princes were separately elected and the Assembly grew in size, you ran the risk of getting very large and unwieldy Chambers. Everybody is agreed from the point of view of carrying on administration and criticism that a smaller House is the better. There was pressure, as you see, on both sides, and if you had given full representation to the middle Princes in the Upper Chamber, you would then have expanded the representation in the Lower Chamber. The Federal authority has only a limited range of duty and authority; and it became essential in one way or another to limit the size of the Chambers. When Parliaments are large in numbers and with limited functions, they generally tend to become mischievous. So it was on some general consideration of that kind that unfortunately we came to the conclusion that it was not possible to give that full representation to the middle Princes which certainly on general grounds one would have desired.

I must admire the skill with which the lecturer, having told us that paramountcy must be paramount, intimated he was dissatisfied with the definition and proceeded gracefully to pass on to another subject. He suggests that before Federation there should be a certain standard of administration. I am not at all sure what is a good or bad standard of administration, because our views differ so widely. Some people like efficiency and some do not. I think if you were to suggest to possibly reluctant States that before they acceded and decided what the terms were on which they would accede, there should be an inquiry launched into their internal administration to see whether it was good or bad, there would be a steady refusal on the

part of those States to move forward in the direction of Federation. I am inclined to think that the very suggestion of it would indicate to them that Federation was a very dangerous system which implied interference with their own internal administration.

We know that the question of paramountcy, by which I mean the control exercised by the Viceroy as the representative of the King-Emperor over the Princes, may to some extent change its character when a Federal Government is established. It seems to me that it is even more important than it was before—anyhow, quite as important—that there should be this free and intimate consultation among the Princes, and that the greater States should be fully represented in these Councils.

AMERICAN ATTITUDE TOWARDS INDIAN IMMIGRATION.

(By DR. CHARLES S. BRADEN, Ph. D.)

There is little that an American can contribute to the very interesting project of the 100th anniversary celebration of the Emigration of Indians to other lands beyond the expression of general regret at the exclusion of Indian immigrants from the United States and the hope that eventually the ban will be removed to permit the entrance of men from every part of the world without discrimination. In so writing the author must be thought of as expressing simply his own personal opinion, for it is necessary to state that not all Americans hold identical views on the subject. Perhaps it might not be without profit to state how various American groups feel about the matter.

There is first the out and out "supremacy of the white race" group, the so-called Nordics who would deny entrance on the grounds of racial inferiority to men of any colour other than the Nordics. They recognise the presence of many representatives of other races already in America—this they regard as a great evil, but one about which nothing can be done now—however they are determined that no others shall be allowed to enter—and they have an especial feeling against Orientals. They have their counterpart in the German nationalists to-day who are by every means seeking to destroy the Jews of Germany. They are highly vocal and control not a few of the great newspapers of the country. They are thoroughly irreconcilable to any modification of our immigration laws.

At the other extreme, there is a group rather small to be sure, who hold no such ideas of racial superiority over other peoples and who would throw wide the doors to all who might wish to come.

Probably the vast majority of Americans today are convinced that the day of unrestricted immigration is past, that America can no longer, for economic reasons, afford to admit more than a small number of new comers each year. There are some who, especially in these days of severe economic depression, would cut off all immigration from whatever source. Many of these are people who entertain no ideas of racial superiority or inferiority at all. They would exclude Nordics as well as others, simply because there is no place for them here either as labourers or producers. If they be permitted to come, either they displace men now employed or add themselves to the very long list of surplus workers, or as producers serve to augment the already marked over-production from which the country appears to be suffering.

There is a widespread belief that each peoples should have the right to determine its own general

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racial character. America is predominantly a white man's country. Furthermore it has evolved economic standards which differentiate it from those of other lands. The "American standard," if indeed in these recent years little more than a figment of the imagination, is nevertheless regarded as inviolable and anything which threatens it is at once subject to bitter opposition. Immigration from lands where lower living standards obtain constitutes a threat to this standard. It must therefore be controlled rigidly or entirely prohibited in the interest of maintaining that standard. The legal basis of exclusion is however couched in other terms. Only those are admitted who are "eligible for citizenship," and those are eligible who are considered assimilable to the general American racial type (with the exception of the Negro—the large population already in the U. S. leads to the exception of the African peoples). The real root of it, however, I am convinced is economic and not racial.

There is a large and I think a growing group, mostly people who are attempting to follow the Christian way of life, who deprecate discrimination against any race. They would have all races and peoples subject to a quota basis it is true and they would probably agree that the quota be fixed in some such way as at present in the sincere belief that relative homogeneity of population is desirable, but it would reflect in no wise an attitude of superiority of any social group over any other.

The age in which we live has made us neighbours all. Quick, easy communication is developing a world culture to which each race may contribute and is contributing regardless of restriction as to residence. Men and women can be kept at home, ideas cannot, and it may be said the peoples with ideas and ideals are not excluded from travel and even prolonged residence in the U. S. nor are they subject to any quota. Students may come and indeed they have come in considerable numbers and have both learned and taught, both received values from and imparted to us values out of their own rich culture. Professors, artists, missionaries, merchants, writers—these have been coming to us for years both in person and through their works. And they are colouring the thought of the west. A recent book "*Hinduism Invades America*" studies the influence of this impact on our culture. Men like Swami Vivekananda, like Rabindranath Tagore—like Professors S. N. Dasgupta and S. Radakrishnan—great women of India like Sarojini Naidu and Dr. Reddy, journalists like K. Natarajan—what have they not brought to America. And America welcomes them with open arms. Valiant attempts have been made to secure a visit from Mahatma Gandhi who is known to every schoolboy of America.

It is likely especially in these days of economic stress, of ingrowing nationalism and of inter-racial irritation that modification of restrictions on immigration will not be easy. But to their brothers in the East many, many Americans would like to bring assurance that they are hoping and working for the day when any discrimination which would seem to be based on a feeling of racial superiority, will be a thing of the past.

Weather in U. S. A.:—America's spell of Arctic weather has claimed 235 victims. The country is ice-locked from the Rockies to the Atlantic Coast. All twentieth century records for continued cold in the mid-West have been broken and the Niagara Falls have been frozen over for three days, which has never happened before in living memory. The cold spell is now entering its second week, only Florida and the Pacific Coast have escaped.—*Reuters.*

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

Before the commencement of the proceedings of the International Women's Conference, which opened at the Town Hall on January 30, afternoon, under the presidentship of H. H. the Maharani of Baroda, all delegates stood in silence as a mark of reverence to the memory of His late Majesty.

Welcoming the delegates from the International Council Overseas, Lady Ezra said that their programme would show the wide range of their interests and labours, and that she felt sure the debates on which they were about to enter would enlarge their vision, rekindle their enthusiasm and give them valuable practical problems of everyday service of women.

The Countess of Willingdon, in the course of a message to the Conference, said that it seemed to her that suspicion and distrust were creating a barrier between countries. It lay at the root of most of their troubles, and for this sympathy and mutual understanding were the only solvents. The Marchioness of Aberdeen also sent a message of goodwill, while Dame Elizabeth Cadbury, in a brief address, referred to the immense amount of social work which the National Council of India was doing all over the country.

Among those present were Lady Pentland, the Hon. Margaret Sinclair, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya, Miss Louis Thompson, Princess Cantacuzene, Dr. Renee Firod, Mademoiselle de Busschere, Miss Van Ween, Miss E. Zelewages, Madame Kimesco, Mrs. Grieves, Miss Halthe, H. H. the Maharani of Cooch Behar, Princess Ila of Cooch Behar, the Rani of Nandgaon, Lady Maharaj Singh, Lady Woodhead, Lady Reid, Lady Mitter, Mrs. Margaret Sanger, Miss Murie, Lester, Mrs. J. M. Sen Gupta, Mrs. F. G. Currimbhoy, Miss Sailabala Das, Mrs. Saraladevi Chowdhurani, Daw Din Shwe and Mrs. S. R. Dass.

In the course of her presidential address the Maharani of Baroda said:—

I am very pleased to be with you today and to have the privilege of opening this Conference, but my pleasure is tinged with regret that this moment you are listening to me instead of to Lady Aberdeen, whom we had hoped to welcome today, and to whose presidency we had all looked forward with great expectation. I am sure I am expressing your disappointment as well as my own when I say how sorry we are that Lady Aberdeen has been prevented from being with us on this signal occasion, for I am sure we had all looked forward eagerly to honouring one who has rendered such devoted service to the cause of the amelioration of the condition of women throughout the world.

We have various objectives which we have set ourselves to reach; and others specially qualified by their experience will, during the course of this Conference, attempt to estimate the degree of success which we have already achieved and will, I hope, indicate the various ways in which they think we may add to that already valuable accomplishment. I do not pretend to be a specialist. If my occupation of this chair means anything to you, I hope it will be in the nature of an example to the many women in India who, while they have not that specialised knowledge which might bring them to discuss their own and their country's welfare at the Council table, yet have that welfare at heart, and are prepared to do all that may lie in their power to do for their sisters—to fit us to play that part in the destinies of India which we feel we must play if our country is ever to be as happy as we wish with all our hearts that it may. Each and every one of us can do something to further the cause of womanhood in this country, and



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there is not one of us whose contribution however small to that cause can be spared. And we must work together. The more we understand the necessity for concerted action, the more effective will our work be, and the sooner shall we reach our goal. This spirit of ready co-operation must be realised beyond the bounds of our own country.

This is not an educational conference, but since education is the foundation on which we must build, I must refer to it. There must, of course, be compulsory primary education, but for the rest, the education given in our schools, and particularly our Universities, is often so unsuited to the particular needs of women generally that it is, practically, useless and often harmful, since it saps energies which could be put to so much better use. One of the most glaring defects in our education system is its lack of care for cultural development, and nowhere is that lack felt more keenly than in the home where cultural influence is most telling and fertile. There is much scope for reform in the education of our daughters and it is our duty to see that they are given that training which will fit them to play their part in national affairs and, at the same time, make them more efficient mothers.

One of the best things we could do for our country is to establish schools in which the accent is laid on social qualities; schools in which the knowledge which the pupils acquire is a really formative influence in their lives; a knowledge of themselves and of their duty to their fellows which will help them to realise themselves fully as women, and not lead them to think themselves superior simply because they are labelled Bachelors of Arts, for those to whom the benefits of education cannot immediately penetrate there is much that we can do. We must teach them to understand what it is that we require of them, and what we are trying to do for them if we are to get that help from them without which we cannot hope to succeed.

The very fact that today we welcome representatives of various National Councils should remind us that the form of education we should aim to give our women should be such as to make them, not only good citizens of India, but of the world, and citizenship, remember, means the ability to sink individual differences in a united effort for the common good.

You will, I suppose, expect some reference from me to the position of women in the new Constitution which is shortly to come into operation in this country. Under the terms of the new Act we can at least claim that the rights of women to seats in the Legislature and to the vote have been recognised to the extent which, while it is still totally inadequate to the number of women in India, puts us in a stronger position than we were in before the Act was passed. It might well have been a still stronger position had we been wise enough to present a united front at the time when our demands came before the Round Table Conference.

Many more franchise qualifications have been added to those granted under the Reforms Act of 1919. The property qualification has been lowered, with the result that many women in rural areas now have the right to vote and many among the poorer classes in the towns. The wives or widows of men with existing property qualifications will also be entitled to vote. And there is, further, the educational qualification. This is all very far from that universal franchise which is what I feel we should aim at, but still it is a beginning and the terms of the franchise do at least clearly show us in what directions we should work for reaching our ultimate goal. We must make every woman in the country at least literate, so that

our voting strength will not merely increase in numbers—it has already increased from 350,000 to 6,000,000—but in effectiveness. And we must work for the removal of those laws, which at present do not give us equal rights of inheritance with men.

How important it is that women should be allowed to inherit property equally with men is seen when it is considered with another problem which is in the forefront of our programme of social reforms. I mean the question of divorce. The right of divorce must remain a dangerous one as long as woman is denied the right to inherit the substance which alone can enable her to be economically independent of her husband.

The work which this Council can do in inculcating a serious and careful attitude in the minds of the voters to the power which has been put in their hands is obvious and by far one of the most important functions it has to discharge. The eyes of women throughout the world will be turned to us here in India to see how we conduct ourselves at this critical time in the history of our country.

I have already said that I think we, in India, should think internationally as well as of our own problem, and that the more we do to promote an understanding of our difficulties beyond our shores, the more shall we reap the advantage of this organisation of ours. One thing more. This Conference gives us the opportunity to see how much we have accomplished. We can review our past work. But that surely is the least valuable use to which this Conference can be put. It should be a pointer to the future and the record of its past achievement used as publicity, as a means to extend its scope and the membership of the Council. We need all the support we can get. Every woman who is proud to be of our race should join with us, for our strength lies in unity. I hope that one of the results of this Conference will be the inauguration of many new branches throughout the country, that the Council may become a strong and representative organisation for the whole of India.

INDIAN WOMEN & JOURNALISM.

"Women in the Press" was the principal subject of discussion in one of the sittings of the International Women's Conference. Miss Zellweger, a journalist and feminist leader of Switzerland, said as vice-convenor of the Press Committee of the International Council of Women, she had had an opportunity often to speak with women journalists belonging to various countries, and the situation seemed to be much the same throughout Europe, America and South Africa. She was not aware how it was in India. The fact that the journalists who were present at the present Conference to report the proceedings were all men seemed to show that women engaged in Press work in this country were few. There were many women belonging to the Press throughout the world, but few of them were really journalists. There were exceptions proving the rule; and some women occupied good positions as sub-editors in important newspapers, but these were few, and women who occupied these positions were generally particularly gifted.

Mrs. Kamaladevi Chattopadhyaya said journalism was a field in which women were just making their entry. The Press in India was a "strangled thing", and those who wanted to understand the situation must first of all know how it was being "strangled in every turn." Miss E. Lewis, of the *Sunday Times*, London, said women journalists in London were only 163 in number out of a total of 6,533. There were reporters, who were more or less confined to special



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subjects of women, and sub-editors scarcely existed. From her own experience she could say that women were quite able to compete with men "except perhaps in political journalism." What they still had to break down was the old idea of the segregation of sexes—one subject for men and another for women. Giving her impressions of the activities of the League of Nations, Begum Shah Nawaz said it had succeeded in doing immense good in every other sphere of activity outside politics. The League, after all, was a child, and was labouring under many handicaps. It was, therefore, their duty to strive to make it a success, so that it might be the greatest possible help to humanity.

TRAFFIC IN WOMEN AND CHILDREN.

The joint conference of the International Council of Women and the National Council of Women in India concluded its deliberations on the 4th instant.

By a resolution the conference recorded with satisfaction the action recently taken by the Government of India to bring cinema posters under censorship, and recommended the National Council of Women in India to urge that more effective measures should be taken to raise the standard of films and develop the production of films suitable for children.

On the motion of Miss Shepherd, Delhi, the conference adopted a resolution urging national councils of women to support the work undertaken by voluntary and official agencies in each country against traffic in women and children, and urging upon the Government of India the necessity of India's representation at the conference which would be held in the Far East in 1937 in connection with the question.

Miss M. Malthe stressed that the two most essential things to be done in order to combat the evil were education of the masses and legislation. It was time that the women of all countries rose to the occasion and acted in a concerted way, demanding common legislation all over the world in order to fight the menace.

Supporting the motion, Begum Shah Nawaz pointed out that as far as India was concerned, in almost every province Government were trying their best to strengthen the law against the evil. She felt proud to declare in that connection that, according to the statistics compiled by the League of Nations, India happened to be one of the most moral countries compared with other countries in the world.

Mrs. Tyau (China) said the Government of China were doing their utmost to fight the evil.

INDIAN WOMEN'S EFFICIENCY.

"I salute Indian women as my sisters. There are few people who are so intelligent as they are. After witnessing in what an efficient manner the Maharani of Baroda, conducted the opening meeting of the International Women's Conference, I have no doubt that if Indian women are given a chance, they can manage their business as efficiently as the women of the most advanced states in Europe," said Princess Alexandrine Gr. Cantacuzane in an interview.

The Princess is a delegate to the Conference and this is the first time she has visited India. She occupies in the political, social and intellectual movements of the present-day Rumania a prominent place.

She is the President of a number of Rumanian societies of which special mention should be made of the National Orthodox Society of Rumanian Women. She is also a Delegate from her country to the League of Nations, where she works on the committees on Traffic in Women and Protection of Children.

The Times of India.

THE CROWN IN BRITISH POLITICS.

This able and scholarly work, writes Prof. Harold J. Laski in the *New Republic*, deserves a wide audience among all students of the British Constitution. The place of the Crown in British politics is one of the most delicate and least known of its problems. Most writers have been content to repeat the brilliant but facile generalizations of Bagehot, now nearly seventy years old. But the publication (on an ample scale) of Queen Victoria's letters, the biographies and correspondence of Gladstone, Disraeli, Harcourt and other Victorian statesmen, have in the last generation thrown a flood of new light upon the subject. The great value of Hardie's book is that it summarizes the burden of this evidence with clarity and distinction. It makes it clear that the Crown was, throughout the Victorian age, an active and omnipresent participant in the shaping of policy. It exposes decisively the fiction that it was no more than a dignified emollient, destined always to yield before the pressure of its advisers. Queen Victoria was a lady of strong, even of passionate, opinions. Mr. Hardie has made an invaluable study of the methods by which she sought to have her way.

What is the upshot of it all? The crown in the Victorian period exercised the right to be consulted on every matter of serious importance. It exercised considerable influence in the choice of Ministers and (often wisely) in the direction of foreign affairs. In a broad sense, it was throughout anti-democratic; and it exercised an almost daily pressure in this sense. It did not hesitate to intrigue directly against Mr. Gladstone and in favour of his rivals. It took advice from outside the sphere of its constitutional advisers. It regarded the existence of the House of Lords as a bulwark of its own position. It was consistently imperialist and militarist in temper. It showed neither interest in, nor sympathy for, the issues agitated by Cobden and Bright, the trade-union leaders, or Parnell. Its whole attitude was one that went to the support of the conservative interests in the sense that it sought to inhibit all movement in the direction of social or political equality. It is not, I think, an exaggeration of Mr. Hardie's results to say that Queen Victoria emerges from his survey as one of the most useful instruments the Conservative Party possessed in her time.

How far have these things changed? The effective answer is that we do not know. Until we have at our disposal a similar correspondence from her successors no complete judgment upon their habits is possible. We know from things like the diaries of the late Lord Esher that it would be fatally easy to underestimate the influence of the Crown. We know, also, that in the constitutional crisis of 1909-11, the Ulster crisis of 1913-14, the financial crisis of 1931, the Crown on each occasion played a considerable, if mysterious, part. We have reason to suppose that the "Palace" is an important factor in the shaping of opinion, that its ramifications and connections reach far wider than it is usual to suppose. It is significant that a revival of active influence on the part of the Crown has been seriously advocated by leading Conservative politicians. They claim (with the support of the late Lord Oxford's authority) that the king has the power of dissolution in his hands. They suggest that, in an emergency, he is entitled to veto legislation that might endanger national unity. They argue that he may refuse to create peers and enable a government to override opposition in the House of Lords. It is suggested that he may ignore party divisions choosing a Prime Minister so long as his nominee is able to obtain a majority in the House of Commons.



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Who are his secret advisers? We do not know. Are there people in his entourage who play the part played by the late Lord Esher? Again, we do not know. What are his relations with the heads of the civil service, the army and navy and air force? Again, our ignorance is complete. Does he seek to influence foreign policy? We have only hazy rumors upon which only half a dozen people alive can comment with any authority. Yet the answers to these questions are vital, since upon them may depend the whole fate of the next Labour government. It is the great merit of Hardie that he supplies a background from which the issue involved receive a new and clear emphasis. His book is written with impartiality and vigor. It will be an indispensable work for many years.

THE MECHANISM OF SANCTIONS.

In 1921, the Assembly adopted a report and resolution on the application of Article 16, which have since been generally accepted as a guide to the way in which this article should be applied. The Members of the League took account of the procedure proposed in this resolution when applying Article 16 in the present conflict.

Accordingly, the Council appointed a committee of six of its Members, which reported that in their view the Italian Government had resorted to war against Ethiopia in disregard of its obligations under the Covenant, and that Article 16 was consequently applicable. This opinion was accepted by all the Members of the Council, except Italy. The report of the Committee of Six and the Minutes of the Council meeting were circulated to all the Members of the League. Advantage was taken of the fact that the Assembly was in session in order to ascertain the view of all the Governments Members of the League. They all concurred in the judgment of the Committee of Six, except Albania, Austria and Hungary, who declared that their special relationship to Italy precluded them from agreeing with their fellow-Members of the League. The Italian Government also, of course, opposed this view.

The Assembly then recommended that the Members of the League other than the parties to the dispute should constitute themselves into a Co-ordination Committee for the purpose of organising the application of sanctions. The Co-ordination Committee, which is a Committee of Members of the League, in its turn appointed the Committee of Eighteen to prepare and watch over the execution of the various sanctions. The thirteen Members of the Council other than the parties to the conflict, plus the five States elected by the Co-ordination Committee, constitute the Committee of Eighteen.

The latter nominated various groups of experts and sub-committees to work out, in co-operation with the Economic, Financial and Transit Sections of the Secretariat, the measures to be applied in pursuance of the decisions of the Co-ordination Committee. The nature of these measures has been described from time to time.

In conclusion, it should be emphasised that the Covenant leaves it to each Government Member of the League to decide for itself whether a breach of the Covenant has been committed. It is the duty of every Member State to take this decision and to act upon it. "The fulfilment of their duties under Article 16 is required from Members of the League by the express terms of the Covenant and they cannot neglect them without breach of their treaty obligations" (Assembly resolution of 1921.)

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BY

K. NATARAJAN.

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A limited number of copies of this valuable work of reference was sent to us for circulation in India and they have been sold out. A further supply is expected in about a month and orders can be booked for at Rs. 10/- (Rupees ten only) a copy, postage 12 as. extra.—

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Sir S. Radhakrishnan for Oxford:—Great Britain has been behind other nations in promoting the study of Indian culture. The founding of the Spalding Professorship of Eastern Relations and Ethics is a belated recognition of her special interest in the subject. The selection of Sir S. Radhakrishnan as first Professor in the Foundation, however, goes far to atone for Britain's dilatoriness in this important sphere. It has given great satisfaction in India. Sir Sarvapalli is the foremost outstanding exponent of Hindu philosophy in terms of Western culture. But he is more than that. His writings have given coherence and system to Hindu religious thought as influenced by modern trends, and it is not too much to say that they have given direction and form to present-day tendencies in Hinduism. His selection to the new Professorship is a welcome sign that the intellect of England has advanced ahead of political England in its appreciation of Indian capacity. While politically we are considered fit only for the mongrel scheme of Sir Samuel Hoare, intellectually the great Oxford University finds that an Indian scholar and thinker is the most suitable teacher to guide British youth to an understanding of the ethics and philosophy of Asia. Incidentally, Sir Sarvapalli's nomination to this key position in Indo-British scholarship, should convince nervous Indians that writings vilifying Hinduism and Hindus have very little influence on thinking men and that what really matters is the presentation of Indian ideals in the spirit which animates Sir Sarvapalli's writings.

"Excluded Areas":—We were wrong in stating last week that the Orders in Council on "Excluded Areas" had been issued. What has been issued are drafts to be laid before Parliament before they are approved by His Majesty in Council. So there is yet some chance of

their being amended so as to fit in with actual conditions and the recommendations of Provincial Governments. As we pointed out in our leading article last week, Bombay has been treated by the Government of India and the Secretary of State with especial antipathy. The considered views of the Bombay Government have been completely ignored. The Government of India "on the facts before them" have recommended the exclusion of large areas where the people are as well qualified to understand the value of the vote as—shall we say?—in Ross and Cromarty. The draft proposals are calculated to thrust some lakhs of people, who have long ago emerged from their aboriginalism, back into their forgotten primitiveness. The comment of *Times* (London), that the recommendations of the Government of India have vindicated the value of Parliamentary discussion, is a good example of unintended irony. The Government of India's despatch on the subject, does not bear the signatures of the Viceroy and of the Law Member and the acting Member of Education. In a despatch of such importance, these omissions are a serious defect. According to the New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* of Madras, Sir N. N. Sircar and Sir Girijashankar Bajpai were within easy reach of the Secretariat at the Imperial capital. The five signatories to the despatch were none of them interested in Bombay. The Commander-in-Chief's signature was, of course, a formality. The two Punjabees, Sir Henry Craik and Sir M. Zaffrullah Khan took care that no liberties were taken with the recommendations of the Local Government. Sir Frank Noice not long ago described himself as a staunch Madrassee, and he saw to it that his province was safe from the ravages of the Cadogan amendment. The fifth signatory, Sir James Grigg, is indifferent to what happens so long as he can borrow money at 3 per cent in the London market. Bombay had no godfather in the Government of India. The Viceroy who knows Bombay well, would seem to have grown indifferent to her future, as was noticeable in his attitude to the separation of Aden. The Government of Bombay should brief the Congress leaders from Bombay to fight its case in the Assembly, if a gross injustice to the Presidency is to be prevented.

Harijan Sevak Sangh:—The annual meeting of the Executive Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh



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was held at Delhi on the 7th February. Gandhiji was absent for the first time owing to ill-health. (The latest news that he is well on the road to recovery has been received with great relief.) Mr. G. D. Birla presided. He felt it necessary to point out in his opening speech that there are people among Sanatanists who were fair minded and it was such people that it should be the aim of workers of the Sangh to convert to their cause. He thought that the appointment of a Publicity man would effect this object. Unless the person selected holds the view which Mr. Birla so aptly expressed, he may be more a hindrance than a help to the cause. There has been a little too much of the tendency to try to browbeat orthodoxy into submission. Mr. Birla's suggestion that vernacular and English newspapers should be regularly supplied with information regarding the work of the Sangh, is a good one. But here, again, a dictatorial tone should be avoided. The cause has the sympathy of nearly all Indian journals but they have also their own views which should receive attention from the Board and its officials. We are rather sorry that the Board has decided to revive at once the temple entry agitation. Hindus who worship regularly in temples are, as a class, the most conservative of their sects, and these will be the last to be persuaded out of their old prejudices. If the educated classes are agreed that caste and out-caste distinctions should be ignored in their social and home life, and if they put the principle into practice, the problem in relation to temple goers will become greatly simplified. In passing, many delegates to the recent All-India Women's Conference at Trivandram, regardless of caste or creed, visited some of the most exclusive Hindu temples, the temple warden at one place having eased his own scruples by exclaiming; "Of course, you are all Brahmins." The Board resolved to grant a loan to a Co-operative Society in Assam. This is a wise advance. About a year ago when a loan for a Co-operating Housing Society on this side was requested, the correspondent was curtly told that it could be given only on his personal security!

Arab Riots in Zanzibar:—The recent Arab riots in Zanzibar in which two police officers were killed and several persons injured, should open the eyes of the British Government to the consequences of the high-handed measures of the Government of Zanzibar of which the British Resident is the virtual head. The recent anti-Indian Decrees were sought to be defended as being necessary to save the Arab, who was represented as a simpleton, from the designing Indian exploiter. The Arabs founded empires long before the British and have shown themselves to be possessed of high intellectual and business abilities. The plea of protecting them was a pure myth. They know their own interests well enough, and they know that they are not menaced by Indians. The British Government is addicted to the doctrine of supporting "the man on the spot" so long as he manages to keep things quiet. This limit has now been passed in

Zanzibar and we may hope that the situation will now be viewed in London from the proper angle. It would be folly to allow things to drift as they are doing. The riots show that the Indian element in the population of Zanzibar is an important factor in maintaining a stable economy and that the Resident's attempt to undermine its position has brought about a serious disturbance of the political and economic equilibrium of the Protectorate.

The Press and the Legislature:—A point of great importance to newspapers was raised in the Legislative Assembly this week on a motion of adjournment introduced by Mr. Sant Singh. Mr. Krishna Kant Malaviya, who sits for a United Provinces constituency in the Legislative Assembly, is the editor of a Hindi journal, the *Abhyuthaya*, published in Allahabad. He made a speech at the last session of the Assembly in the course of the debate in the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, which was duly published in the official report. Mr. Malaviya reproduced his speech from the official report in his journal. The Government of the United Provinces called upon him to deposit a security for having done so. The point raised was, whether it was not an infringement of the privilege of the Assembly to take action against a journal for republishing a speech made in the Assembly, and published in the official report. The Pandit might have bought a thousand copies of the Report and distributed them without incurring any liability. The opinion of the Home Member, that the speech glorified murderers, is entirely irrelevant. We have read the speech in the official report—it was not reported in the papers at the time—and, in our opinion, Sir Henry Craik's impression was entirely unjustifiable. But that is not the issue. A speech which was in order in the Legislative Assembly when it was spoken, can not be treated as an offence when republished in a journal. That the *Times of India* should justify the attitude of Government on a question so seriously detrimental to the exercise of its legitimate functions by the Press, is surprising and, yet, not altogether.

Indians and Englishmen:—Our observations in an editorial note last week regarding the probability of the Shahidgunge dispute in Lahore not having been allowed to develop to its present impasse, if Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan had been Governor, implied no reflection on the personal competence of the present Governor. All that was meant was that an Indian has certain advantages in dealing with communal situations which the Englishman in the present state of things does not enjoy. An incident may illustrate the meaning. When Lovat Fraser was editor of the *Times of India*, he had often attacked Congress leaders, including Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale, in trenchant terms. Those who knew Fraser, knew that this was merely a part of the game and that he had really great regard for them, greater regard than for those whom he sometimes praised with equal trench-



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ancy. When he was about to leave the country, Fraser told this writer that he would like to make up with Gokhale. "You know," he added, "that one sometimes writes overnight what one does not care to look at in the morning." When this was communicated to Gokhale, he said: "I am not a man who stands on dignity. To an Indian—any Indian—I am ready to go down on my knees if any public interest is advanced thereby. But as regards Englishmen, in the present relation between our two nations, I must maintain an attitude of reserve. I will not see Fraser." The two men met afterwards in London at the instance of Lord Morley. But that is another story.

Broadcasting by Dancing Girls :—The *Bombay Chronicle* published on Monday from its Delhi correspondent a message stating that Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Legislative Assembly, had a passage at arms with Sir James Grigg, Finance Member of the Government of India, at a meeting of the Standing Finance Committee on Saturday. While the reorganisation of the Broadcasting Service was being discussed, the Pandit pointed out the undesirability of engaging dancing girls for giving music programmes. Sir James, who was Chairman, is reported to have observed that he could not allow discussion on the matter as it implied that dancing girls have been engaged. The Pandit said that he was not the man to make allegations without being sure of his facts and vowed that he would vote a penny for the item which was not allowed to be discussed in the Committee. The correspondent added that the Chairman apologised to the Pandit and the incident closed.

Congress and Nautch Parties:—In this context, attention is called to the communication which we publish elsewhere from the distinguished leader of the Indian women's movement, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddy. Dr. Reddy writes in a personal letter: "You know that the Congress commands great influence and respect from the public of all sections in the country simply because its aims and objects are high and noble. You might have read that the Madras Congress (Committee) which organised musical entertainments during its Golden Jubilee celebrations in this city, had invited all characters irrespective of their morals to sing and play and to dance so as to attract the public." As one of the most eminent workers in the cause of social purity and as the mover of the Act to penalise prostitution, Dr. Reddy feels indignant that the National Congress should, by deriving entertainment from doubtful characters, set itself against the redemption of dancing girls. Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant should spare some attention to the doings of his fellow Congressmen in Madras. Relatively, the voice of a professional dancing girl heard on the radio is less likely to corrupt public morals than her performances in flesh and blood at the Congress Golden Jubilee celebrations.

Literary Garbage :—Miss Katherine Mayo has found an imitator. Indeed, Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling has outdone her in the business of literary muck-raking. Miss Mayo concentrated her attention on the Hindus whom she regards as the scum of the earth. Mrs. Dilling is more cosmopolitan in her antipathy. Her denunciation of the World Fellowship of Faiths is typical of her outbursts. Here it is: "Speakers of the debasing and degrading Hindu, Mahommedan, Pagan and Agnostic cults are placed in fellowship and on equal footing with speakers for Jesus Christ...The savage Mahommedan call of the muezzin as heard in darkest Asia is mingled with the propaganda of the Hindu, Jew and Agnostic." The *New Republic* deals faithfully with this new phenomenon. We reproduce its comments on the author and her book, "The Red Network," on another page. They may be applied word for word to Miss Katherine Mayo's productions.

The Population Problem :—A Conference was held in Lucknow a few days ago to discuss the problem of population in this country. It is difficult in a country situated as India is, to decide how far the effects that are noticeable in the condition of the people are due to pressure of population in the country itself or pressure of population in another country. Colonialism has on the people subject to it the same effect as overpopulation, because the colony is called upon to support the dominant country before it cares for its own people. It lowers the standard of life, prevents the population from rising much above the level of hewers of wood and drawers of water and imposes on it all the burdens of economic servitude. Western countries have invented economic nationalism as a shield against exploitation. Economic nationalism devised as a protective measure easily develops into an aggressive weapon. The shield becomes the sword.

Reconstruction in the Irish Free State:—In an informing article in the *New Statesman* of the 18th January, Mr. W. Horsfall Carter writes: "The idea of the Free State setting up heavy industries or even indulging in large scale mechanised farming (such as Pandit Jawaharlal wants to see established in India) has never entered Mr. de Valera's head. He has repeatedly described the limited objective as being to make the country self-supporting in food, clothing and shelter." Mr. Carter shows that the Irish leader has succeeded remarkably in doing this during the last four years. There is considerable resemblance between the internal policy of Mr. de Valera and Signor Mussolini before he took the disastrous plunge into the Ethiopian bog. "Mr. de Valera and his associates" writes Mr. Carter, "are deliberately challenging the Victorian delusion that the mere sum total of trade is the index of a nation's prosperity." That exactly is what Indian leaders should do when they have the power. And they should have power because this is the thing to do in the true interests of the people of this country.



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BOMBAY, February 15, 1936.

EUROPE SINS, ETHIOPIA TO PAY.

After an interval of several weeks, we get some propagandist literature from Italian sources. The earlier productions emanated from a body with a Calcutta address called the Italian Community in India. The documents received this week give no address in India. One of them is a typed translation of an article published by the *Popolo d'Italia* and headed "an appeal to the students of Europe". It is typical of Fascist mentality that the anonymous propagandist has not even changed the heading so as to make the article of interest to Indian readers. The sum and substance of the article in the Italian journal, is that Signor Mussolini is a devoted lover of peace and goodwill among nations, and that he and his countrymen are the innocent victims of the greed, envy and malice of other European nations. The writer does not pause to tone down his accusations by polite euphemisms. "The prosecution at Geneva," he writes, "has been a fraud. The judges have been subjected to pressure and threats. The Assembly and the Council, constitutional organs of the League, have not been requested to give their advice lest the unanimity might not have been obtained. The various Committees appointed are organs not foreseen by the Covenant and, therefore, they are unconstitutional. The State, constitutionally aggressor, addicted to aggressions, is Abyssinia, only Abyssinia, and nobody else." A long list follows of Abyssinia's aggressions during the last half a century. The writer forgets that the specific offence of Italy is, that she has invaded the territory of a fellow member of the League of Nations and that what happened before the League was even dreamt of, is wholly irrelevant to the consideration of the present war. This delightful irrelevance, however, is the charm of Italian propaganda. As a proof that Italy did not want war, it is naively observed: "That is clearly established. Mussolini, since the memorable declaration of Bolzano, has specified that Italy did not want to have any reason of European conflict. The Ethiopian question was only a colonial question, distant and limited. This ought to be so. Rome pledged herself to respect the imperial British interests and was ready to enter into treaties with London in the atmosphere of loyalty and harmony. At the historical Assembly of 2nd October last, the Head of the Italian Government took the sacred engagement of avoiding any act which could give the colonial conflict the character and the extension of a European conflict." In other words, according to Signor Mussolini, whose mouthpiece the writer evidently is, so long as his aggressions are confined to countries outside Europe, no European nation has a right to interfere. Unfortunately, however, Italy is not the only

European country which has to feed on colonial peoples in order to maintain its economic existence. During the last one hundred and fifty years, European nations have fought each other for colonial possessions and for them alone. Even the last war, although violation of Belgian neutrality was the most loudly professed cause, was waged for colonial empire.

This is made clear in the second document a copy of which has been sent along with the translation of the article in the Italian journal. This is a printed paper issued by the Fascist Confederation of Industrialists and is headed "Business and Financial Report, a monthly survey of Italian Trade and Industry." Although it professes to be a business and financial report, it is devoted in large part to historical events, perhaps as furnishing the necessary background to an understanding of the Italian economic situation. Italy went to the Peace Conference, we are told, with 600,000 dead to her account, and with two treaties bearing the signatures of Great Britain and France—the Treaty of London and the Treaty of St. Jean de Maurienne—under which she was promised, in case of an allied victory, colonial outlets for her expanding population and possibilities for satisfying the growing needs of raw materials for her rapidly developing industries. At Paris her claims under both these Treaties were set aside. "As a result of the distribution of mandates over ex-enemy possessions in Africa only, Great Britain was assigned 1,849,203 square kilometers of land with 7,079,000 inhabitants, France 1,879,706 square kilometers with 2,297,000 inhabitants, Belgium 59000 square kilometers with 3,000,000 inhabitants. Italy, with the stretch of desert between the oases of Gat and Gadames ceded by France and trans-Jubaland ceded by England, acquired only 80,000 square kilometers, mostly desert or fever ridden as is shown by the fact that the total population did not exceed 70,000." True, the allies did not honour their treaty obligations, but how is Abyssinia to blame for their dereliction? Why did the Italian Government of the day accept the deserts and why did it not insist on a more equitable division of the spoils of war? Italy may have very good cause to attack the allies who, she thinks, proved false to their promise but, instead of fighting them, she declares she does not want to fight Europeans! What is the logic of this declaration? Then, again, if the United States and the British Dominions passed laws restricting Italian immigration, how can Ethiopia be required to pay the penalty? We have nothing but admiration for the self-respecting way in which Signor Mussolini met this action of Anglo-Saxon countries. Realising that the labour force of the Italian workers was the country's most precious economic asset, and that the moral status and economic well-being of the workers should be the first care of the State, large measures were undertaken and carried out to improve the lot of workers. The passage

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in which these measures are recounted makes very pleasant reading. By super-human efforts, Italy rapidly developed her trade and industries only to find foreign markets closed against her. The United States led the way. Great Britain by the Ottawa agreements closed her markets to foreign countries. France also introduced quotas and prohibitions. "The doctrines of exasperated (exaggerated?) nationalism, economic self-sufficiency and manipulated currencies, prevailed," the writer mournfully observes "and Italy, however reluctantly, had no choice but to resort to similar measures in self-defence" In other words Europe sins and Ethiopia has to pay.

THE BIHAR SQUABBLE.

In view of the controversy that has arisen over the observations in "India in 1933-34" relating to the Bihar Central Relief Committee, we quote them. They are as follows :—

The most important of the charitable funds, after the Viceroy's Fund, is that raised in response to the appeal launched by Babu Rajendra Prasad, the leader of the Congress party in Bihar. The subscriptions up to the middle of November 1934 amounted to Rs. 28,89,565, in cash and Rs. 8,80,587 in kind. The fund was administered by an organization styled the Bihar Central Relief Committee. The Committee took a full share in the distribution of food, clothing and blankets immediately after the earthquake, and sent out a number of workers who engaged in rescue work, the provision of medical aid, the clearing of debris, and building of temporary grass huts. In response to a letter from Babu Rajendra Prasad, Government gave him a full description of the problems arising out of the earthquake, they indicated the measures which they proposed to take, and the manner in which the funds of the Committee could best be expended so as to supplement these measures. The published accounts up to the 30th September 1934 showed that there were balances amounting to Rs. 14,03,000, and advances totalling Rs. 1,87,000. Offices and equipment, stock, cycles and cars had absorbed Rs. 1,28,000, and administrative expenses Rs. 84,000. The balance representing expenditure in actual relief to the public, was Rs. 12,80,000. At the end of the year a large portion of the subscription apparently remained unexpended.

On the face of it, there is nothing in the passage quoted above, which would strike the reader as an aspersion on the work of the Bihar Central Relief Committee. A statistically-minded reader might have made mental note of the small sum of Rs. 3,507 which, in the sentence immediately preceding this passage, is given as the cost of administration of the Viceroy's Fund of Rs. 60,16,041,—nearly double that of Babu Rajendra Prasad's—which was administered by a Central Committee at New Delhi; while the corresponding item in the Bihar Committee's account was given as Rs. 1,82,000, including equipment. Babu Rajendra Prasad had pointed out to the Relief Commissioner of Bihar that this was wrong and that the correct figure is about Rs. 62,000. The correction had evidently not been communicated to the writer of India in 1933-34 in time for being carried out in his book. It may seem that Babu Rajendra Prasad had read into his words what is not there and has taken offence where none is noticeable.

Such an impression would be unfair to Mr. Prasad. The passage is lifted word for word

from a Report of Relief Commissioner Brett over which there has been correspondence between that official and Babu Rajendra Prasad. We give the paragraphs in Mr. Brett's Report, as given by the Publicity Officer of the Government of Bihar and Orissa, who has rushed to the defence of the author of "India". Relief Commissioner Brett wrote :—

The accounts up to September 30, 1934, which were published in an audited form in December, showed that there were balances amounting to Rs. 14,03,000, and advances totalling Rs. 1,87,000. Offices and equipment, stock, cycles and cars absorbed Rs. 1,28,000 and administrative expenses Rs. 84,000. The balance, representing expenditure on actual relief to the public, was Rs. 12,80,000. The principal items were Rs. 4,77,000 spent on water supply, Rs. 2,15,000 on temporary huts, Rs. 1,82,000 on flood relief and Rs. 1,03,000 on middle class relief. In August and September, wide-spread distress was caused by floods in the Ganges and the Son. Though the area affected coincided to some extent with the areas which had suffered in the earthquake, these floods had no connection with the earthquake. The Bihar Central Relief Committee expended considerable sums on operations connected with them. At the end of the year, a large portion of the subscriptions apparently remained unexpended. Though at a later stage it was decided to spend money on middle class building grants, it is possible that the initial abstention of the Bihar Central Relief Committee from expenditure on housing grants may make it difficult to spend the balance of the fund. The experience gained from the administration of the Viceroy's Fund suggests that sums which could usefully be expended for objects other than grants for house building are limited. At the same time, the practical difficulties of making a just distribution of such grants among a host of competing claimants are so great that it is doubtful whether any private organisation could overcome them. A Relief Society which is largely identified with a particular political party encounters these difficulties in an accentuated form.

Comparing the above with the quotation from "India in 1933-34" at the beginning of this article, it will be seen that the writer of the latter has merely copied the words of the Relief Commissioner leaving out some sentences which we print in italics. Babu Rajendra Prasad who had corrected the Relief Commissioner's figures and his criticism of the Bihar Central Relief Committee, was naturally offended when he found the same erroneous figures quoted in the Government of India publication. The author of "India in 1933-34" did not, we may be sure, omit the italicised and accusatory passages in Relief Commissioner Brett's Report out of consideration for the feelings of the Bihar Central Relief Committee. He has omitted the passages evidently because he felt they were a bit too thick to pass muster in a volume issued under the authority of the Secretary of State, though it may be quite the usual thing in the polemics of the Provincial Government. The Bihar Publicity Official who is apparently desperately anxious to distinguish himself, under the guise of defending his New Delhi counterpart, has republished Commissioner Brett's criticism with further aggravations of his own. Babu Rajendra Prasad pointed out that the administrative charges of the Viceroy's Fund, which were stated to amount to Rs. 3,507, should, to be correct, include part of the salaries of the officials who administered it. If the Viceroy had to engage a special staff, instead of drawing on the services of the officials



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His Excellency would surely have had to spend much more than Rs. 3500 on administering his Rs. 60 lakhs Fund. This is perfectly true, says the Bihar Publicity Officer, but that is precisely the reason why all non-official Funds should have been merged into the Viceroy's Fund. He suggests that this was not done because the Bihar Central Relief Committee consisted of Congressmen who were more anxious to advance the prestige of the Congress than to afford relief to the earthquake sufferers. One might as well say that the Government of India did not allow any non-official organisation to take part in Quetta relief because it was more anxious to maintain its prestige as the *ma bap* and *anna dala* of Quetta sufferers. If Publicity Departments are allowed to impute motives to non-officials, Government can not complain if motives are imputed to them. That State relief is always mechanical and does not reach all classes of persons deserving relief as private agencies can, has been demonstrated repeatedly, so often, in fact, as to become axiomatic.

Relief Commissioner Brett's criticism that the Bihar Central Relief Committee helped sufferers from floods in the same areas, is itself a proof of this. We pointed out last week that the floods were an aggravation of the hardships suffered by the people some months previously from the earthquake and that there was nothing wrong in helping them from Funds collected for earthquake relief. Commissioner Brett affirms that the floods had no connection with the earthquake, though it covered a part of the same area. Even if this was so, it would have made no difference. As a matter of fact, the floods were a direct consequence of the earthquake. They occurred in August and September while the earthquake occurred in January. In the preliminary account of the earthquake in Bihar and Nepal by Auden and Ghosh, published in the Record of the Geological Survey of India Vol. LXVIII, part 2, there is a short section headed "Monsoon Flooding". "In view of the area of apparent subsidence, which corresponds approximately with the slump belt," forecasted these geological experts, "it is probable that floods will result along the low-lying river tracts which obliquely cross this area.... The problem of flood waters from the Bagmati river, north of Muzaffarpur, has concerned the Irrigation Department for some years, and it may be expected to become more serious during the coming monsoon, since the country between the Bagmati and Lakhndai rivers comes within the area of subsidence." (p. 206) The floods were thus a direct result of the earthquake, Commissioner Brett's dogmatism notwithstanding.

Ramakrishna Memorial Volume:—The Ramakrishna Centenary Memorial volume, "the Cultural Heritage of India," referred to in last week's *Reformer*, can be had from the Headquarters of the Ramakrishna Celebration Committee, Belur Math, Howrah District, Bengal, India.

"SOCRATES AT SCHOOL"

For some years the attention of both social workers and the Government has been focussed on rural reconstruction and general uplift of the village population. Prominent among the names of officials who achieved some success in this line is that of Mr. F. W. Brayne I.C.S., of Gurgaon Experiment fame, whose books on village uplift have come to be recognised as authorities on the subject. Realising the need of an interesting and effective way of instruction in bringing home to the social workers and villagers themselves the salient features of village uplift work, Mr. Brayne has had recourse in his later treatises on the subject to the method of questions and answers, himself taking the role of Socrates. "Socrates at School," the latest of Mr. Brayne's booklets, is a rehash of his ideas on village uplift and is mainly adapted and intended for rural students. Those who have had any experience in village welfare work and have come in intimate contact with the older generation of villagers, have found that, if any lasting benefit is to be derived in this direction, it should be done in schools, by moulding the more responsive and plastic minds of the younger generation rather than by coercing the older people, who are what they are owing to force of circumstances, tradition and custom. To the teachers in village schools, some of whom, in spite of their training, are no better than the generality of villagers, the book will serve as a useful guide.

In his village uplift work, Mr. Brayne had been peculiarly fortunate both as regards his position as a high district official, for he could command resources which an ordinary social worker could not, and in the villagers themselves, who were petty but prosperous zemindars, among whom he set himself to work. The zemindars, though they may own only small strips of land, are no wage-slaves and are, therefore, better off than the common run of villagers in other parts of the country. For in a village, also in the North, when a welfare worker recommended to the villagers, during her talk on Mosquitoes and Malaria, the use of mosquito curtains, one of them retorted that to provide a family of six adults with them, would cost him a fortune! And, indeed, it was true considering his limited resources. Therefore, it is not a little surprising that Mr. Brayne should hold that economics does not enter into the problem of rural reconstruction but only a side issue.

According to Mr. Brayne, the villagers have to construct their own roads, build their houses, plaster the walls of the school buildings, raise a woman's hospital, all by village subscription, maintain sanitation and cleanliness and preserve the health of the village in addition to their own occupation. Well may the villager ask: "Has the District Board abdicated its function?" Is it to be wondered at that the villager is apathetic to any scheme of improvement if it involves so much labour and expense on himself? When in other countries the State takes the responsibility for the education, health and welfare of its subjects and even goes so far as to help with doles the unemployed, is it not expecting too much by way of self-help from our poor villagers whose hard work on the soil hardly gives them an adequate return?

It is hard to understand the mentality of those village welfare workers who insist on finding occupation for the villager for every moment of his waking hours. To take the analogy of agriculture. A field which has been cultivated successfully for some time has to lie fallow for a period before it

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could again be brought under cultivation. Does this not apply with equal truth to over-worked humanity? Is leisure not a necessity for the cultivation of the mind?

Mr. Brayne would deny the villager even his hookah and his gossip. For what higher purpose do people, better placed in life, frequent clubs?

CONGRESS AND BHARATA NATYAM

The whole creation is full of beauty, colour, music, harmony, and order. All creatures from the thinking man to the crawling worm can enjoy, appreciate music and have music in them. The civilised man as well as the barbarian can sing, dance and play when in a mood to do so. The noblest and the loftiest ideas can be expressed only through divine music so as to inspire humanity for good.

Our Nayanars, Acharyas, Alwars have sung beautiful hymns and verses out of their intense devotion and love to God and those poems ring for ever with the eternal truths of life. These when sung in the right tune and in the right spirit never fail to inspire in us feelings of piety, purity and devotion. Music can either elevate the mind to the highest spiritual and moral plane or drag it down to the lowest depth of human degradation and depravity. Therefore one has to be careful, especially our children and the youth of both sexes in selecting their company and their association. There is good music and bad music. There is music, the outpourings of a good and pure soul as well as that from the voluptuous, from the impure, and from the impious. Therefore there should be discrimination in our choice. In inviting men and women musicians and dancers to exhibit their skill and to entertain the public, the leaders of our society who want the society and the nation to rise to a higher level of thought and action ought to choose for public show the right person, the one who combines a good moral character as well as a talent for music, that is why the God Nataraja himself has danced to the world thereby setting an example for all time to come.

Unfortunately some of our leaders in their anxiety to revive Indian music and dance, lose sight of the above essential factor, and the Madras Congress, the Musical Academies and schools, invite all characters, good or bad, irrespective of their daily habits and mode of life and give them and their music publicity and a good advertisement, which cannot but have an injurious effect both upon the musical world as well as upon the uninformed public mind.

It is recognised by all religions and by all cultured societies that chastity is a necessary virtue for the proper cultivation and development of the fine arts, nay, even for our proper physical and intellectual growth. It is very much to be deplored that certain individuals who live in open concubinage and who pass for prostitutes have been very recently given undue advertisement and publicity even by the Congress. I will be glad to be corrected if my information is not accurate. There was an article in the *Hindu* dated 17th January 1936, giving a comparative description of their personalities and eulogising their dance and their actions and gestures, so as to draw still further public notice. I believe, that there is an impression among some of our people that married women cannot cultivate dance and music to perfection and hence women who take to music and dance should necessarily lead an unmarried and free life, which, if allowed to spread, would prove disastrous to our social welfare as well as to the development of that art itself. I wish to know from such votaries of those arts whether they are aiming at a life of holy virginhood or at a life of promiscuity and license or even concubinage, a relic of the bar-

barous past derogatory to women's dignity and status. There may be dancers and actresses in the West, but we all know that their tradition is different from that of the Devadasis of South India who are innocent victims of a pseudo-religious custom, for whose abolition, strenuous efforts are being made.

The public may be aware that a law has been passed in this Presidency as well as in Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, to dispense with the Devadasi service in the Hindu temples, there is a Penal Code to punish dedication of girls under 18 to temples, and further the Prevention of Dedication Bill which I introduced in the local Council has been widely supported by all the leading people and by the enlightened public, that the Bombay Legislative Council very recently passed legislation prohibiting dedication, for the simple reason that the majority of the Devadasis, whether dancers or not, lead a life of promiscuity and prostitution and a few remain as mistresses of men who are already wedded, because none would come forward to marry them.

It is well-known that a good percentage of the handsome Devadasis gifted with fine voices and adepts in Natyam become wrecked physically and mentally very early in life owing to their unhealthy mode of life and are finally lost to the musical world.

When the Congress itself, which is striving for the political and for the social regeneration of the country, has adopted this very objectionable method of encouraging Bharata-Natyam and Abinayanam, how can we hope in the near future to improve public health and morality and to eradicate some of the pernicious customs prevalent in our society through wise propaganda and legislation?

Madras,
6th February 1936. } S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI.

AMERICA FACES THE EAST *

(BY WALTER BROOKS FOLEY.)

THE PEACE BRIDGE.

It is good to be reminded in these days of war and preparation for war that there are people interested in peace. Judging by government expenditures around the world one would think the nations were convinced that all the future must be mortgaged so that men might kill each other off. So, in the spirit of peace, we approached the Peace Bridge which extends from Buffalo to Fort Erie, Ontario.

With relatives in Buffalo and friends of longstanding in Fort Erie we felt that we were crossing by a most significant bridge. The bridge stands as a monument to the friendly relations between two great Commonwealths. There are no reasons save selfishness and greed why the whole human family cannot live together as do Canada and the United States.

To go from one country to another with as little difficulty as we had in crossing the Peace Bridge is inspirational and helps us to look forward to the time when passports and customs inspection and official red-tape will be eliminated.

We drove back across the Peace Bridge to Buffalo late at night to visit a brother-in-law and had a unique experience. He did not know we were coming. Just as we drove up to an isolated square in one section of the city he stepped off a bus and we invited him to ride on to his home with us. It was for us another illustration of how events work out most satisfactorily, sometimes when least expected.

There are forces operating in our world that are moving us toward a peaceful solution of international difficulties. We need to center our thought on ways of friendly cooperation, even if such a way may be only the use of a Peace Bridge.

* The first batch of these notes of Mr. Foley's literary appeared in the *Reformer* of the 18th January.



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SCENES IN ONTARIO.

More model-T Fords than any other place we have traveled since before going to India in 1926...

Along the southern route across the Province a splendid highway...

Farms looking neglected ... Farmhouses badly in need of repair...

English-appearing filling stations. Gas measured in Imperial gallons...

Signs innumerable insisting on a very low speed for automobiles ... Little traffic on the highway...

(With the amount and speed of traffic on American highways we need some kind of powerful governors on our cars. Killing between thirty-five and forty thousand people in the United States in 1935 is too high a price to pay for whatever values we get from automobiles.)

Life may not be more leisurely in Ontario, but it seemed that way. Possibly more enjoyment may be secured from slowing down the tempo than from any speeding-up process...

There ought to be an invisible yet known boundary line that we could cross into a world of more *thought* than action...

It is interesting how much laughter there has been over a "Brain Trust". How are we supposed to run our governments... without any brains? Some seem to be run that way.

Economic reverses may keep Ontario houses unpainted, but we had the feeling that deep sources of life were still providing inspiration and encouragement.

EMERGING DETROIT.

We entered Detroit through a vehicular tunnel which caused us to emerge in the rush of the business district.

The whirr of machinery seemed in the air. This was the centre where at least a section of the American population seemed to be coming from under the cloud of depression.

One day we were there a special celebration was on in honor of the widening of Woodward Boulevard.

The laws that operate in human life are always interesting. We speak sometimes of the law of the jungle. Is it such law that demands steadily increasing horsepower in our modern cars while the death rate from motor accidents mounts constantly? What of an advertisement that says "capable of 100 miles an hour, but 60 is enough"? As a matter of fact realistic engineers estimate that any speed over 45 miles per hour is intrinsically dangerous—can the motor industry lift us out of a depression *only* by increasing the dead and injured on our highways?

Even Detroit streets are narrow with the vast traffic they carry. But is it the responsibility of the city to widen its streets?

We stayed in a beautiful residential section along the Lake. One of the great preachers of America has a home there. He and his wife have long been friends of ours in the Orient and in the United States. He said he was studying Detroit just as he would survey a great opportunity for service in China or India.

There is much that is pagan in American cities. Only a trained student of sociology and psychology can cope with the problems involved. And such a student hasn't much chance unless he has a good deal of what our forefathers used to call "the grace of God" in his make-up.

A city is often a discouraging proposition. Witness the partial defeat of the type of good government Cincinnati has had for years or the difficulty in

passing adequate zoning ordinances in Manila.

We need in every city and town a greater body of citizens who will be loyal to the best interests of the community and willing to sacrifice to lift the levels of living.

CHICAGO—THE OVERGROWN TOWN.

Every time I enter Chicago I think of the little log cabin that was erected there by its first settler only a hundred years ago. For Chicago has grown rapidly as the heart of the great central west—perhaps we should say it has grown as the great mechanical administrator of industrial, cultural, political and news-circulating groups in a vast area of the United States. How much heart there is in the process is questionable.

Sometimes Chicago appeals to me as a boy of twelve attempting to assert his claims to early maturity. Even the skyscrapers along Lake Michigan strike me that way.

Yet I like Chicago and have lived there with enjoyment. There is a breeziness about life in the city which may come somewhat from the cold winds that sweep down Michigan Avenue in the winter. It is a great art centre.

There is also a sultriness of evils manifest like the humid heat of mid-summer. No funds for many months for teachers. No money to buy new books in the library. But millions for gambling and gangsterism and municipal corruption. Yet great institutions of a religious and social service character still battle for a better civic consciousness.

Chicago fights on for water from Lake Michigan for its sewer system regardless of how much that will affect dozens of other communities. There is a selfishness about the city in spite of its surface friendliness that may be due to its youth and its rapid hurling together of widely divergent groups.

The destructive gossip of a small-town is evident in the policies of many of its newspapers which call themselves the world's greatest—as though saying so would make them so.

Even a Century of Progress cannot cover up the evils not yet out-grown—cannot make many forgive a city for keeping quiet about evils that some businesses may flourish. An opera season built on an evil business structure had to fail—as it is now, the best orchestra music is produced as the result of the hard work of a group composed entirely of women musicians.

EVANSTON—THE BEAUTIFUL SUBURB.

Long shaded streets, wide boulevards, a breath of wind from the Lake shore, fine homes, an air of well-regulated order, a pleasant place to live—all these mean Evanston to me.

Though the elevated runs to the southward into the maelstrom that is the life of Chicago, and the Highways run to the north to homes of the exclusively wealthy, Evanston has a charm all its own.

Perhaps part of the attraction comes from the fact that the first six months of my daughter's life were spent in Evanston. Certainly we like Evanston because a family of our best friends lives there.

Who wouldn't like a place with good friends living there? What makes a city anyway,—buildings, or roads or train service, or the kind of people in it?

Evanston has a suave polish that is lacking in the big city nearby. It has friendliness and an interest in more important things than business and the often-stupid methods of getting money. It is a good place to live.

I suppose that most people who have their homes within its limits feel that they really live before they



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leave for and after they return from work in the neighbouring metropolis.

Life, after all, isn't worth so much if we haven't some pleasant surroundings part of the time. Kagawa, the Japanese, who went to live among the people of the slums of Kobe found he could not do the utmost with his life if he continued to stay there. So now he visits such widely separated and interesting countries as China, the Philippines, and the United States.

Beauty is something we need in our experience.

SOCIAL LEGISLATION IN HINDU LAW.*

Under the auspices of the Law College Representative Council, the Hon. Justice S. Varadachariar delivered a lecture last evening at the College Hall on the "Next Social Legislation in Hindu Law." Mr. K. Krishna Menon, Principal of the College, presided.

At the outset, the lecturer said that he welcomed all earnest endeavour on the part of the student to study the live problems of the day in the hope that in due course they would do their best to find a proper solution for them. They must earnestly seek light on problems and solve the same with an unbiased and open mind. So far as social problems were concerned, while it might be useful to study each question detached from the complicated setting in which it really was found in practical life, so far as the finding of a solution was concerned, they had to deal with the society in which that question arose with all its complexities and needs as if they had a clean slate to write on.

Coming to the subject of the evening, Mr. Justice Varadachariar said that what was regarded in the West as social legislation related mainly to the subject of material welfare of the population. But when they spoke of social legislation in this country, they meant social reform within the limits of the Hindu Law. In this connection, the lecturer would remind them of the anomalous position of the Hindu Law in the country. It was bad enough that in the 20th century they should still have a system of personal law. Nearly all Western countries had long passed out of the system of personal law into a system of what was known as 'territorial' law. The territorial law rested upon what was regarded as convenient in a particular locality. It had very little occasion to reach the susceptibilities or sentiments of the people. Even while personal laws were in force in the West, they were personal laws arising out of custom of particular communities or tribes or nations and had very little admixture of religion. For certain purposes the word 'Hindu' had become a territorial name. The result was that, for the purpose of Hindu Law, Courts had, by something like a residuary presumption, classed everybody as a Hindu unless he fell under any particular definite category. But the Hindu Law had been defined as a law founded upon Hindu Scriptures. The result was that in one sense the Hindu Law was a personal law and in another sense, it was a religious law. The moment any proposal for reform of any part of Hindu Law was put forward, there was naturally the objection that its interference was something associated with Hindu religion. The more logical way of dealing with the thing was to differentiate the different parts of the Hindu Law. Portions dealing with general rights of property should not be confounded with other portions of the law relating to matters like marriage. The former fell within what was called vyavahara adhyaya and the latter in achara adhyaya.

In the Mitakshara there was an attempt to differentiate portions of the smritis which could be regarded as closely intertwined with religion and portions which

*Hindu, February 1.

could be regarded as standing more upon popular practice than strictly mixed up with the religion of the country. But unfortunately to-day there were only two sets of people, one who would wish to interfere with any portion of the Hindu Law; and the other who did not want to interfere with any portion of it. This could be avoided if both the parties would look at the subject from a detached and unbiased point of view. Hindu lawyers, even in the most archaic periods, were not unaware of the necessity for adjustment of the law from time to time. They had 'parishads' which consisted of men who bore no animosity, who had no axe to grind, who were learned and well-behaved, and any pronouncement by them was law. It was a mistake to suppose that the authors of the Hindu Law thought that it would be eternal or unalterable. But they should not interpret the Hindu Law on the English convention that 'custom overrides the written text,' because the Hindu theory of custom was different from the English theory. The present Hindu Law administered in courts was based upon a stereotyped system which was prevalent in India 600 or 700 years ago. The present Hindu Law was compiled from a few old texts which were preferred to later commentaries. In doing so, the compilers were anxious not to offend the susceptibilities of certain pundits who held prejudiced views. The result was that they found themselves now centuries behind other systems of law.

Proceeding, the lecturer said that there was a tendency to mix up what was considered just and reasonable with existing structure of Hindu Law without caring for the natural evolution of the Hindu Law. It would be a happy day, observed the speaker, if the Legislature would sweep away the Hindu Law altogether and not dovetail two systems which could not dovetail into each other. They might start afresh with something like the Japanese Code or the Chinese Code; but if they went on tinkering with the Hindu Law, they would get into trouble. In this country, where there were more than one system of personal law and where they had a legislature which was partly the creation of modern political theories, the legislature might very well deal with a system of territorial law, but was obviously unfitted to deal with personal laws founded upon religion.

Referring to certain topics of Hindu Law in which either reforms had been attempted or might conceivably be suggested, the lecturer said that the position of a convert from Hinduism was anomalous. It was one thing to say that a man ought not to be penalised for change of religion or freedom of opinion; but it was a different thing to say that, notwithstanding the conversion, the man should be entitled to rights of guardianship and other rights in the family to which he would be entitled if there was no conversion at all. Referring next to the question of marriage, he said that it was very much in the air now that the principal of divorce should be recognised in the Hindu Law; and the theory of freedom of marriage should be honestly recognised. There was a certain amount of irony in the suggestion that in an age where in commercial matters the doctrine of freedom of contract has come to be repudiated, freedom of contract was regarded as a proper rule in marriages. Whatever might be said in justification of this proposal, let it not be introduced as part of the Hindu Law. Again as regards the laws of inheritance, there was a great deal of difference of opinion as to the basis on which the rules should rest. There was the Mitakshara school and the Dayabhaga school and if they found that neither worked properly, they might formulate another principle. But present day reformers were not in a position to formulate logical

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principles which could be applied to each case as it arose.

Finally, Mr. Justice Varadachariar referred to the question of temple-entry and the proper duty of the legislature. It was well recognised in the West that all civil disabilities based upon religion were inconsistent with civilized society. But if they passed from the domain of civil rights to rights which could not, in any sense, be regarded as rights of property, the question became much more controversial and not even an attempted differentiation between permissive legislation and coercive legislation and things of that kind would lead to solution of such problems. Ordinarily, legislation followed public opinion and did not attempt to create public opinion. This consideration must be borne in mind by those who wished well for society and who did not wish to create splits.

IRANIANS AND HINDUS.*

DR. M. N. DHALLA

Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. M. N. Dhalla, High Priest of the Parsis in Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab, delivered an address on "Our (Parsi) Indo-Iranian Heritage", at the Cowasji Jehangir Hall, Bombay, on Saturday 8th evening. Dr. Dhalla said that the ancestors of the present day Parsis came to India 1,300 years ago, as fugitives from their homeland Iran (Persia). They landed at Kathiawar and requested Jadhav Rana for an asylum. The head priest of the Parsis then told the Rana that their religion enjoined them to do service to humanity and to love God. They would be loyal and dutiful citizens and be truthful.

The Parsis were of the Aryan stock and belonged to the Indo-Iranian group, continued the learned Dasturji. Their cradle-land was supposed to be Arya-nem-Vaejo, somewhere in the north, which according to legend had been destroyed.

The Aryan Hindus also belonged to the same group. The two branches, the ancestors of the Hindus and the Parsis, lived together for a very long time. They had a common religion and common practices. After separation, the Indo group migrated further south to the Punjab, known to the Iranians as Hapta-Hindu, and to the Aryan Hindus as Sapta-Sindhu, and the Gangetic valley.

Though the environments of the two branches had changed beyond recognition, there was a great similarity in all points of life between the two peoples. They had a common vocabulary, common syntax and common metre. A student of the languages of the two peoples, namely Sanskrit and Avesta, could convert a paragraph from one language to the other, sentence by sentence, in equivalent words. There was also similarity between the ideas of the Iranians and the Aryan Hindus and their gods. In the same way they found the closest resemblance in their important ceremonies.

The separation between the two branches was violent. More especially was this noticeable in religious questions. Thus the word "Deva" used by the Hindus for god was used by the Iranians for the evil spirit. In the same way "Asura" was used by Hindus to denote the evil spirit, while the Parsis used the word to denote god.

Continuing, Dr. Dhalla said Zoroaster brought reform in the religion of the Iranians just as Gautama Buddha brought about reform in Brahmanism. Zoroaster's religion somehow or other absorbed the Indo-Iranian divinity.

Thus the Zoroastrian religion had two layers, one as preached by Zoroaster, and the other the

pre-Zoroastrian religion. Zoroaster had taught them that the doctrine of life was hopeful, cheerful and optimistic, and consequently both the layers had combined to preserve the optimistic, cheerful view of the religion in Iran.

Religious thoughts in Iran suffered with the political vicissitudes of the people; they did not have the continued progress as they had in India, where, owing to its vastness, thought persisted despite foreign invasions and internal wars.

Priests performed their ceremonies and sacrificial rites, and ritual got a prominent position in the religious life of the country.

The literature or sacred books produced by the Brahmins in this period were called "Brahmanas". Though the religious hunger of the masses was satisfied, there were growing and thinking people who wanted to make religion their life.

They were dissatisfied with the ritual and therefore retired to forests to lead a saintly meditative life. Their thinking on the abstruse problems of life and philosophy resulted in the production of the Upanishads.

Life to the Vedic Hindus was hopeful, cheerful and optimistic. Not so to the composers of the Upanishads; for them the ideal of humanity was to seek deliverance from frequent lives. According to Buddhism, the world was full of woe. Then came the Bhakti cult, and the "Bhagavat Gita", the most sublime literature ever vouchsafed to mankind. Buddhism was the flower of religious thought, and it rose as a protest against the spiritualistic Brahmanism. It lived side by side with Brahmanism until in the fifth century the latter gained ascendancy.

Proceeding, Dr. Dhalla said that after 3,000 years of separation, the ancestors of the Parsis met the ancestors of the Aryan Hindus when they were driven by the Arabs from Persia. It was a curious phenomenon that for the last 1,300 years these two communities were living side by side though the "Deva" of the one was cursed by the members of the other community.

The Parsis had lived in India peacefully and amicably, and they had contributed to the welfare of the country. They had acted as peacemakers and had tried to ameliorate the condition of the people.

They had roused India from its stupor, but their work had not yet finished. India was a vast country of heterogeneous people, slowly evolving towards homogeneity. The greatest hindrance towards that homogeneity was communalism, and Dr. Dhalla thought that the Parsis could remove the misunderstanding between the Hindus and the Muslims and bring about peace so that India, civilised and cultured, might become the beacon-light to the world.

FIVE PHASES OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

(BENOYENDRA NATH BANERJEE).

The history of the Congress may be divided into at least five periods. From 1885 to 1896 it met as a 'Christmas gathering' in different parts of the country, proclaiming (as Dadabhai once said) 'like men, that we are loyal to the backbone', and urging that greater opportunity should be given to Indians to be associated with the actual conduct and control of the administration. The impact of Western ideas and the apparent disparities between Indian and Western standards could not but have their logical effect. Every session revealed that the Congress was increasing in popularity, prestige and influence. In reply to a question about the 1890 session of the Congress, Lord Lansdowne acknowledged that the Government of India recognized the

*Evening News of India.

New Review for February.



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Congress movement as representing what would in Europe be called the advanced Liberal party.

The Congress gradually gave up its apologetic tone, and in 1892 we find it criticizing the reform proposals. It was also demanding not merely more appointments but also some share in the direction of Government policy. The year 1897 witnessed the inauguration of a policy of repression which led to the incarceration of B. G. Tilak on a charge of sedition. The Congress of that year for the first time recorded its protest against the use of the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Regulations 'at a time of peace and quiet', and against some proposed changes in the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure. Lord Curzon's regime led to the emergence of the 'extremists' in the Congress arena, under the leadership of Tilak, Lajpat Rai and Bepin Pal.

This change in the Congress's outlook owed not a little to the Partition of Bengal, which was announced on December 8, 1903 and effected in 1905. From that time till the modification of that policy at the Durbar of 1911, the anti-partition agitation backed by the 'awadeshi' and boycott movements, continued to embarrass the Government. In 1901, Mr. M. K. Gandhi appeared before the Congress in Calcutta as 'a petitioner on behalf of 100,000 British Indians in South Africa'. There was also the new-grown pride of the Asiatic due to Japan's success in its struggle with Russia.

The sessions of 1906-1908 may be regarded as marking the transition to the third stage of the evolution of the Congress. The session of 1906 will ever remain memorable for Dadabhai Naoroji's delineation of 'swaraj' in his presidential address.

The 1907 session at Surat unfortunately ended in the temporary withdrawal of the extremists from the Congress. But this incident led to the framing of the first Congress constitution and creed, which was passed at the Madras Session.

Meanwhile the Morley-Minto scheme of reforms was being prepared. When the details of it became known, the Congress in its 1909 session condemned the Government for neutralizing its reforms by means of adverse regulations, and disapproved of its scheme for separate electorates.

The War however, introduced a new factor in the situation. The increasingly intense demand for self-government was suddenly marked by optimism. In 1915, Mrs. Besant started the Home Rule agitation and familiarized the slogan: Strike the iron while it is hot. An important section of Indian politicians, including Mr. Gandhi, took up the work of recruiting men and securing money to help Britain in the war, hoping thereby to win the support of the British people for the national demand. In the Lucknow session of 1916 the Congress and the Muslim League jointly supported a scheme of reforms and agreed to a Pact for the distribution of seats in the provincial and central legislatures. With the sanction of the British Cabinet, Edwin Montagu made the Declaration of August, 1917. This was followed by Mr. Montagu's visit to India, a record of which may be found in his *Indian Diary*. He was alive to the strength of the nationalist demand, but the scheme of reforms outlined in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report met with a cold reception from the Congress. At a special Bombay session in August 1918, the proposed reforms were declared to be 'inadequate, disappointing, and unsatisfactory'. Tilak declared them 'entirely unacceptable', and Mrs. Besant characterized them 'unworthy to be offered by Britain and accepted by India. The Moderates, who had kept away from this special Congress, met in Bombay in November 1918,

and formed themselves into 'The National Liberal Federation'.

The years 1918-20 were a time of great ferment in Indian politics. It is significant that in spite of the Rowlatt Bill and the Jallianwalla Bagh tragedy Mr. Gandhi welcomed the Royal assent to the Government of India Bill and Proclamation (1919). The Amritsar Congress in 1919 also passed a resolution thanking Mr. Montagu and declaring itself in favour of working the reforms. But the Hunter Report and the evidence of General Dyer, as well as the Muslim grievance over the Khilafat suddenly changed the course of events. The special session of the Congress at Calcutta in September 1920, under the presidency of Lala Lajpat Rai, adopted the non-co-operation resolution proposed by Mr. Gandhi. The Nagpur Congress in 1920 reiterated this resolution on the motion of Mr. C. R. Das, who declared himself a convert to the new programme. A new creed was also adopted by this Congress: "The object of the Indian National Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by the people of India by all legitimate and peaceful means."

The next phase of the Congress relates to the Swarajist capture of the Councils to prove the hollowness of the reforms.

At its Madras session in 1927 the Congress, on the motion of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, adopted a resolution setting forth the goal of the Congress to be independence, which was interpreted to mean 'within the British Empire if possible, outside if necessary'. Its creed was annotated later by the Fundamental Rights Resolution adopted by the Karachi Congress in 1931, committing the Congress to a policy of espousing the cause of the masses in political, economic and social matters.

The announcement of the 'all-white' Simon Commission in November 1929 again led to the emergence of a united front and to the appointment by the All-Parties Conference of the Nehru Committee to draft a constitution providing for full responsibility for India and for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question. The Nehru Report, however, though adopted by the Congress, was not ratified by all the communities. The need for the restoration of British prestige was never greater. The announcement was made on the eve of the Lahore Congress, and Mr. Gandhi in an interview with the Viceroy, wanted an assurance that the proposed Conference would draw up a full scheme for giving 'Dominion Status' to India which would become operative immediately. On the Viceroy's inability to give any such assurance on his own responsibility, the Congress passed a resolution in favour of complete independence. Since then it has chosen its own independent method of work. In March 1931, Mr. Gandhi launched a campaign of civil resistance beginning with the historic march to Dandi. The Congress was not represented at the first session of the Round Table Conference because in the course of the Sapru-Jayakar negotiations Mr. Gandhi had demanded that the terms of reference of the Conference should include the framing of a constitution to give India 'the substance of independence', and that there should be a repeal of the salt tax, a prohibition of liquor, a ban on foreign cloth, and an amnesty for political prisoners.

Constitution-making was not easy in the atmosphere of 'struggle' caused by the Civil Disobedience movement; and the Labour Government felt that in the absence of the Congress no final decision was worth taking. There was a partial amnesty in January 1931, and the Viceroy received Mr. Gandhi in prolonged conversations which ended in the Delhi Pact. This document was mainly concerned with the release of political prisoners. But it also set



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forth the terms on which the National Congress was willing to co-operate in the framing of a new constitution.

In virtue of the decision of the National Congress, Mr. Gandhi after much parleying, set out for London as the only delegate. But 'when he arrived in London', observes Mr. Benn, 'the whole scene had changed. A National Government was in power under unfettered Conservative influences. Though no change had been made in the phraseology of the legislative intent, the temper of the Indian Administration was completely altered. Rigid repression took the place of conciliation.'

The revival of Civil Disobedience on Mr. Gandhi's return, the 'dual policy' of the Willingdon administration, and the passing of the Government of India Bill, are matters of recent history. On the fifth phase of the Congress (1920-1933) there may be room for disagreement as to the wisdom of certain of its measures and decisions. But who can deny that even in these years it has been able to rouse the masses to a sense of their rights and duties as never before, that the spirit of Swadeshi and social reform owes its success to its educative propaganda, and that without its agitation a large number of major and minor administrative reforms would probably not even have been considered? Ever since its inception the Congress has tried to represent the nation. It was ushered into existence as the nation's tribune; the recent Jubilee celebrations reveal that its prestige and popularity are unrivalled.

OUTDOING KATHERINE MAYO.*

Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling was born in Chicago about forty years ago, the daughter of a Mr. and Mrs. Kirkpatrick, and christened Elizabeth Eloise. Her father died during her childhood, leaving his family reasonably well off. Mrs. Kirkpatrick (who claims to share ancestry with John Wilkes Booth, the assassin of Lincoln) became a real-estate operator and, in the general mild prosperity of that time, was fairly successful. Elizabeth was sent to a private school in Chicago.

Those who knew her during her girlhood remember her as an unusually emotional child. Her mother sent her to the Southwest, thinking to improve her health, and there Elizabeth spent three or four years. She became deeply interested in religion, sending her girl friends thirty and forty-page letters about her Bible readings, and much of that interest yet remains. (Why she did not become an evangelist will always be a mystery.) She came back from the West a lonely, gangling girl; entering finally the same University of Chicago that she now shrills against as a hotbed of Communism. She remained in the University three months—a highly emotional, eager girl with a dramatically sculptured face, enormous brown eyes and a quick, giddy laugh. What happened to her at college is one of the secrets that only she can reveal. It is said in some quarters that she was anxious—perhaps too anxious—for a social career on the campus and was rebuffed; a humiliation she could not face. The reason for her leaving college is, of course, in itself of no importance. The important thing is that Mrs. Dilling, who speaks with contempt of 'the man educated beyond his own intelligence' (as she referred to Dr. John Dewey during a recent address), has at best hardly more than a high-school education—and, because of its various interruptions, a rather sketchy one at that.

Some time after she left college she met, and married, Albert Wallwick Dilling. He was then singing in an Episcopal Church choir, and studying

both law and engineering at night. Both subjects were to serve him in his subsequent entry into Chicago politics. From 1920 to 1922 he served as chief engineer of the Chicago Sanitary District.

It wasn't until 1931 that Mrs. Dilling, who had been casting about for years in search of a career, found what she has since called her God-given task: "exposing" conditions in Soviet Russia. Just when Mrs. Dilling went to Russia, it at all, and for how long, is a matter on which the record seems somewhat confusing. It is worth noting, however, that her description of the horrors of Red Russia occupies a full half-hour of her two-hour lecture, during which she ohides George Bernard Shaw for lauding the Soviet regime "after a short, carefully supervised visit" there in 1931.

Today her description of Russia runs as follows: "I simply went to Russia with my husband to see and find out what it's all about...They've got a great deal of freedom there...for vermin... There's dirt and there's smell...If you have ever smelled Russia you'll never forget it...But they've got a Satanic enthusiasm there...You get cucumbers and black bread to eat. There's no meat, no eggs, no vegetables—but they'll have them if you'll just stick around for another Five Year Plan...Little children beg for cigarettes.

We went to the model nurseries where the flies were fighting over dirty linen that hadn't been washed for, I don't know how long. ... The food makes you sick at your stomach. It did me. It really did ... I don't care what anybody says. I have not had one fact disproved ... We saw Lenin. ... He's god in Russia. Pickled in alcohol under glass. A little sandy-whiskered thing ... a poor substitute for Jesus Christ. I thought to myself—pooh, you don't amount to much. He died of an unspeakable disease and killed three million people before he died."

All this, and two full hours of it, without one discernible inhalation. She speaks at breakneck speed, one word tumbling after another. Before her there is always a great pile of material—red banners, red flags, the V. W. C. A. songbook, the Epworth Herald, the "Internationale" (which she sings for her audiences), magazines, newspapers, pamphlets—she goes through them like a torrent through a broken dam. Testifying at a recent state legislative hearing, she raced on for five minutes before the chairman was able to break in and ask her to speak more slowly so the shorthand reporter could follow her.

"If I give you a chance, you'll stop me," she cried returning to her tirade.

"The Red Network" appeared for the first time about two years ago. It is described as a compilation of 460 "Communist, Anarchist, Socialist, I.W.W. or Radical-Pacifist controlled organizations and 1,300 individuals who have contributed in some measure to one or more phases of the Red movement in the United States." That there is a Red movement in America, an octopus whose Moscow-radiating arms are about to crush the country, Mrs. Dilling does not doubt. "You're going out into the worst age of history," she tells the Monday evening meeting of the Moody Bible Institute. "You don't know the Red harlot, the Red beast, and the signs of the times that are coming."

"The Red Network" is her own personal offensive against the Terror—the product of her imagination and industry and purse. She has been assisted in its production, however, by a group of "super-expert patriots." (The description is her own.) Mrs. Dilling gives them credit for assisting in the preparation of

* The New Republic January 8



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"The Red Network"—whether this includes printing costs she does not say.

The outstanding characteristic of "The Red Network" is its inaccuracy. It ropes together all kinds of organizations and individuals and marks them with a single brand. Its general absurdities—listing Eleanor Roosevelt, Newton D. Baker and the Y. M. C. A. as "Red," for example—are too well known to need any repeating here. It is significant of Mrs. Dilling's great mental confusion, however, that such organizations as the American Federation of Teachers, the Catholic Association for International Peace, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, are considered as much of a national "menace" as the Communist Party and the League for the Promotion of Atheism. For Mrs. Dilling there are no grades. Everything is Red.

Items picked at random from "The Red Network" and put together on a single page read like an imitation of Walter Winchell's keyhole column. Mrs. Dilling informs us, for instance:

"... While I am unable to understand the scientific value of the Relativity theory, I can understand the 'relativity' of Einstein to his daughter, who married a Russian." ... Another of Einstein's qualifications as a dangerous enemy to our institutions is the fact that he has been "President Roosevelt's overnight White House guest." ... William C. Bullitt is to be regarded with some suspicion because "the Jewish press exults over his mother being Jewish."

"The Red Network" is not without its moral, ethnological and religious observations. "God created separate races," writes Mrs. Dilling, "but Communists insist on racial intermixture and intermarriage. Neither the races nor the sexes can ever be equal." Her denunciation of the Fellowship of Faiths has this passage: "Speakers for the debasing and degrading Hindu, Mohammedan, Pagan and Agnostic Cults are placed in 'fellowship' and on equal footing with speakers for Jesus Christ....The savage Mohammedan call of the muezzin as heard in darkest Asia is mingled with the propaganda of the Hindu, Jew and Agnostic."

MACAULAY VINDICATED.

Principal W. S. Rowland of Robertson College, Jubbulpore, in the course of a paper published by the *Daily News* of Nagpur, February 9, writes: About a hundred years ago, Lord Macaulay wrote his Minute on Education. To him have been imputed the woes of the intelligentsia by East and West with common voice. In fairness his detractors should read this document from which I quote without apology. "I feel that it is impossible for us (the East India Company) with our limited means to attempt to educate the body of the people. We must at present do our best to form a class of people who may be interpreters between us and the millions whom we govern: a class of persons, Indian in blood and colour, but English in taste, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. To that class we may leave it to refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms borrowed from the Western nomenclature and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."

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BY

K. NATARAJAN.

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A limited number of copies of this valuable work of reference was sent to us for circulation in India and they have been sold out. A further supply is expected in about a month and orders can be booked for at Rs. 10/- (Rupees ten only) a copy, postage 12 as. extra.—

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Sir D. E. Wacha :—Sir Dinshah Edulji Wacha died at the great age of 92 on Tuesday. For the last few years he had practically ceased to take active interest in public affairs. The public respected his retirement and, except on special occasions like the golden jubilee of the National Congress, did not seek to disturb his life of ease with dignity. His death, therefore, does not leave a gap in the ranks of Indian public men. During the greater part of his life, Sir Dinshah was the most indefatigable worker in Indian politics. His correspondence alone was voluminous and, as he wrote with his own hand all his letters, the strain upon him was immense. Even when his eyesight became weak he kept up his enormous daily reading and writing with the aid of a magnifying glass. With all this, in addition to his office work in the Morarji firm, he found time to discuss at length current questions with all callers, whether friends or strangers. Sir Dinshah wrote copiously to newspapers and was for many years a regular contributor to a local Anglo-Gujarati weekly. As a writer he belonged to the school which believes in the profuse use of adjectives of judgment and enjoys using the superlative where others would be content with the positive degree in affirmation as well as in denial. Malabari with whom Wacha worked in the early years was the direct antithesis as a commentator on men and events. Sir Dinshah's collaboration in public life with Sir Pherozeshah Mehta was a most fruitful one. He was rather overshadowed by the towering personality of his powerful colleague and, we believe, he sometimes felt that he was not getting his due recognition. In the changed circumstances after the death of Sir Pherozeshah and Gokhale in the same year, Sir Dinshah Wacha found some difficulty in accommodating himself to the view points of the new generation of public workers. For instance,

he was and remained a staunch Free Trader of the Cobden school and did not feel quite happy at the adoption of the policy of discriminating Protection by the Indian Government. He was also frightened by some new developments and in his reaction against them, he went completely to the other extreme. A man of pure life, simple in his tastes and strong in his hatred of all sham and duplicity, a hard, untiring worker in the public cause, a student all his life, Sir Dinshah will long be remembered with affection by a very large circle of friends.

Vitality of Religion :—There are many earnest people who are eagerly awaiting the death of religion, of the Hindu religion particularly, and are preparing to cast lots for its garments. They would be pained to know that at the Kumbh Mela last month two and a half million people plunged at the precise moment of sunrise into the Ganges at Prayag in the shivering cold of January in Allahabad, and that the mighty confluence of the Jumna and the Ganges with the hidden Sarasvati, changed its course several times in the day, carrying away some sadhus, in its effort to escape the human barrage. Enquiries made invariably bring the reply that temples are flourishing everywhere and that there is no slackening in the number of worshippers or in the incomes, as is reported of Churches in Western lands. More than that the idea of Fellowship of All Faiths has caught on. The few copies sent to us of the great volume issued by the World Fellowship in America were taken rapidly. In connection with the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary, a Parliament of Religions is being convened in Bombay. An Inter-Religious Conference is to be held under the auspices of the Andhra Brahma Sadanasram at Cocanada today and tomorrow (Saturday and Sunday) and the programme contains a large number of papers to be read by representatives of all faiths. Surely, religion is not dying in India!

Crimes against Women :—There have been for some years past complaints of offences against women. These have been increasing in number and are not confined to any area though, proportionately, Bengal and the Punjab enjoy a bad pre-eminence in this respect. We print in another column a statement issued by leading women of Bengal describing the cruel sufferings to which Bengali women are



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exposed, and appealing to the women of India to take up the question and help their sisters. The enormity of the evil in that Province has led the Bengal Legislative Council to pass a law this week making gross offences against women punishable with whipping. Except as a stern gesture of condemnation, not much is to be expected of this measure as a deterrent to evil doers. Apart from the fact that such crimes are nearly always inspired by blind passion which takes no thought of consequences, judges and juries will naturally shrink from finding persons, accused of offences punishable with humiliating and irrevocable physical chastisement, guilty. They will incline to look for any little loophole of doubt to let them off. This is notoriously the case in murder cases not only in this country where sanctity of life is a religious creed, but also in other countries which retain capital punishment in their penal law. We should look for more effective remedies against the evil in the establishment of Societies like the Hindu Women's Rescue Home Society of Bombay, a brief record of whose work during the last eight years we publish today. The Society has erected a building to house its Shraddanand Rescue Home, which Lady Brabourne is to open this (Saturday) evening. The Society has incurred expenditure to the extent of Rs. 80,000 and requires half as much more to provide accommodation for workers. It has collected so far Rs. 45,000 and appeals to the public for the remainder. The record of its work speaks for itself, and we are sure, that its appeal will meet with prompt and generous response.

The Social Service League Silver Jubilee :—Of the many Social Service institutions in Bombay, the Social Service League is amongst the foremost, not only because of the wide range of its activities, but because of the place which the work of the League has won in the estimation of the public generally. The Social work of the League on behalf of women, and on behalf of depressed and labouring classes, is well known. In times of distress, caused by floods, famine, or fire, the League has ever been ready to give its wholehearted assistance in the work of relief and reconstruction. The high standard of work at its industrial schools for poor middle class women, has enabled many of those women to become more self-sufficient in their own houses, or to supplement their husband's income by their own handicrafts. The League's dispensary has been used by thousands in the crowded mill area of Parel. Its work for mill-labourers in the form of technical training, recreation, dramatic performances and Co-operative Credit Societies, has been much valued, as also its educational work through night schools, libraries, lectures and publications. The year 1936 completes twenty five years of the League's useful work. During the celebration of the Silver Jubilee from 19th to 25th March a number of functions have been arranged in which members and supporters of the League,

and also those for whose benefit the League exists, can take part. One of the most important of these functions is a Variety Entertainment, the proceeds of which will go towards the League's expenses. This entertainment is to take place in the Opera House on March 21st at 9-30 P. M. (S. T.). His Excellency the Governor and Lady Brabourne have kindly consented to be present.

Earthquake Alarms :—Last week there were several shocks of earthquake felt in many places in Northern India, some so acute as to drive people into the streets. But no damage to life and property was reported. Those who share the belief that earthquakes are sent as punishment for the sin of untouchability, will, perhaps, conclude that the sin has been partially wiped out and that the shocks last week were warnings that the hand of heaven is raised to smite any backsliding. The more prosaic view that quakes are the growing pains of Mother Earth and are absolutely unconcerned with human merit or delinquency, derives support from an interesting table, in the Record of the Geological Survey of India, of earthquakes registered by a Pendulum Seismograph at Shillong from 1903 to 1931. The apparatus is an old and rather crude one and its records for several years are missing. But the list shows that earthquakes are a normal occurrence though their shocks are not felt in most cases on the surface of the earth. No morning wears to evening, but some earth does quake. Dr. Charles Davison concludes from an analysis of the list that, after a period of about twelve years since the great earthquake of 1897, during which the shocks did not reach the crust, the crust movements of Assam resumed their original character and may in course of time end in another great destructive earthquake. He does not say when this may be expected. Writing of earthquakes, we notice that the author of "India in 1933-34", with a fine sense of proportion, begins by saying that the Bihar earthquake was the most important event of 1934 and that the passing of the Hoare Scheme by Parliament was the next important!

Excluded Areas :—Those who have read the Government of Bombay's memorandum on "Excluded Areas," will be surprised to see that the nominated official member from Bombay, Syed Aminuddin, spoke against the non-official resolution in the Legislative Assembly in favour of a uniform system of administration for the provinces including the proposed "excluded" and "partially excluded" areas. The Syed said that the aboriginal tribes in Thana and Nasik were in the grip of money-lenders, and that where they had been given a vote for elections, the candidates had poured out gallons of liquor, thus causing deterioration in the moral and physical condition of these people. Are money lenders and liquor going to be excluded from excluded areas? The Government Agent in East Godavery in Madras stressed particularly the protection of the Abkari and Forest privi-



leges of the hillmen in the new constitution. "My experience is", he wrote, "that hillmen are just the same as they always have been and that any curtailment of these privileges will lead to discontent and trouble." This is a very good reason for withdrawing altogether from the administration of these tribes, since that would be the best way of ensuring that they will continue to be what they have always been. The reasons given in favour of excluding areas wholly or partially are self-contradictory but they have served to carry out Mr. Cadogan's object. The new constitution will make the position of the aboriginals worse and not better than what it is.

Ancient Indo-Iranian Home :—We publish a letter in another column from a learned correspondent in Karwar protesting against Sir Hari Singh Gour's opinion that the ancestors of the Hindus and Parsis descended on the fertile plains of India. Dr. Dhalla in his lecture, which we published last week, also seemed to accept the theory of Aryan immigration in to India. As our correspondent points out, however, serious doubts have been cast on this theory of late by both Indian and Western scholars. The first blow to it was the discovery in 1907 by Professor Hugo Winckler at Boghaz-Koi in Asia Minor of an inscription of about 1400 B. C. in which the names of the Vedic gods, Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya occur. The total absence of any reference to an ancient homeland other than India in the oldest Sanskrit sacred literature, the order in which the Indian rivers are invariably given, from the Ganges westwards and not from the Indus East-wards as should have been the case if the Aryans entered from the Northwest, and the presence of the Sakadvipi Brahmins in East Bengal, where they have long been regarded as a remnant of an ancient Magian settlement, are other evidences against the theory. Pargiter in his "Indian Historical Traditions" has set out clearly the case against it. The Italian archaeologist, Boni, to whom our correspondent refers, had a brain wave that the clue to the foundation site of Rome would be found in ancient Hindu sacred literature. So it was. William Steed gave, when Boni died, an interesting account of the discovery in the *Review of Reviews* which he was then editing. The discoveries at Mahenjo Daro and Harrapa have further knocked the bottom out of the theory of Aryan supremacy.

Music in Maharashtra :—The prospectus of the Maharashtra Sangeet Samitee (Musical Academy) which we publish in another column explains that the word 'Maharashtra' has been used to indicate the field in which the main centres of its activities will for the present be located. But why confine itself to Hindustani music? Why leave out of the orbit of the Samitee, the other great—and original—school of Indian music, the Karnatak? Perhaps, the reason is that mentioned by His Highness the Maharana of Dharmpur who presided at the Conference last week. He said that Hindu Muslim

unity would be promoted by the cultivation of music. The Karnatak, too, has many Muslim practitioners. But are we never to get away from the tyranny of politics? Is Hindu Muslim unity an artistic or musical objective? Should we found a school of painting which would remove untouchability and prevent Dr. Ambedkar from quitting the Hindu fold five years hence? The Maharashtra Academy is most favourably situated both in respect of geography and cultural affinities to evolve an Indian School comprising the schools of Karnatak and Hindusthan.

Indigenous Medicines :—Sir Wazir Hussain presiding at the third convocation of the Ayurvedic and Unani Colleges in Lucknow gave several reasons for preferring indigenous to imported drugs. Firstly, he said, they are cheaper than allopathic drugs and are thus within the means of the masses; secondly, Indian herbs are probably more suited to the temperament of the Indian people; thirdly, Indian medicines are easy to prepare and do not demand as great care and attention as the graduation of the doses of the highly concentrated drugs of allopathy; and lastly, the ordinary medicines, generally needed, can be had almost anywhere. The last proposition is finely illustrated in the account in the Vinaya Texts, which form part of the Buddhist canon, of the training given in the ancient university of Nalanda, famous for its medical Faculty. The physician who, later, had the privilege of becoming the Buddha's personal physician, spent seven years at the university and then approached the Chancellor with the request that he may be granted a diploma. The Chancellor set him a question and gave him three months to answer it in. The candidate was required to find out what plant or herb there was within a radius of five miles from the Senate House which was *not* medicinal. The candidate at the end of the period gave the result of his investigation. There was *no* plant or herb within the area that had no medicinal properties. He got his diploma and became the most eminent surgeon and physician of his age.

Indian Airmen's Success :—What more striking testimony is needed that Indians are becoming increasingly air-minded and are taking to aviation like duck to water or, shall we say, birds to air, than the recent triumph of Lieut. Misri Chand who won the Viceroy's Challenge Trophy, and two other Indians, Messrs. Gadgil and Gazdar who finished second and third respectively, in the Air Race from Madras to Delhi, covering a distance of 1,520 miles? Throughout the Race, the winner easily maintained the first place and he was also awarded the Speedolene Trophy. The success of the Indian Air-man synchronises with the opening of the New Air Station in Delhi by the Viceroy who himself is a keen enthusiast of flying. The progress and development of civil aviation in this country has been slow when compared with what has been achieved in other parts of the world. There is every sign that it has a great future.



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BOMBAY, February 22, 1936.

NEWNESS OR FREEDOM?

Baron von Oppell writes an article on "the Pleasure of Newness" in the *Hibbert Journal* for January. "If and as long as we possess any vitality and it finds an outlet in some degree of mental energy, whatever direction this may take," the Baron begins "we seem to have in us a desire, perhaps not consciously felt, for something new. This desire lies at the root of all movement, all effort; the constant urge to get out of the present state, whatever it may be, into a new one, making men strive towards an aim." He goes on to observe that pleasure derived from new "things", in which term he includes all that is not self, including events, passes as soon as a "thing" is had. "Even if our aim were high and difficult and completely achieved at last," he writes, "we rarely find that success brings us what we hoped of it. And certainly it will never give us the joy of newness." This can come only, he adds, by seeing the world with one's own eyes and not secondhand as others see it. Rather a tame conclusion to a start that was meant to thrill! The Baron condemns as false the "originality" which some seek, by trampling on sentiments, principles or prejudices, religious, moral or conventional—a method which rarely fails for the moment at least to produce some effect of novelty. "But," as he says, "people get used to being shocked. Such works in time lose their novelty and become out of fashion." He concludes that we shall not find the pleasure of newness in mere variety of things but only in looking with our own individual eyes and thinking our own individual thoughts on the things that are before us every day. It is freshness of spirit and not newness of things which gives the pleasure which newness seems to give.

What Baron von Oppell strives to convey to his readers with much effort, is pithily expressed in two or three verses of the Bhagavad Gita. "Since enjoyments that are born of contact (of senses with objects) are parents of misery alone and with beginning and end, a wise man does not seek pleasure in them," V. 22. "Whose happiness is within, whose relaxation is within whose light is within, that Yogi alone, become Brahman, gains absolute freedom", V. 24. It is not the "pleasure of newness," as Baron Oppell thinks, but the joy of freedom that men strive for. The freedom sought by the ordinary man is from monotony and deprivations of his daily life; of the man of genius from the limitations of his environment; of the man of God from the things which distract him from his aspiration to be at one with God. But it is freedom of some kind which every one strives for. Don Juan in Browning's "Fifine at the Fair" exclaims:

Frenetic to be free! And, do you know,
there beats
Something within my breast, as sensitive?
repeats

The fever of the flag? My heart makes—
just the same

Passionate stretch for lawlessness, lays-
claim

To share the life they lead; losels, who-
have and use

The hour what way they will, applaud:
them or abuse

Society, whereof my self is at the beck,

Whose call obey, and stoop to burden-
stiffest neck.

The members of the circus troupe, the flag on whose pavilion moves Don Juan to this outburst, are not in the least so independent of circumstance as he supposes. The life of strolling players is a veritable dog's life. The comic man of the company is often a most melancholy Jaques. Every one of them would rejoice to exchange his or her seemingly care-free life for the humdrum of the householder who is sure of a roof above his head and his meals at the proper time. Don Juan explains to his dutiful wife, Elvire, the philosophy of his passing preference for the circus girl, Fifine. It is not Baron Oppell's philosophy of Newness but the much older one of Trueness. Fifine's attraction is her utter trueness. No makebelieve about her. She shows herself to be what she is, the Pariah of the North, the European Nautch. Strange that the two darkest spots on our civilization, should, in 1872 when the poem was published, have enriched the English language with two stinging words. And why should Truth attract? Because

So absolutely good is truth, truth never hurts

The teller, whose worst crime gets somehow
grace, avowed.

It is a long step from the Bhagavad Gita to Fifine at the Fair. But both show that what man really desiderates is freedom, not mere newness. Freedom, of course, has to Don Juan quite a different meaning from what it has to the Yogi. Nonetheless, it is a removal of limitations to self-realisation and self-expression and not the lure of novelty which is the wish in each case. Lord Acton rightly held that the history of man is the history of Freedom. Baron Oppell's hypothesis that we are all hankering after something new because it is new, is not borne out by everyday experience. What is new is strange. Men like what is familiar and distrust what is strange. Babies cling to their mothers and do not take to strangers. Children like to hear old stories repeated. Crowds are roused to enthusiasm or lashed to fury by old shibboleths being shouted with new emphasis. One does not like to part with old coats and shoes which have grown to be part of himself. "Old is gold" and evokes affection. "New", on the other hand, has a suggestion of contempt as in "new rich". We like new things only when they resemble or recall old things. The feeling aroused by a new thing

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is just curiosity. The attitude of the average man is that of Hamlet: "Better bear the ills we have than fly to others that we know not of." There is, really, as the ancient wise man said, nothing new under the sun. Those who hanker after newness hanker for some thing which exists only within themselves.

"CONGRESS AND BHARATNATYAM."

The contribution, in the last issue of the *Reformer*, of Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi against engaging devadasis to give public performances in dancing and music, it strikes me, is as unreasonable as it is un-called for. Thanks to Dr. Reddi's indefatigable efforts for the redemption of these unfortunate women from a life of degradation and shame, their services and the dedication of girls to temples, have become a thing of the past. Much credit goes to Dr. Reddi also for the Home to reclaim them from their undesirable life. Now that the sting is taken out of the devadasi profession, what harm can there be if these women are encouraged in the legitimate practice and cultivation of the Arts of music and dancing, which have elicited the admiration of even the Western world and of which the devadasis are recognised exponents? Therefore, I can see no objection if they are engaged to give public performances in music and dancing and, much less, if an art critic chooses to describe the merits and demerits of the individual performers. In fact, it would be eminently desirable that these women, for their own good and for the benefit of the society in which they exist, should be absorbed in the new field of activities opened up by the Radio, the Cinema and the theatre. This is the best method of weaning them from their former life. It is almost an axiom in social work that counter-attractions and counter-occupations must be furnished to wean people from their evil ways.

Legislation, though an important factor in putting an end to social evils, is not enough for their total eradication. The unfortunates have to be reformed and to be merged in society as moral, self-respecting citizens. This, indeed, is a great responsibility. Dr. Reddi herself recognises that the devadasis are "innocent victims of pseudo-religious custom" and are, therefore, more sinned against than sinning. That there is awakening among them for a better life is shown by the Doctor's own statement that some of them do not resort to promiscuity but continue in the profession simply because there are not men forthcoming to marry them. Then, again, according to Dr. Reddi, a good percentage of the handsome devadasis skilled in the art of music and dance become physical wrecks early in life, owing to their unhealthy mode of life and are thus lost to the musical world. What clearer proofs are needed than the Doctor's own statements for the leading institutions, such as, Musical schools and Academies to take them on hand and encourage them in the preservation and cultivation of the fine Arts in which they are adepts. There seems to be nothing wrong if Congress helps in this good work. Our society which is morally responsible for their degradation, cannot shake off lightly its duty towards them by declaring them beyond the pale.

Dr. Reddi's estimation of the character of our young men and women hardly does credit to them. Their moral fibre is not so flimsy as to be blown to pieces by every passing wind. Surely, Dr. Reddi does not want our young men and women to be preserved in cotton wool!

Dr. Reddi is disposed to take a more lenient view of the musicians and actresses of the West. If their

position in that society is better, it is because they are not discriminated against as is the case of their counterparts here. Or is it a case with Dr. Reddy of distance lending enchantment to the eyes?

In the same number of the *Reformer*, the attention is also drawn in an editorial Note to Pandit Vallabh Pant's protest in the Assembly against dancing girls broadcasting music programmes. The retrograde views of the self-righteous Pandit should not be taken seriously by the public.

N. K. AKSHI.

THE EVOLUTION OF CONGRESS POLICY.

[S. G. WARTY.]

THE ERA OF PHEROZESHAH AND SURENDRANATH (1885-1905)

When the Congress was first started, its goal was not defined. It was only to be a National Parliament where workers and leaders from different provinces sought to make themselves personally known to one another and decide upon common action. It only emphasized specific piecemeal reforms in administration.

Even when on the eve of the fourth session, Lord Dufferin the Viceroy criticised the Congress as seeking self-government, Congress leaders were at pains to repudiate these sentiments. In 1898 when, for the first time, the aims and objects of the Congress were formally adopted, the aim was laid down as the promotion of the welfare of the masses by all constitutional means. It was not until 1906 that a definite goal was adopted, that of self-government on colonial lines.

It was not that the early fathers were ignorant of the logical development of their activities. In fact Lord Macaulay had visualised the goal of India in the early fifties and the Congress leaders of that time were all well versed in the lore of Macaulay and Burke. But they wanted to proceed on lines of least resistance at start, and did not like perhaps to make the Government nervous by proclaiming their goal. They were also governed by a belief, rightly or wrongly, in the good intentions of the British Government and the British connection was even regarded as a providential dispensation.

The Congress confined itself to political problems and excluded the discussion of social reform, as it was thought that all kinds of people could meet on the political platform without differences of opinion which in the beginning would perhaps have proved fatal. Social conferences were organised latterly but not as part of the Congress. The Congress activities were not as comprehensive as they are today.

As regards the methods followed, the Congress organisation was very poor as was to be expected for an infant institution. The movement was confined to the intelligentsia whom their opponents ridiculed as a "microscopic minority". The early fathers were rather averse to rousing the masses, as they had faith in the full justice of their cause and sincerely thought that, if they properly explained India's case to members of Parliament and the British democracy, redress would come. This was the reason why more importance was given to work in England than to work in India.

The early fathers were all governed by unswerving loyalty to the British Crown, not as a matter of policy but because they were sincerely loyal. They even thought of making Lord Reay or Lord Dufferin the President of the first session. This was mainly due to the influence of Mr. Hume who, when given three cheers at the close of the first session, called for three times three cheers for Queen Victoria. But for Mr. Hume's invaluable



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able and wise guidance in the beginning, the Congress would not have emerged stonger day by day.

The Congress started with real sympathy from Lord Dufferin the Viceroy who welcomed it as a means of ascertaining the wishes of the Indian people regarding administrative reforms. Soon, however, the Civil Service and the Anglo-Indian press headed by the 'Pioneer' were awake and from the fourth session held at Allahabad, difficulties were encountered, which came to a head at the sixth session held at Calcutta where Mr. Pherozeshah, a superlative combatant, presided, and the issue was joined.

Since then, the Congress and Government were not on good terms. The Civil Service entrenched in power tried to cripple the influence of the Congress but with each attempt it grew stronger from public sympathy. The law of sedition was also strengthened, discontent grew, and under Lord Curzon's violently impolitic regime, his bad manners and his insults, the original policy of the Congress began to lose hold of the public mind and extremists came to the front with a new fighting programme, and even terrorism made its appearance.

In spite of the reverses, the Congress in its first period, gained some successes. The Congress successfully by its agitation compelled the Government to withdraw the notification taking away the Jury rights, as also the Legal Practitioners' Bill which had been devised as a weapon to cripple the lawyers' independence. The Council Act of 1892, though of a very meagre character, was the result of the Congress agitation. If the Government were wise enough to meet Congress demands bit by bit instead of trying to crush it, the Congress would have remained a loyal body. But every reform had to be wrested from Government as it were by compulsion, and the old confidence in the good intentions of Government disappeared before even the first period closed.

THE ERA OF TILAK & BESANT.

The extremist party grew in strength because of the disappointments of the Congress and especially of Lord Curzon's challenging regime, and its influence on Congress policy was clearly marked in the adoption by the Congress in 1906, of self-government as the goal of India, and boycott of British goods as the weapon to bring the United Kingdom to terms. Under the extremist influence, more reliance came to be placed on rousing the masses in India and creating a sanction behind the Congress. The first beginnings of an industrial policy can be seen in the adoption of "Swadeshi" officially by the Congress.

The impetus really came from Bengal, but the youngsters found a competent and accommodating leader in Mr. Tilak who was waiting for opportunities. Even Sir Surendranath was more of an extremist than a moderate. Terrorism also made its appearance now, but the Congress extremists though not directly connected with it, did not denounce the movement as Mr. Gandhi does now, but exploited its presence for their own ends.

After the Surat split, the Congress under the leadership of Sir Pherozeshah, adopted the creed to which the extremists would not subscribe. Meanwhile the announcement of the Morley reforms and the unusual, harsh steps taken by Government against the extremists, gave moderates a chance. Mr. Morley's move to rally the moderates was the first gesture from Government to seek co-operation from the people in fashioning the reforms. The Congress machine was entirely in the hands of the moderates until 1915, but the heart of the country was behind extremism.

It was during this time of comparative lull that the Congress was able to win over the Moslems to its

cause. Before now, though-enlightened Moslems had joined the Congress, the community as such under the advice of Sir Syed Ahmed held aloof. Early in 1907, Mr. Gokhale on behalf of the Congress endorsed special representation and since then good relations prevailed, strengthened later by Sir W. Wedderburn's presidential appeal in 1910. As a result, in 1912 the Moslem League, then under the statesmanlike leadership of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah adopted the Congress goal of self-government. If the extremists were in the Congress during this period, the Moslems would probably have held back, scared away by their violent speeches and methods. By the time they returned to the Congress in 1916 the extremists had been greatly sobered and a rapprochement was finally effected by the Congress-League pact.

AMERICA FACES THE EAST.

(WALTER BROOKES FOLEY.)

CROSSING THE MISSISSIPPI.

There is always a thrill for me in crossing the "Father of Waters". The first time I did it by train, late at night. I had the Pullman porter wake me and I enjoyed a lovely moonlight view that has always been in the background of my thought each time I have seen the river since then.

This last time we crossed the river from Rock Island to Davenport, Illinois to Iowa. The rural section of Illinois through which we had driven was quite different from the great city center on Lake Michigan. But when we crossed the river we felt we were getting more nearly "out where the West begins", though that is much less than half the distance across the continent.

Each time I have crossed the Mississippi it has seemed a peaceful stream. But there is always an appearance of latent power that is impressive. The wide banks on either side indicate that at some seasons the river is much greater in volume.

One of the great, moving facts of a trip across the United States is a gripping realization of available power, we are citizens of a great nation—great in the past and with great possibilities for the future.

The River that runs down through the heart of the country with its extensive tributaries is a symbol of the might in American life. When and if it is controlled it is a power for good. When it runs loose without control for a reasonable purpose it becomes a liability.

There are situations crying for American assistance in a world that seems on the verge of madness. How America can use its influence to preserve any worthwhile civilization, ought to be a matter for deep study on the part of each one of us.

"OUT WHERE THE TALL CORN GROWS."

In Iowa it begins to be perfectly obvious why it was necessary for the Federal Government to furnish relief for the farmers. In the central and southern part of the State through which we drove, corn which had really been "tall corn" four years before now was but a shadow or ghost of the previous crop.

The ground was dry and burnt. The winds blew over a drought-stricken area. The land was not the fertile country we had seen often in other years. While we had read of the difficulties of central western agriculture no study of books had given us the sense of desolation that we came upon first in Iowa.

*Previous Notes in this series were published in the *Reformer*, of 18th January & 15th February.

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Though we had tasted western dust on the Atlantic Coast as a result of the terrible wind storms in the west where thousands of tons of fertile surface soil had been lifted and carried more than a thousand miles, still we gained a new realization of the loss of the best agricultural land of the country as we had not before.

We knew something of the excessive ploughing under of prairie and grazing land that should never have been planted to crops. We knew something of the pressure exerted through the Federal Department of Agriculture on farmers to grow larger and larger crops. We knew something of the war and post-war speculation in land. But knowledge of past mistakes will not alleviate present distress.

So the national government was compelled to come to the rescue of the farmers as it has often rescued various industries. Whether we believe in the method or not, the necessity was present. And the only way for the national government to help one needy group in the United States is to get the help from some other group.

After all there is no way to keep the United States going ahead save by having all groups cooperate when need arises. Agriculture needs industry and industry needs agriculture. One must help the other. We need a greater integration of rural and city life.

OMAHA, LINCOLN AND POINTS SOUTH.

To one who has never gone much beyond New York City, Nebraska seems in the Far West. It really is not. Yet it is beyond the great but muddy Missouri River.

A friend of mine a few years ago accepted a position in Chicago. She lived in western New York. Some one in her home town asked her, with awe, whether she was intending to go west as far as Cleveland.

We can be thankful that the great highways and the increased use of motor cars are eliminating some of the provincialism of America. We do need to know our own country. The number of missionaries I have found working in countries outside of their own, who knew nothing, practically speaking, of the United States, is simply amazing.

There is one thing about people from Nebraska and neighboring States when they set out on a world trip; they must travel across half of their own country to reach either coast to take a steamer. We live in a great country and the only real way to know that is to travel through it in leisurely fashion. We need friends scattered everywhere with whom we keep in touch. Nebraska is enough different from Long Island to belong to another country altogether. Just now, it too is suffering from the drought of the past few years. Great fertile areas are gone, perhaps never to be replanted again.

But one thing to keep in mind is that not as much land is needed to grow crops. For chemistry is affecting the land as well as the factories of America.

But some day it is to be hoped we will begin to think of helping to feed millions of the Orient who starve and die, never having had a full meal in all their lives. I believe that our world civilization cannot progress with part of the population economically under-privileged. We must, somehow, lift the levels everywhere.

We need the best efforts of everyone. And a man cannot give his best to great advances when he is forever hungry. We must support the west in its time of need for we need the help of the west. That is also true for people everywhere.

The challenge of economic need in the vicinity of Omaha and Lincoln is very great. In assisting that section we will become a greater country.

DUST STORM IN KANSAS

Moving southward from Nebraska into Western Kansas we stuck the real dust country. In a little town just to the north of the border of Kansas we get our first taste and then all the rest of the day we ate and drank and breathed dust.

The experience came the closest to one we had had in North India with the temperature at 120° and a hot loo blowing, that we had ever lived through.

Snow fences were scattered everywhere partially to break the force of the dust. Great heaps of dust were on the sides of the highway, banks of it over the fields. The constant wind had blown the tops off the sun-dried cornstalks.

Tiny ears of corn seemed a poor excuse for what once grew in this section. The courage of anyone trying to farm in the locality was almost beyond comprehension; yet, of course, there are no fertile fields to which to migrate any more. The land that is available and usable is occupied.

However, I did think of great sections on Long Island held out of circulation and used only by a few for pleasure. Possibly we need to re-distribute land in the eastern part of the United States. Slums in the city and great landed estates in the suburbs somehow, do not synchronize in the modern scheme of things as perfectly as they might.

The stories of the Kansas dust storms are startling to those who have not experienced even such a minor one as we drove through. They were and still are as severe a test of human endurance as Kansas have ever had.

Yet life goes on. It is the significant fact of modern America. Better thinking, changing attitudes, Federal funds for State relief, a Presidential candidate (Governor Landon), a study of economic resources and necessities, a drawing together of those who are interested in seeing the United States go forward by the use of new methods as well as old—all these are direct products of the trials and tribulations of Kansas and her neighboring States.

Incidentally it was a relief to get away from the beer and liquor signs that clutter up most of the American landscape in towns and villages and cities. It is a forcible fact that we still have a depression even though the 18th Amendment was repealed. The nonsense of drinking our way into prosperity has been exposed rather thoroughly. Possibly that idea is like a Kansas dust-storm, it obscures the vision of the road ahead.

BENGALI WOMEN'S APPEAL.

Under the signature of a large number of prominent ladies, the following appeal is issued:—The entire country is aware of the terrible atrocities most inhumanly perpetrated daily on Indian women, specially on the unfortunate and ill-fated Hindu women, in the shape of shameful rape and heartless abduction mostly in the rural area in almost all the provinces of India. Innumerable cases, of late reported in the press, should have sufficiently brought home to the authorities and leaders of public opinion in India alike, the serious nature of the Terrorism of lascivious ruffians and goondas but, in spite of that, these brutalities have become an every-day occurrence in this land. Requests have been made from the platform and the press, but no adequate measures have been devised for the eradication of this evil. It is high time that the womanhood of India should realise the seriousness of the situation and rise equal to the occasion and make an emphatic protest against the systematic and organised cowardly attack upon their honour. We feel that concerted action should be forthwith adopted against the powerful agencies that



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are striking terror and creating and spreading havoc in Hindu homes. At present a few agencies are fighting out the danger with meagre and insufficient resources. It should be, hence, the bounden duty of every Hindu woman to help to organise a strong All-India body with a net-work of branches throughout the length and breadth of our mother-land. With this aim in view, we are calling an All-India Hindu Women Protection Conference within a very short time at Calcutta and hope that men and women from the four corners of India will muster strong in this noble fight and make the Conference a success. The Hindu womanhood of India should thrice think that nowhere else in the civilised world this crime in its utter barbarism exists at the present moment.

HINDU WOMEN'S RESCUE HOME SOCIETY.

The Hindu Women's Rescue Home Society was formed with the object of tackling the problem of unprotected Hindu women—a problem both pressing and complex in the highest degree. The fallen woman, the deserted wife, the betrayed virgin, the unclaimed infant—these are sore spots in the history of all communities. They are, however, particularly grave and acute in the case of Hindus. The Rescue Home Society endeavours to heal up these sores to the extent it can help.

The Society owes its existence to the inspiration of the late Lala Lajpatrai. The idea took a definite form in 1927. The Bombay Hindus had assembled to mourn the loss of Swami Shradhdhanandji. They resolved to raise a memorial to him and they thought that it could best take the form of a Women's Rescue Home in Bombay. The necessity of such a Home had been keenly felt for a long time. The resolution passed at the public meeting was speedily given effect to and this Society was brought into existence and registered in December 1927 with the following principal objects:

- (a) To provide shelter for and render assistance to needy Hindu women and children without distinction of class or caste;
- (b) To promote the welfare of poor and destitute Hindu women and children and provide them with prompt relief from distress;
- (c) To impart education to such women and children including moral and religious instruction on the basis of the Hindu faith.

Messrs. M. R. Jayakar, Bar-at-Law, Govindlal Shivilal Motilal, Rameshwardasji Birla and Velji Lakhamji Nappoo are the Trustees of the Society, and a Committee of Management periodically elected by the members of the Society looks after its affairs. The Society began its activities by starting a Rescue Home at Matunga naming it "Shradhdhanand Anath Mahilashram" in memory of that great leader. The supervision of the Ashram has been placed in the hands of a Lady Superintendent, who is a qualified nurse and midwife.

The activities of the Society, as indicated by its name, have been directed towards rendering prompt and sympathetic assistance to fallen and unprotected Hindu women. A careful inquiry into their condition has shown that they are drawn into degradation for hardly any fault of theirs. Cases of deliberate or conscious wrong-doing are extremely rare. It is a fortunate sign that the utility of this "Home" is being slowly realised by the public as well as by local bodies and Government institutions. The number of women sent by the Magistrates and the Police of Bombay to remain under the protection of the Ashram is rapidly increasing. The enthusiastic encomiums which have of late been showered on the work of the "Home" in the public

press and from public platforms, prove that the work of the Ashram is being gradually appreciated in Bombay and outside.

The following figures of admissions will show how the Home has been proving increasingly useful to the Hindu Society from its beginning:—1928, 29 women and 21 children; in 1929, 70 women and 39 children; in 1930, 53 women and 19 children; in 1931, 78 women and 57 children; in 1932, 105 women and 63 children; in 1933, 95 women and 45 children; in 1934, 93 women 52 children; and in 1935, 103 women and 68 children.

Out of 626 women admitted in 8 years, 249 were widows, 264 were married and 113 were unmarried.

We are sure that but for the timely assistance rendered by the Ashram most of these women and children would have been lost to Hindu society. It is the common experience of social workers that unprotected Hindu women become daily victims of fraud and deception in this vast cosmopolitan city. Some of the Hindu women rescued by the Society would have been forced to live an immoral life till death, had not the Society come to their rescue at the critical moment and helped them to tread the path of virtue. Some women are led astray owing to ignorance, but when they realise their mistake, they repent and wish earnestly to be purged of their sin. Such women, although repentant, are outcast by their caste, despised by their relatives, and humiliated by their acquaintances. This will explain the urgent need of an institution like this Home. Several pitiable cases of women who had lapsed into degradation, but were subsequently raised to respectable life, are contained in the records of the Society.

The problem of the deserted wife is in the Hindu community as grave as ever. The present system of Hindu marriage is mainly responsible for it and it requires a radical modification. It is proving more and more unsuited to the needs of the present age. The number of unhappy and ill-assorted marriages is increasing. The law provides no escape for the unhappy woman. Such women seek the help of the Ashram. The Ashram tries its best, wherever possible, to reconcile them to their husbands. It is indeed gratifying that even in this difficult task the Ashram has met with considerable success.

In admitting women and children, no caste or class distinctions are observed. Women belonging to various castes and subcastes, including the Depressed Classes, have sought and found shelter in this Home. Similarly, the Home has been useful not only to the Bombay City and the Suburbs, but to many districts in Gujerat and Maharastra including the Indian States. Sometimes women from distant places like the Punjab, U. P., C. P., Berar, Karnatak, Mysore, Malabar, Madras and Kashmir have found shelter in this Home.

The work of the Society does not end with mere provision of protection. The women who seek the help of the Ashram are generally reluctant to receive education and make themselves self-supporting. The Ashram, however, does its best to provide education in the three R's and instruction in sewing, knitting and embroidery. The children go to outside schools.

The unprotected infant is an equally pressing problem. Experience shows that in most cases, the mother execrates her illegitimate off-spring. It is a perpetual reminder of her shame. The mother, therefore, in most cases desires to see it separately taken care of. Wet nurses have, therefore, to be provided. The "Home" has unfortunately not enough funds to provide this convenience and the problem of the unclaimed infant is in consequence becoming



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increasingly acute. We desire to give the poor infant an even chance of continuing its ill-fated existence amidst surrounding which will secure for it the minimum of human needs. How many of these poor creatures are absorbed by non-Hindu Institutions, Hinduism does not know and does not care to know in its supercilious contempt for illegitimacy. The result is that the various hospitals in this city and outside make a constant demand on the Ashram for the tender care of such infants. But we are sorry to have to record that the Ashram has not been able to give adequate help, its inability being due entirely to paucity of funds. We have been long trying to solve this problem. Sheth Laxmidas Gordhandas Tejpal has made us a generous present of a plot of land at Vile Parle, but the Society has not yet been able to utilise it owing to want of funds.

The activities of the Society had during previous years to be curtailed for want of a commodious building. The Ashram had to be accommodated in a rented building. In spite of the heavy monthly rent we had been paying, the space available was not found sufficient even for the day-to-day activities which are the inevitable concomitants of the work of the Ashram. A judicious grouping of the inmates became impossible. A scheme of industrial training could not materialise. The Society, therefore, took a plot of land measuring about 6000 sq. yards on long lease from the Bombay Municipality and the building which is being opened today has been erected upon it. It has cost about Rs. 80,000. Staff quarters and other appurtenances and conveniences will require at least Rs. 40,000 more. So far only Rs. 45,000 have been paid to the contractors. The balance has yet to be paid. As the Society depends entirely on the help obtained from day to day from charitable persons, and as the number of women and children receiving shelter is on the increase, the monthly expenses of the Society (amounting nearly to Rs. 900 including the ground rent) hardly leave any room for effecting saving from current income.

The Society is, therefore, making an earnest public appeal for help and we are hoping that it will meet with due support. As the revered Swami Vivekanandaji has truly said, No religion is worth its name if it cannot wipe the widow's tears or bring a piece of bread to the orphan's mouth. The public of Bombay and outside has been known for its charity and kindness. What fitter object could it find for the exercise of these virtues than the welfare of the helpless and the fallen, the widow and the orphan! No help is too great and none too small.

Matunga, Bombay, } M. B. UDGAONKAR,
22nd February, 1936 } S. S. NAVARE,
Joint Hon. Secretaries.

Procedure in Coroner's Courts:—Sweeping reforms in inquest procedure are recommended in a report by the departmental committee on coroners in London. It is proposed that a coroner should no longer be empowered to commit a person to trial on a charge of murder, manslaughter or infanticide and that the verdicts of suicide, of unsound mind and *felix de se* should be abolished and a verdict of "died at his own hand" be substituted. The press should be prohibited from publishing an account of an inquest on a suicide apart from the formal findings.

Repeal Costs more than Prohibition.—Preliminary figures for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1935, show that the Federal enforcement personnel in U. S. A. has been increased instead of decreased since repeal, a campaign against illicit manufacture resulting last year in the seizure of 15,713 stills.

MAHARASHTRA SANGEET SAMITEE.

The idea of organising Music Conferences for educating the public to appreciate and patronize the art and science of Indian Music, was started in the Maharashtra many years ago by the late Pandit Vishnu Digambar Paluskar, the founder of the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya. He convened an All-India Conference under the auspices of the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya in Bombay in the year 1918. Succeeding sessions of the Conference were from time to time held in Bombay. These sessions, however, tended to become more and more restricted to Maharashtra and led eventually to the convening of Maharashtra Provincial Musical Conference, the first session of which was held in Bombay in 1926, under the auspices of the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya. The subsequent sessions of this Conference were held at Poona, Kolhapur and Sholapur. The Fifth session of this Conference was held in Bombay from the 24th to the 27th of August 1934.

The Fifth Session of this Conference took a distinct step ahead of the work of previous sessions. The previous sessions, being mostly pioneer attempts, naturally tended to be individual efforts on the part of some of the pupils of the late Pandit Vishnu Digambar acting under the general guidance of the Gandharva Mahavidyalaya Mandal. The work of these Sessions was more directed to the awakening of public interest. A number of resolutions were formally passed, but the promoters were unable to give a permanent form to their work or establish a machinery calculated to perpetuate their efforts apart from individual leanings and predilections. These Conferences, however, rendered an undoubted service, so necessary in the earlier stages, in popularising the knowledge of the science and art of Hindustani music. This for a long time, was associated in the lay mind with exaggerations of technique, the idiosyncracies of individual singers, and such other aspects of Hindustani music as gave it the appearance of a fitful and frolicsome effort without any claims to be regarded as a noble art based on immutable principles having their foundation in the phonetic rules of Nature and the cultural tendencies of the human mind. This phase has now fortunately disappeared owing to these pioneer efforts, and it is now widely recognized that the time has come when a permanent organization should be formed for holding annual conferences, popularising still further the higher aspects of Indian music and generally assisting in the uplifting of the art.

In response to this general desire, a resolution was unanimously adopted at the last session of this Conference, constituting a permanent Society called the Maharashtra Sangeet Samitee. The word "Maharashtra" has been used to indicate the field in which the main centres of its activities shall for the present be located, and the sphere within which the Samitee will initially operate. This does not, however, limit its activities or its field of operations within the linguistic or provincial area primarily indicated by that word. On the contrary, the Society has been formed with the object of propagating the science and the art of Hindustani music all round and raising its status by securing for it a due place in the curricula of the University and of primary and secondary educational institutions.

The objects of the Samitee are:—

(1) The creation of a central body which shall be recognised and whose opinions will be acceptable to the Musicians and Dancers in India;

(2) The encouragement of research in various matters connected with and arising in the field so Hindustani Music and Dancing;



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(3) The translation of all old and extant books on the subject of Hindustani Music and Dancing:

(4) The publication of the results of research and the publication of a periodical of Hindustani Music and dancing: and

(5) The arrangement of conferences, etc., in Bombay and other places thereby popularizing the higher aspects of Hindustani Music and Dancing and providing a common platform for the discussion of problems connected with Hindustani Music and Dancing.

The Samitee will by all means at its command, encourage research in the various matters arising in the field of music and likewise attempt to secure the co-operation of scholars for translating Sanskrit books in which the principles of Hindustani music have been laid down. It is considered desirable that, for accomplishing these objects, which require funds, the Society should seek its members from the generous public. The Society will endeavour, subject to the funds at its disposal, to publish periodically a Music Year Book, which it hopes will be an annual production available to all the members. The members will have the right to attend all the future sessions of the Conference, wherever they may be held in addition to the usual rights and privileges of the membership of a society. Subscription of the Samitee has been fixed as follows:—

(a) Persons paying Rs. 1,000/- or more shall be styled 'Founders', (b) Persons paying Rs. 750/- or more shall be styled 'Donors', (c) Persons paying Rs. 500/- or more shall be styled 'Patrons', (d) Persons paying Rs. 300/- or more shall be styled 'Life Members', (e) Persons paying Rs. 5/- annually shall be styled 'Ordinary Members'.

It is hoped that all the lovers of Indian music will give their best help for furthering the long neglected cause of Hindustani music.

20, Shri Rama Nivas, Parekh Street, Bombay No. 4,	{	M. R. Jayakar, <i>President</i> .
		B. S. Sukthankar, <i>Chairman</i> .
		P. V. Gharpure, <i>Dy.</i> <i>Chairman</i> .
		M. D. Pai, B. R. Deodhar.
		<i>Jt. Hon. Secretaries</i> & <i>Treasurers</i> .

HINDU AND PARSI ORIGINS.

To

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Speaking under the auspices of Nagpur University on the origin of the Parsis, Dr. Sir Hari-Singh Gour is reported to have said (*vide* the "People" of Lahore, 28th January) that "the Parsis and the ancestors of... the twice-born Hindus were both Aryans and descended hand in hand upon the fertile plains of India," and that after a time "the Aryan priests who accompanied the mass migration of their clan made some converts—we call them Jajmans—but soon fell out among themselves, each accusing the other of stealing his Jajmans," whereon "a free fight ensued", and so on and so forth.

One may well wonder on what historical facts this learned Knight of Nagpur bases his fantastic theory of a "free fight" among "Aryan priests" for a partition of their flocks among the non-Aryan peoples.

In the first place, the theory of a pure or pristine Aryan race invading India from outside this sub-continent is a pure myth, about as pure

as the so-called pure Aryans. This is my independent opinion, and I am glad that it happens to be the latest as well as the strictest historical view I have come across in my reading. The researches of anthropologists like Pargiter and Giacomo Boni have completely exploded what had already been a thread-bare theory in the light of the researches of philologists like Max Muller in Europe and Whitney in America. (By the way, 'Gaudian' and 'Dravidian' would, I think, be far better terms to employ in place of 'Aryan' and 'non-Aryan' whenever you have to deal with Indian racial and linguistic origins.)

But, be that as it may, I would, in the hope that it may do Dr. Gour's Rajput soul some good, venture to offer for his earnest consideration another theory,—which is 'mine own but not quite as baseless as his,—namely, that big and influential Kshatriya *jajmans* lusting after 'the flesh-pots of Egypt' first began the quarrel, each accusing the other of seducing his Brahman or hereditary minister.

That is my idea of how that and other like quarrels must have begun in the past, and may begin in the future if the temporal power in a land exercises an undue pressure upon its constituted spiritual advisers, or, in other words, if the State takes too many liberties with the conscience keepers of the nation.

Karwar,
February, 8. }

Yours etc.,
A SON OF IND.

IMPERIAL BABY WEEK.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

We are enclosing herewith two copies of the regulations governing our Imperial Baby Week Challenge Shield Competition for 1935/36. The Shield is awarded annually for the best Baby Week campaign held throughout the Empire, exclusive of the United Kingdom.

We should greatly value your help in giving publicity to this competition and should appreciate your courtesy in sending us a copy of any press announcement which you may feel disposed to make in your paper.

If further supplies of the regulations are needed they can be obtained on application to those persons and organisations whose names and addresses appear on the back page of the folder under the heading of the Indian Empire.

117, Piccadilly,
London, W. I.

NORAH MARCH,
Secretary.

The object of a Baby Week campaign is to promote in every way possible right ideas and ideals regarding fatherhood, motherhood and the well-being of Infants and little Children. The foundation of health is laid in infancy, even before birth itself. A Local Baby Week campaign is a form of propaganda which by reason of its very intensity is calculated to have great effect. The British Isles, under the auspices of the National Baby Week Council, has led the way in Baby Week celebrations. The movement is steadily spreading throughout the Empire.

The National Baby Week Council, England, awards annually a handsome Silver Challenge Shield (donated by the "News of the World") for the most effective Local Baby Week Campaign held throughout the Empire, including the Irish Free State, but excluding the United Kingdom. Conditions vary enormously throughout the Empire, and therefore each campaign is judged on its merits, particularly



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In relation to the way in which it is devised to meet the peculiar circumstances of the district it is to cover.

PREVIOUS WINNERS OF THE SHIELD.

1926-27.—Bellary Municipality, Madras Presidency, India.

1927-28.—Benoni, Transvaal. South Africa.

1928-29.—Kalutara, Ceylon.

1929-30.—Panadura, Ceylon.

1930-31.—Mombasa, Kenya Colony.

1931-32.—State of Western Australia.

1932-33.—State of Mysore, India.

1933-34.—Calgary Council on Child and Family Welfare, Canada.

1934-35.—Lagos, Nigeria, West Africa.

REGULATIONS.

1. A Baby Week Committee may be formed by any municipal or voluntary body for the purpose of organising a Baby Week in any geographical administrative area within the British Empire, including the Irish Free State, but excluding the United Kingdom.

2. Any Baby Week Committee so formed is eligible to compete for the Imperial Baby Week Challenge Shield.

3. A Baby Week Campaign, which must be announced as such and which may or may not, according to the discretion of the competing Committee, be combined with a Health Week, must be held between June the 1st, 1935, and such time as will enable the records to be transmitted to and received by, the National Baby Week Council Office, in London, on or before June the 1st, 1936.*

An extension of closing date to June 14th, 1936, will be allowed in the case of entries from those places (Australia, New Zealand, etc.), involving a five weeks'—or more—mail transmission to England.

4. Competing Committees must supply the following information:—

(a) Entry Form on which is to be given certain information specified thereon. This Form is attached to this sheet. Copies may be obtained direct from the National Baby Week Council, or from the Imperial Headquarters of the area concerned.

(b) A full description of the programme carried out must be given. In addition an outline of the maternity and child welfare work undertaken during the year, together with an account of the special difficulties and problems presented by the local conditions as they affect the welfare of mothers and little children, should be supplied. Such accounts may be illustrated by photographs, and should be accompanied by copies of any leaflets, posters, and similar propaganda material used in connection with the Campaign, also by cuttings from articles in the Press which have preceded, accompanied or followed the Campaign as being part of the Local Baby Week activity. Special attention should be given in this account to any novel features (such as the use of special films) and of any ingenious devices to secure local interest.

5. The winners will be entitled to hold the Shield from the time of its reception from the previous winners until the awards for the year are announced, with a minimum period for holding of 9 months. (This arrangement is instituted through the difficulties which may arise in the conveyance of the Shield from one part of the Empire to another.)

6. Entries must reach the National Baby Week Council, 117, Piccadilly, London, W. 1, England, on or before June 1st, 1936

*An extension of closing date to June 14th, 1936, will be allowed in the case of entries from those

places (Australia, New Zealand, etc.), involving a five weeks'—or more—mail transmission to England.

N. B.—In awarding the Shield full consideration will be given to the measure of initiative and energy spent in carrying out the appropriate scheme; the methods adopted to deal with illiterate populations; and the arrangements made to meet with multilingual difficulties.

Note—It should be borne in mind that a Local Baby Week Campaign is intended to be purely of a propaganda and educational nature, and must not in any way be made the medium for furthering the interests of any commercial undertaking.

The National Baby Week Council publishes suggestions for the organisation of Local Baby Week Campaigns. Copies of this publication may be obtained from the National Baby Week Council, England, or from Imperial Headquarters in each part of the Empire.

The award will be announced by the National Baby Week Council during National Baby Week in England, July 1st to 7th, 1936, through the Press and other agencies.

All communications regarding this Competition should be addressed to

The National Baby Week Council,

117, Piccadilly,

London, W. 1, ENGLAND,

or to the Imperial correspondents for the Competition in the part of the Empire concerned.

DAME CADBURY'S IMPRESSIONS.

In an interview Dame Cadbury who came to Calcutta as a delegate to the International Women's Conference, gave her impression both of the Conference and of the country.

She said: The Conference has been extremely interesting to me; firstly I have had no idea before that so much social work is being done in India and secondly, I have been struck by the knowledge which writers of papers have shown in dealing with different problem of the country. In a way the problems here are the same as we have in England. The difference is that you are to deal with 340 millions of people, while we with only 40 millions. You have in India, as I am told, many millions of depressed classes who, it is said, live on the edge of starvation. In England though we have nearly two million unemployed, they all receive State aid and public assistance. None need starve in England. Many of the reforms discussed at the Conference have been achieved in England comparatively recently, for instance, medical inspection and treatment of school children. It is not until 1910 that work in England began. Now there is a chain of school clinics for treatment of school children in every town and village of England.

EDUCATION.

As regards education which was also discussed at the Conference, from my experience of the next large city to London I can say that education of children there is comprehensive and intelligent and of a nature that fits children in their future domestic life. Science, arts, crafts and domestic training for girls are to be found in all these schools. The secondary schools carry the children a stage further and from there they gain scholarship to universities.

Another subject discussed at the Conference was the housing for wage-earners. Since the war we have built in England one million new houses for them all over the country. In the neighbourhood of these houses there are open spaces for playground. I am personally the Chairman of the First Housing



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Trust in the neighbourhood of Birmingham and my husband was pioneer in this direction over forty years ago.

We have had a session to discuss food and health questions. There again we are told that a very large number of people living in villages are underfed and have no means nor opportunity to provide their children either with sufficient milk or food containing vitamins which are so necessary for health. This is deplorable and I think Ladies Councils cannot do better than see what can be done through the national and civic authorities to remedy them. There is also a large percentage of children and adults who are suffering from tuberculosis. Only public health activities and medical inspection of children in every direction could help to remedy it. It is in this direction that the Indian woman should take a lead.

TRAINING FOR SOCIAL SERVICE.

I was struck when I was told at the Conference that there were so many women willing to undertake social work. But from my experience in England I can say that in order to do this it is necessary to have knowledge, wisdom and experience. In Birmingham University they have instituted a diploma for social service; students willing to take up that course must be over 20 years of age and receive school-leaving certificates and then can study, for two or three years, subjects like public health and such other cognate subjects. They are required to visit factories, hospitals, labour exchanges, schools, slums and institutions for the blind, the deaf and the mentally deficient. Such students may become factory inspectors, sanitary inspectors, public health officers and hospital almoners and After-Care workers for children, on leaving schools. "I have met in India many women," said Dame Cadbury "who are beautiful, intelligent and deeply religious. I have realised how deeply concerned the ladies are for the reforms which they had been discussing. My message to them is that the most important reform at the moment in India is to spread education. Cannot they initiate a campaign for the provision of education to the dwellers of thousands of villages which stretch out from one end of India to the other and thereby improve the mental, physical and sanitary conditions of the villagers? It is necessary that the village population should share in the raising of the standard of living which is taking place all over the world."

During her stay in Calcutta, Dame Cadbury visited Lady Bose's institution for widows where she found 60 girls receiving instruction for four years in various branches of domestic work. On their return to the villages their knowledge enables them to earn their living. Among the inmates were girls of even 16 years. About 40 inmates of the institution had been back to their villages.

She also visited the tannery of Mr. Satish Chandra Das Gupta and was interested in seeing students, Brahmins and Depressed Classes, working side by side.

Co-Education in the Punjab:—Despite the conservatism and prejudices of the people against sending girls to boys' schools the efforts of the Education Department to encourage co-education in the province have met with some success as is revealed by the fact that on the 31st March 1934 there were as many as 20,800 girls reading in boys' schools—almost all of them in primary schools. The lack of qualified female teachers and of funds for running separate institutions has necessitated the encouragement of co-education, says the Director of Information in a note on the subject.

ANOTHER VIEW OF RUSSIA.

If for no other reason, as the most abused country in the world next to India, Russia has a deep interest for us. Last week we reproduced a review containing specimen quotations from her book, the "Red Network", by Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling. Another American woman writer, Anna Louise Strong, who has lived in Soviet Russia for several years, has written a very different kind of book which Alice Stone Blackwell calls a great book in her review of it in the *Unity*. "This book," she writes, "builds a bridge over which open-minded Americans may pass to a better understanding of Soviet Russia. Almost everything about it which has perplexed and repelled them also perplexed and repelled Miss Strong. It was fourteen years before she was ready to join the communist party. She dedicates her book "to all those Americans who stand where I stood fifteen years ago, and to all those Russians Communists who want to understand America." Below are some passages from the review:

Anna Louise Strong was born with the energy and vitality of twenty ordinary mortals, and with a rare outfit of brains and courage. She distinguished herself at school and college, carried on successfully various progressive and humanitarian enterprises, made a reputation as a writer, edited labor journals, and took part in Seattle's general strike. Her heart was broken by America's entrance into the World War. She knew the people wanted to keep out of it, and was sure that we were forced into it by the great moneyed interests. Eagerly desirous to visit Russia, she went to Poland to do publicity work for the Quakers' relief service there and afterwards got leave to take a trainload of Quaker food into Russia for famine relief. Later, when the American relief under Hoover arrived, she also distributed some of that food; and she gives an illuminating account of Hoover's methods.

Her next fifteen years were spent chiefly in Russia. She did not find what she had expected:

"I had thought to find a brave new world beyond the border; I found the collapse of an old world under whose ruins men were dying. But living among these ruins were men who were building a new world from the broken pieces; there were creators in chaos. We had not allowed for the backwardness of a non-industrial country like Russia, for the Asiatic standards of vast populations, for the lack of surplus goods. Most of all, we never allowed for ravages of intervention and blockade, of which we had no adequate conception."

She toiled to be helpful with her pen, and her work as a journalist took her all over the country. She visited Karelia—a long, thin strip of country lying between Finland and Russia, running north from Leningrad nearly 1,000 miles to the polar ocean. She decided to visit the mica mines. The President of Karelia was travelling in the same direction, and they started out together on the slow Murmansk railroad:

"We were a group of six that left the Karelian capital. I shall never forget my first night out. Six wooden bunks on which one could stretch at full length without mattress or bedding were reserved for the presidential party. Only two of these were lowers; as a woman guest I had one of them, while President Guhling took the other, not only as president but because tuberculosis in his leg-bones made movement painful. He left an eighteen-hour day of work behind him and was going to similar work; he was drooping with fatigue. Yet during

"I Change Worlds: The Remaking of an American," by Anna Louise Strong; with a Foreword by Lincoln Steffens. Henry Holt and Company, New York. \$3.00.



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the long delays at tiny stations he always got out to talk with peasants on the platforms, inquiring into local conditions and needs.

In the middle of the night, peasants, finding the other cars on the train full, began to crowd into the "reserved" car. For only a few years had they known a railroad; they ignored the railroad rules. A peasant woman with a baby seated herself on the edge of Guhling's bunk and began to push against his feet. He turned in uneasy slumber and drew up his legs a little; she promptly put the baby into the vacant place. Slowly but persistently she shoved for more space, using the baby's head as a battering ram against Guhling's feet. Had she picked him as a kindly man who wouldn't hurt a baby's head even in slumber? Soon Guhling was sitting up. I told the woman that the place was reserved; she stared stolidly, unanswering. I offered to exchange with Guhling, or to rouse one of the men in the upper berths. He smiled: "Let them sleep while they can; they also have heavy work." He hunched himself painfully into half a bunk and dropped into uneasy, exhausted slumber, while I lay sleepless thinking of the difference between Guhling and other presidents I have known."

President Guhling, much beloved, was a man of wide culture, a former aristocrat. He had done and suffered much during the revolution, and had helped Karelia to repel five invasions. Since then the country has made astonishing progress.

Everywhere Miss Strong found new life beginning:

"I visited Kiev, and spoke on International Women's Day to a great throng of women—worn, intent faces under faded shawls. The women applauded, thinking me a remarkable person to have come all the way from America. But I knew that every one of those women was more remarkable than I. Every one of them had kept house through sixteen bombardments. Sixteen times in the civil war the city of Kiev changed hands. The Germans had held it, Petlura, Denikin, various guerilla bands, the Poles...Kiev, reviving now, was holding a 'big fair to get acquainted with our new industries.'"

Miss Strong visited the much-discussed Donetz coal mines and other mines. A group of miners from America, hearing her speak English, stopped to talk:

"They told in the twang of Illinois what they thought of Russia: 'Pretty awful last year. Conditions upset by the famine. But now—well, we figure we live about as well as we did in the States. The mines aren't well organized, and it takes a week to earn what we made there in two days. But over there we couldn't count on more than two days' work a week. So it evens up. And we'd rather have it regular. It's more peaceful here.'"

"Peaceful!" I exclaimed, remembering the civil war and famine barely over. But they gave me the workers' idea of peace.

"Yep. No strikes nor lockouts. You can go to bed at night feeling sure of work in the morning, which we never could in the States. No rows with your boss at all. You've your union and your mine committee and you're insured against sickness and accident...But we wish this government could afford to buy good machinery. They've good intentions but no machines. But we don't want to go back. We figure in five or ten years this will be a first class country for a worker."

It was an attitude I was to meet hundreds of times in ensuing years—the typical attitude of American workers in their first experience of Soviet industry.

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BY

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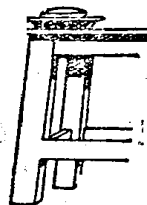
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A limited number of copies of this valuable work of reference was sent to us for circulation in India and they have been sold out. A further supply is expected in about a month and orders can be booked for at Rs. 10/- (Rupees ten only) a copy, postage 12 as. extra.—

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Military Rising in Japan:—Wednesday's evening papers published the news that a military rising has occurred in Japan, that the Prime Minister and two other Ministers, have been killed and that the whole country is under martial law. Fuller information in Thursday morning papers confirmed the news, mentioned 80 as the number killed in the rising but conveyed the reassuring information that the situation is completely under control though martial law was expected to be declared. Admiral Okada, the murdered Prime Minister, is a veteran who served with distinction in the Russo-Japanese war. He was a man of the old school who cherished the ancient simplicity of Japanese life. He and his colleagues reversed the aggressive policy of their predecessors and they would have succeeded in pursuing a policy of non-aggression, had the European Powers co-operated with them in defining Japan's position in relation to themselves in a way that was less irritating to the proud and sensitive spirit of the race. It was the unyielding intransigence of the Powers that drove Germany into the arms of Hitler. It is the same blind egoism which is responsible for the present rising in Japan, as for the assassinations of previous Ministers. Japanese statesmen have made it clear that the national spirit would brook no inequality and have begged the Powers to recognise in theory at least the equal status of Japan. The White Powers would pay no heed to this earnest appeal. There can be doubt that the refusal of Britain and America to concede Japan parity in permissible naval strength, has deeply wounded Japanese self-esteem and strengthened the military party. At the Peace Conference, Japan's attempt to eliminate racial discrimination was side-tracked by President Wilson. Japan's emergence as a great industrial nation, has been viewed with intense jealousy, and she has been refused even

theoretical naval parity. She is not allowed to send her surplus population to countries on the Pacific, her natural outlets. For doing in Manchuria what other Powers have done elsewhere without a tenth of the excuse, she has been denounced as a breaker of world peace. In these circumstances, it should not surprise any one that moderate elements have become discredited and the aggressive forces have been encouraged to take matters in their hands. Fortunately for Japan, the Emperor is revered by the Army party even more than by the constitutionalists. This is a stabilising influence which will prevent the present crisis from developing into a revolution. According to a War Office communique the organisers of the revolt took the step for the purpose of defending and emancipating the nation by removing the sources of evil such as the elder statesmen, important officials, financial and military cliques, bureaucrats and political parties which are leading the nation to decay. This is almost word for word the Nazi gospel. It has been suggested that the recent Franco-Russian Pact will be countered by a German-Japanese one. The rising may be a prelude to it.

A Constitutional Deadlock:—The situation created by the majority decision of the Supreme Court of the United States that the Agricultural Adjustment Act is unconstitutional, has a more than passing interest for us, as a similar situation may arise under the Federal Constitution that has been forged for India. The Agricultural Adjustment Act was passed by Congress to counteract the collapse of commodity prices. It authorised the levying of taxes on the "processing" of agricultural produce, that is the preparation of it for the market, and the application of the proceeds to the grant of bonuses to cultivators who agreed to curtail production. The Supreme Court has decided that, while the regulation of inter State transport was a Federal function according to the American Constitution, production was a function belonging to the States exclusively, and that the Act as it affected production was an infringement on the rights of States and was, therefore, unconstitutional. The Court refused to consider the consequences which would follow the invalidation of the Act. A very considerable sum collected under it will have to be refunded and the refunding would not benefit the cultivator as the processor had already passed



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on the tax levied on processing, either to the producer or to the consumer. "When an Act of Congress is challenged in the courts as not conforming to the constitutional mandate," observed Mr. Justice Roberts, "the judicial branch of the government has only one duty—to ascertain and declare whether the legislation is in accordance with or in contravention of the constitution." The general opinion in America seems to be that there should be an amendment of the Constitution in order to prevent similar deadlocks from arising again. The distinction between production and transport, which was possible when the Constitution was framed, is impossible now owing to the fact that cotton or wheat produced in one State has to find a market in another State or even in other countries. It is suggested as the only way out that the Constitution should be amended so as to grant general power to Congress to promote the economic welfare of the United States. A deadlock is not likely to arise in India in exactly the same form, first, because we have not here the separation of Judicial from Executive functions which is provided by the American Constitution and, secondly, because the Governor General is the *deus ex machina* to solve all doubts and difficulties under the Federal Constitution. The interest of the case to us lies in the futility of drawing a hard and fast line between the Central Government and the Federal units. The Federal system has failed wherever it has been tried under more favourable conditions, and is bound to fail ignominiously in India where it is beset with inconceivable checks and safeguards.

Much Ado About Nothing:—It is difficult to understand the mentality of the leaders of the South African Indian Congress who have resigned their offices in that body as a protest against Sir Raza Ali's marriage with a Hindu lady of Kimberley. The Congress existed before Sir Raza Ali went as Agent to the Government of India in South Africa. It was started with the object of promoting the interests, chiefly political, of South African Indians. It had nothing to do with Sir Raza Ali's personal affairs. Why any leading member of that body should think of severing his connection with it because Sir Raza lost his heart to a lady at Kimberley, we are utterly unable to understand. The first message sent to India said that the lady was to be converted to Islam. It was a serious point whether an official of the Government of India can engage in proselyting activities. But Sir Raza Ali contradicted this part of the message and declared that the marriage would be under the statutory law of the Union which takes no note of religious beliefs and that Lady Raza Ali would retain her religious and property rights. With this announcement, the public in India was satisfied. Reuter's message sent to South Africa that the marriage had roused very little attention in India correctly represented the position here. Our friends in South Africa and elsewhere should

understand that at the present day Indian opinion, while keenly resentful of religious proselyting, looks, if not with favour, with toleration on intercommunal marriages. *Indian Opinion*, we are glad to note, has taken a sensible view of the marriage though it has been hitherto rather critical of Sir Raza Ali's official acts. It writes: "Marriages between Indians professing different faiths are frequent in this country and they excite no curiosity or comment whatsoever. It is not an unusual thing here for Malay Muslim girls to marry Hindu sweet-hearts and Tamilian and other Hindu girls to wed Muslim husbands. And neither is it an unheard of outrage for an Indian to change his faith in this country. All our Christian countrymen here formerly professed the Hindu faith and their conversion to Christianity provoked no fanaticism on any one's part. Lastly, neither meetings of protest were called nor heavens rent asunder by Congress leaders when the most prominent Congress leader of that time, Mr. Albert Christopher, married his Muslim wife. Where then, under the circumstances, is the logic of the storm raised by them on the present occasion?" It is apparently the view of the South African Indian leaders that the Government of India should recall Sir Raza Ali. Even if the Government incline to consider such a suggestion, public opinion will not support them. If Sir Raza Ali himself feels that his continuation as India's Agent has become untenable, that is another question. We do not think that this is the case. According to *Indian Opinion* the news of the intended marriage created no stir until the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha started an agitation. We would advise our South African Indian friends to take a sober view and to reconsider their resignations which mean practically the dissolution of the South African Indian Congress.

Risky Propaganda:—*The Examiner* writes: "Our attention has been called to a large coloured poster or picture, published in connection with the Aga Khan's Golden Jubilee, a publication which to Christian eyes is obviously blasphemous. It represents the Aga Khan in great glory between less glorified figures of 'Lord Krishna' and 'Lord Jesus,' both of whom are represented as pointing the world to the Aga Khan. 'Lord Jesus' with the words: 'I will pray the Father and He shall give you another Comforter that He may abide with you for ever.' Such a publication is offensive to Christians, and no doubt also to Hindus who are informed that 'the Aga Khan is the Manifestation of Lord Vishnoo.' The whole is surmounted by the legend: 'Invite people to the path of God with tact.—Holy Koran.' We have omitted a sentence in the above which seemed rather personal. So far as Hindus are concerned, we think that the great majority will see nothing 'blasphemous' in the picture. The Hindu religion does not postulate the finality of Divine manifestation. It, in fact, declares that whenever righteousness decays,

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there will recur a Manifestation to call the world back to its senses. That the world has got into a slough of unrighteousness at the present time, needs no demonstration. Whether the Aga Khan is the Manifestation come to redeem humanity, is a matter of faith, and if his followers believe that he is, sensible Hindus will see nothing in it to resent. It is, at any rate, no so bad as representing, as Christian missionaries have done, the sacred symbol of Shiva as a phallic emblem. In any case, it is not worth the while of anybody to notice an obviously crude attempt of some zealous artist to make out that the Aga Khan is a reconciler of Hinduism and Christianity. Only, there is nothing to reconcile, as Hinduism has no quarrel with Christianity or any other religion; holding that all religions are sacred and true to their devotees. At the same time, this mode of propagandism is provocative of counter-propaganda and the average Catholic or Hindu is likely to regard what is done in the supposed interests of a single sect as done in the interests of Islam as a whole. Unlike Hinduism, the Catholic Church has the most extensive and effective propagandist agency in the world, which may be used to the prejudice of Islam, even if the risk of communal irritation in India is left out of account.

Bombay Finance:—The statement before the Provincial Legislative Council of the Finance Member of the Bombay Government on the financial position of this Presidency is sorry reading. He had estimated last year for a deficit of Rs. 2 lakhs. Actually it has become one of Rs. 53 lakhs. He pointed to this as proof of his prescience in telling the Legislative Council last year that the Finance Member had always to reckon with the factor of inexorable circumstances which often upset all calculations of revenue and expenditure. Fancy a Chancellor of the Exchequer telling that to the House of Commons! Khan Bahadur D. B. Cooper in the same spirit seemed to hail the separation of Sind as a happy event in the history of Bombay. The "betterment" resulting from this bereavement amounted to Rs. 98 lakhs in hard cash. "If we subtract from this the current deficit of 53 lakhs," explained the Finance Member "it will be seen that the net betterment amounts to 45 lakhs." The Council members could presumably do this simple sum in subtraction but the Khan Bahadur would not trust their intelligence. Except the abolition of tolls on bullock carts, the other items among which this "betterment" is to be distributed are more or less of an obligatory nature for which no credit is due to the Finance Member. He laid the whole blame of the disorganised administration of Bombay Finance during the last fifteen years on the Meston settlement, and made only a casual reference towards the end of his statement to "the responsibilities of the Bombay Development schemes which were passed to us an inheritance from the pre-reform period". This is not quite correct. The worst follies of the Development Department were committed

after the inauguration of the reforms, and would not have been possible under the old regime with all its faults. The Khan Bahadur took credit, among other things, for granting relief and remissions from time to time to agriculturists. We do not see what else he could have done when the people have nothing to pay the land revenue with. He also claimed credit for 'inaugurating' a systematic programme and policy of rural uplift and village improvement. Any body can 'inaugurate' a plan but the time for taking credit for it is when it has led to some tangible result which the Sykes' scheme has yet to show. Ministers under Provincial autonomy will inherit from the Cooper regime nothing more useful than the doctrine that the Finance Ministers' calculations must be upset by inexorable circumstances.

Baroda Hall of Fame:—His Highness the Gaekwar opened on Monday the Kirti Mandir which has been under construction for some years past. It is obvious that the Maharaja intends this to be the crowning monument of his long and successful reign as well as of his notable contributions to Indian culture and character. The Maharaja, in his opening address which was full of suggestive and thoughtful reflections, declared that the Kirti Mandir was intended as a Hall of Remembrance to commemorate the benefactors of the State irrespective of their race, caste or creed. His Highness added: "It will be a reminder to all of the story of its rulers and of the men who have planned and toiled in shaping its destinies, and a tribute thus to the most cherished qualities of humanity." The Maharaja proceeded to describe what these qualities are. He referred to the fourfold duties of man as an individual, as member of society, as citizen of a State, as beneficiary of his cultural heritage and environment. This, in fact, is the old Hindu doctrine of man being born as a debtor to the gods, his ancestors, his family and his posterity, restated in modern terminology. The idea of the Mandir is a grand one. Much will depend, however, on the careful selection of persons to be commemorated in it. One necessary rule should be that no one should be chosen for the honour of a place in the Mandir until five or ten years after his death. The Roman Catholic rule of not canonising any one in his life time, is an excellent one. Without such a restriction, no ways when every street, lane and alley is named after some popular hero of the moment, there is a very real danger of the Mandir becoming overcrowded within a short time. Even Westminster Abbey, so long jealously restricted to men of exceptional achievements in politics, art and literature, is succumbing to this influence. Another danger to be guarded against in this commercial age is that of wealthy men purchasing a place in the Baroda Valhalla. The Maharaja's speech affords sufficient guidance in both these respects and his reflections should be embodied in the rules made to govern entrance into the Hall of Fame.

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BOMBAY, February 29, 1936.

RAILWAYS AND THE PUBLIC.

Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah Khan is the first non-official Indian to be entrusted with the portfolio of Commerce including Railways in the Government of India. His predecessor, Sir Joseph Bhore, was also an Indian but he was a member of the Indian Civil Service and, therefore, steeped in the official tradition. Sir Mahomed's first Railway budget was looked forward to as likely to reflect the popular point of view which, in railway as in many other subjects, is sharply distinguished from the official one. Considering that this was his first attempt to survey the field as a whole, the speech which Sir Mahomed made in presenting his budget for the next revenue year is not altogether disappointing. The Indian Railway Minister starts with two initial difficulties which is not of his creation and which he can only gradually overcome, if at all. The first is, that Indian railways were laid, firstly, with an eye to strategic purposes and, next, with a view to promote foreign trade. The two purposes are served by many of the railways but there are still some in the Frontier districts which are purely strategic and on which there is an annual loss of two crores of rupees. There is great force in the suggestion of Sir Ghulam Hussain Hidayatulla that the loss should be charged to the Army account. The Commerce Member's answer that it would only reduce the deficit on paper and would not bring any relief to the taxpayer, has only to be pushed a little farther to bring the whole Army expenditure under Education or Agriculture or Village Reconstruction. We should know exactly what the Railways cost in respect of the several purposes which they serve. We can see no reason for crediting the loss under strategic railways to Commerce and not to Defence, except that it is desired to minimise the cost of the Army which in India is much too unconscionable.

The alignment of our railways mostly with a view to promote foreign trade, leads to the paradoxical result that measures taken to develop production and trade within the country, affect detrimentally the prosperity of our railways. Sir Mahomed clearly understands this. Referring to the tendency in all countries to strive after self-sufficiency and the development of internal trade and production, he said that the general effect of this policy on railway earnings, so far as India is concerned, was to replace long lead traffic to and from the ports by short lead internal traffic. "With increasing prosperity and the further development of industries in the country," he added "part of this loss may be made up, but it is apprehended that, in the present state of world industry and international commerce, it will take a very considerable period of time for this happy consummation to be reached."

It is more likely that it may never be reached as the self-sufficiency policy, which has now come to be accepted by nearly the whole world including the British Empire, is the natural and sound policy which no nation is likely to give up. De Valera's opinion that free trade was the greatest curse of the world and that all international trade is wicked unless it is limited to "surplus production," will find a ready echo in India. Along with the self-sufficiency policy, Sir Mahomed placed world depression and the collapse of commodity prices as the leading factor in causing the railway deficit. In connection with this he presented some figures which, if correct, would show that the Indian cultivator is more quickly responsive to movements in world prices than, for instance, his American counterpart who, in every respect, education, outlook, means of transport and communications, is much better placed than he is. In the United States, the State has to give bonuses in order to persuade cultivators to reduce their production of cotton and other commodities. Sir Mahomed Zaffarullah Khan would have us believe that this process in India is automatic, that the moment prices decline, the area under cultivation declines. This, however, is a large question and not strictly relevant to railway finance.

The third cause to which the Commerce Member assigned the decreased earnings of railways, is the competition of motors. It is intended apparently to adopt measures to bring motor traffic under control in order to minimise the competition with railways. We trust that Government will first try to ascertain why people prefer motor buses to railway trains before they interfere in the interests of railways. Sir Mahomed's observations about the loss incurred owing to persons travelling without tickets and dishonesty of railway official in undercharging freight on goods, and his declaration that the law would be made more stringent, show that the Government propose to make railway travelling more irksome to the common people than it is now. If there are a considerable number of people who use the railways but do not purchase tickets, it is clear evidence that the fares are prohibitive. If there is a fall in the drink revenue, Government reduce the duties or increase the facilities in order to prevent illicit production. Why is not the same reasoning applied to ticketless travellers? The official view that there is a sort of conspiracy among millions of people to cheat the railways, is too fantastic to be accepted. Again, if railway officials undercharge goods they, no doubt, have some inducement to do so. In this case, it is not the poor third class passenger but the well-to-do merchant that is concerned. The way to remedy these evils is to improve the position of the employees materially and otherwise so as to make the service attractive to self-respecting persons of good social standing. We say 'persons' because there is room for a larger employment of women in the railway services.

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Generally speaking, women may be expected to be more considerate particularly to female passengers. Another way in which matters may be improved is to invite leading non-officials to form visiting committees to help passengers and to see that malpractices are reduced to a minimum. The punitive measures which Government contemplate may in the long run cost more than the half crore which is lost through passengers travelling without tickets, and the amount involved in improving the conditions of railway service. They will certainly not make railway travelling more attractive to poor people or railway service more reputable in the eyes of the public. After all, railways exist for the people and not the people for the railways.

FAITH AND FIRE WALKING.

The Council of Psychical Research of the University of London has been experimenting with Fire-walking. A young Indian, Khuda Bux, who had performed the feat of walking on fire in India, went to London and he was asked to give a demonstration in the presence of several doctors and scientists. Every precaution was taken against trickery and fraud. The feet of the man were examined before and after the performance. Khuda Bux took four strides, twice over the burning embers, and on examination his feet were found to be uninjured. He asked for five minutes grace before making a third attempt but felt he could not do it again. He stated that the instruments and tests had unnerved him. 'Something inside had broken' he said 'I have lost my faith, and if I do it again, I shall burn myself'. Dr. E. H. Hunt, who was present at the experiment, had seen fire walking in Southern India, and he told the *Times* that the test was made under unusually severe conditions which would have deterred most fire walkers. Readers of the Bible will be reminded of the incident at Gennesareth. After his disciples had crossed over in a boat, Jesus followed them walking on the water. Peter noticing this asked to meet his Master and was bidden to come. After a short distance he found himself drowning and cried out to Jesus to help him. The Master went forward and held Peter up, with the reproachful query, 'Wherefore didst thou doubt?' Peter had started full of faith but it had wavered when he saw himself in the unusual position; something inside had broken and specific gravity began to tell. Western critics of the Bible might dismiss the whole story as a myth. But the Hindu scriptures do not regard the power to suspend the action of natural laws as miraculous. They regard it as incidental to the practice of the discipline of yoga but they warn neophytes that its allurements are to be sternly repelled as bypaths leading away from the straight road to Reality. The Poet-Saint, Tayumanavar, has catalogued the powers thus gained in one of his hymns which Isaac Tambiah in his "Psalms of a Saiva Saint" translates as follows:—

The wild-willed tusker breaking every bond
Is (may be) meekly led wherever I will;
I (may) bid; behold the mouths of bears are bound
The cruel tiger's jaws are still;
Lo! on the lordly lion's back I (may) ride;
The serpent dances at my call;
The metals five in mercury and fire
I (may) turn to gold that buys me all;
Unseen of men I (may) move about on earth;
The gods in heaven my behests heed;
For ever young I may remain; nay pass
Into other bodies at need;

Upon the waters I may walk; may sit
Unscathed amidst the flames of fire.
(The word 'may' is inserted in brackets wherever it has been left cut owing to metrical exigency in Tambiah's translation.)

The "siddha" may do all these. But he will not because they are obstacles to the attainment of the Godhead which is the goal of yoga. Gautama Buddha strictly forbade his disciples to perform miracles. When the bereaved mother brought him her dead child, fully believing he could revive it, Buddha consoled her, not by raising it to life but by putting her in the way to realise that death is the universal lot of living beings and that enlightenment and the eightfold path were the only way of real redemption of sorrow. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa was asked if one could walk on water. "Yes," was his reply, "but sensible people prefer to pay a pice to the ferryman". In reading the Christian Scripture, the miracles present no difficulties to the Hindu. His difficulty is that Jesus should have condescended to perform them.

Dabblers in Yoga attain some of these powers for purposes of exhibition. But even in their case the power is derived from psychic and not from physical or chemical sources. The moment a doubt crosses their minds that their power may depend on physical conditions, that moment the virtue goes out of them. That is why Khuda Bux declined to make the attempt a third time. 'Something inside was broken,' as he aptly said. That something was his faith in himself. Incredulity or scepticism on the part of onlookers also, paralyses psychic powers, by inducing self-distrust. Jesus, sharing the common lot of prophets in their own country, could not perform miracles in his native village of Nazareth. The doctors and scientists who examined Khuda Bux could not discover the secret of his fire-proof feet because they looked for it in the wrong place. Insensibility to cold and heat, is one of the signs of advancement in the Yogic path. It is no unusual thing for ascetics to hang head downwards over a roaring fire not for a few seconds but for hours on end. The author of "India and its Faiths," Professor James Bissett Pratt, saw such an ascetic at Allahabad. The (missionary) friend who was with him and who, of course, would never think of emulating the sadhu, remarked that it was a stunt to gain notoriety. Professor Pratt could not accept this facile explanation. He suggested that even in India there must be less arduous ways of achieving notoriety! The average European tries his hardest to prove to himself that what he does not understand and cannot do, is fraud and humbug. But men with the real scientific spirit are beginning to see that their attitude should no longer be that of disbelieving every thing that is strange to them. Every day shows that there are more things between heaven and earth than are dreamt of by physical scientists. To do them justice, the great scientists have already recognised this. It is the camp-followers who persist in the old attitude of denying every thing which they cannot touch, smell and—eat!

Marriage Without Bridegroom:—A novel marriage, unprecedented in the history of Malabar Nairs, was celebrated at Ayenthe near Trichur where a woman was married to one Bala Krishna Menon who was at Singapore at the time of the marriage. The marriage was performed before a large gathering by a novel method of garlanding the photo of the bridegroom. The wife will leave for Singapore shortly to join her husband, on whose direction the marriage was conducted in this manner.



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THE DOWRY EVIL.

The heart-rending news of the death of three Bengali sisters who, along with a fourth who survived the tragedy, entered into a suicide pact to end their lives with opium in order to save their father the worry of finding heavy dowries for their marriage, came as a terrible shock to the public a few days ago. At the Coroner's inquest was revealed the whole pathetic story of the inability of a father of eleven daughters, five of whom were married, to cope with the demand of heavy dowries made on him for the disposal of the others in marriage. The dowry evil though prevalent all over the country seems to be acute in Bengal. The self-immolation of Snehalata some twenty five years ago has not afforded apparently any relief to the solution of this problem, in spite of the fact that it created a great stir and young men were not wanting who banded themselves together and took pledges to put an end to the practice. The recent tragedy does not seem to have stirred them to make even good resolutions.

In these days of unemployment and economic distress it would be too much to expect young men to forego the dowry and even those who have shown an inclination to do so are prevented by their avaricious parents. The only healthy solution to this problem is a radical change in the outlook of girls who are at present taught to look upon marriage as the be-all and end-all of their existence. Instead of dinning in their ears day-in and day-out the ideal of becoming good wives and mothers, if the parents only took care to educate them and place them in the way of an independent career, much of the tragedy and humiliation of hunting for bridegrooms will disappear.

As customs die hard, our Women's organisations and Social Reform Associations should seriously consider and help in putting down the dowry evil. It is a pity that none of the numerous women's organisations has so far thought this problem worth while taking up. Now that the evil has been glaringly brought to the forefront by the action of these young girls, women's organisations both in Bengal and elsewhere should initiate and carry on a nation-wide propaganda for the abolition of the dowry. They should take pledges from young men and women to abstain from marrying where a dowry was involved. They should establish adult classes for girls and young women, in which teaching, Social service and nursing, more or less on the same lines as in the Poona Seva Sadan, is imparted, thus enabling them to stand on their own legs. The women's organisations could also educate the mothers of girls by holding public meetings and explaining to them that marriage to which they pin their faith so much for their daughters, if not rightly brought about, means only the shifting of the responsibility from their shoulders with a good deal of misery for their girls.

Social Reform Associations can help by issuing posters and leaflets setting out the evils arising from the dowry system in the chief vernaculars and distribute them freely during marriage seasons. The radio and the films are other mediums for combatting the evil.

Public memory is short; and before the ashes of these young bodies are cold, the whole episode will be forgotten. Should we not bestir ourselves and purge our society of this evil?

N. K. AKSHI.

Nehru's Autobiography:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has almost finished his business in London. He has written an autobiography which will be published at the end of March.

EDUCATED UNEMPLOYMENT.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's elaborate report on unemployment could have been more exhaustive and thorough. He was specially qualified for dealing with the task, and because of his long years of experience as a public man and constructive politician and lawyer, solid proposals in putting down the rising mass of unemployment without further delay, were expected of him. But in his anxiety to prevent further unemployment, he has sacrificed the present for the future. He does not say what the hundreds of thousands of University trained men, both double graduates and graduates as also undergraduates, who form the main danger to society as a whole, are to do. Are they to go about begging from door to door for clerical posts or are the M. A.s and B. A.s to turn washermen and milkmen? Or are they to further spend their money on an uncertain vocational training? The most explosive power barrel which would burst at any moment are the present day unemployed graduates and if they are left to themselves we do not know what would happen in the near future.

Different kinds of unemployment are to be found in our land today. These are only various phases of the general evil of want of work. There is seasonal unemployment among the agricultural population; or unemployment may result from famines and floods. Again the evil is present among soft-handed workers like clerks, peons and others attached to uncertain business concerns, among the hard-handed workers of factories and mills but not so pronounced as in the West; and among cottage workers of several kinds. But all these forms are not so aggressive as middle class unemployment, as relief in some way can be found without much difficulty in those cases. Middle class unemployment cannot be solved so easily because of the innate hardships associated with it. The position of the middle class itself in this as well as other capitalistic countries is very trying. They have not the means to live comfortable and happy lives; at the same time social prestige stands in the way of their taking to menial and low class occupations where competition would highly develop if the ranks of those seeking them are flooded. Neither are the middle class physically qualified for such a kind of work. Hence the problem amongst them can only be hostile to the country.

It is this middle class that has produced the vast number of educated unemployed men. The graduate of a rich family can at least live even if he fails to secure a suitable post—and in most cases he manages to know of something lucrative either by influence or otherwise. The moneyless graduate alone is eventually left to wander in streets in search of jobs. Weak, emaciated in frame and mind, houseless, penniless and clothesless he enjoys a vengeful nemesis, the reaction for having enriched a University! Many exploit life in one way or other. He is ready to be submissive as a dog for a meal a day. If some wealthy business manager takes pity on him he extracts fourteen hours of work from him by asking him to sit before the type writer or sit adding and subtracting in violation of all human sympathy and mercy, and then leaves him to his woes. If he is talented in any way, good-bye to all his talents. How can they display themselves when the craving for food is so pressing?

What is the remedy? The one clear remedy for him which will end all his miseries is suicide. We have had so many applications of this curative by young men that it is not an absolutely hopeless one. Often we hear of desperate cases. But all men are not so adventurous as to put a premature end to their



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lives. They drag on a wretched existence in spite of lack of food, clothing and housing, not to say of comfort. Their ranks are swelling day by day and if serious calamities are to be averted the Government should take immediate steps to relieve the swollen ranks. Not only men, but women too aggravate the situation. Let the women of India understand, and take this as a solemn warning that they are perpetrating the greatest crimes of their lives, against man, against society and against country when they are allowing their daughters to enter the portals of the University Colleges. They may wish for education, for equality with men, for the right of vote, their essential rights as human beings, but they cannot and should not displace men from their posts so long as the country is not fit to receive them, so long as no suitable provisions could be made for these educated unemployed and so long as the country has not adapted itself to the changed conditions. So many educated girls have not secured any job; no body would marry them for they are clamorous, and present-day husbands, excepting a microscopic minority, do not want their wives to revolt at each and every step of their domestic lives, so that their position is worse than men's. Let them realise this and pause where men have failed to stop.

We of India believe too much in Government, but that is because, individually and collectively, we are powerless. Therefore, the prime responsibility of coping with the situation rests with our rulers who, if they fail to take a decisive step may have to rue their lack of foresight, for the situation is so dangerous. Sir Tej's recommendations such as limiting general education, vocational training, making Universities the laboratories of industry, raising primary schools, are, whatsoever their merits or demerits be, for the future only. The Government alone can relieve the tension and they will have to find out new methods to satisfy the hunger of the present army of middle class educated unemployed men. Really, their task is an immensely hard one but they have to perform it. They could reduce immediately the fabulously high salaries of their officers, to effect economy and increase the number of low paid posts. India wants many more thousands of miles of road and rail; more co-ordinated health and sanitation; propaganda to intensify her agriculture by the use of her own modern manure, and to make her people utilise her own products is required. All these could be done and would be done by young educated men if they get their food. No prolonged training is required for employing them in these various pursuits. Large numbers of them, with the exception of experts and skilled men, could be absorbed if capital programmes are undertaken; and such things as dams, bridges etc., are only long felt wants. The country is in need of large scale industries such as heavy chemicals, motor, ship, locos and aeroplane building; arms manufactures etc., etc. In all these people with general education could easily find employment. We hope, the Governments, Central and Provincial, would start various programmes without regrettable delay. The large number of posts, now reserved for Europeans, should be offered to Indians not only in the Government but also in the railways, shipping, plantations and other big firms. All the latter must be compelled to take in more of the educated youths than at present. These are the easiest ways of averting revolutions and armed outrages as in Bengal, more feasible and much better than other measures. Ways can be found if the will is there and Government must soon bear the responsibility on its own shoulders.

Madras.

V. VENKATACHALAM.

"CONGRESS AND BHARATHA NATYAM".

The Editor, *The Indian Social Reformer*.

Sir, The credit of driving sex promiscuity into the open to perish, from its agelong shelter under religious and social custom which it enjoyed, certainly belongs to my esteemed friend, Dr. (Mrs.) Muthulakshmi Reddi and as such her apprehension of the evil having a relapse, and that under the aegis of the Congress, deserves sympathetic understanding from all right-minded men and women.

As one who has been watching the trend of progress from the days of the anti-nauch movement started 45 years ago, the concern of the fair Doctor gives rise in my mind to reflections of a most delicate character. Justice requires that the moral evolution to which the reform has in the interval led, deserves to be examined in all its implications and its far-reaching consequences, if we want to arrive at what may be compared to a profit and loss account.

I well remember the time when the agitation of the day against this element of social evil in the nauch, roused public opinion to such a pitch that the custom gradually came to be indulged in the sly with none of the bravado and apparent respectability which it used to claim before. During Holi festival-week every year it was a recognised custom in the Ceded Districts and it must have been the same elsewhere—until 40 years ago for people to indulge in this social amusement in all its hideous effects to the demoralisation of Hindu family life; and I recall to my mind the sight of the leading men of towns and big villages at the week end of the festival, leading the bevy of these fallen dancers in bright coloured saris, attractively decorated with gold and flowers, on a house to house visit to collect subscriptions for them after performance at each place. This has all completely disappeared now. What is more, caste organizations are springing up for uplift from within with the motto of self-help to purge *kalavantulu* sect of its moral poison; the upheaval is growing in volume and recognizing sanctity of married life with a secret sense of growing communal repentance, for a motive power; all proving a heartening reward to the band of men, of whom you were one, dear Editor, that, heroically raised their voice against the evil custom amidst much ridicule and contempt. This is a negative achievement of no mean order.

On the constructive side what is of a positive character in the shape of a national gain, is the rapidity with which the fine art of music, to begin with, is being rescued from its old objectionable associations and installed on the high pedestal of family life in South India, thanks to pioneers like (Mrs.) Alamelu Jayarama. Iyer and Saraswathi Bai of harikatha fame leading the renaissance. As I write this, we have amidst us just arrived in Penukonda a family brahmin lady musician, Sreemathi Udipi Lakshmi Bai from the Canara country, whose performance this evening made those who attended it feel lifted up to a higher moral and spiritual level.

The change has for long led us to cease to identify the fine art of music with sex evil, and one may say without fear of contradiction that the unmarried woman who is now found here and there to take to music or dance for a vocation takes care not to parade as of old, her art as a snare, even assuming that she is still addicted to her old ways, to tempt unwary men. It may be asserted with equal safety that the moral outlook of the sterner sex has also considerably improved and such of the few who may be weak-minded enough to think otherwise are sure to experience a secret sense of shame in doing so.



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Amidst such changed outlook, to associate any unmarried woman who has taken to music or dance for a living, with moral delinquency will be quite out of tune with the growing trend of wholesome public opinion. In the altered circumstances, it would be outrageous even to think of a woman badly, simply because she has taken to Bharatha Natyam for an accomplishment or vocation as a fine art. It is this sense of chivalry if not justice that is perhaps responsible for the Congress movement not to start with the presumption that any woman singer or dancer is necessarily leading an evil life. Its attitude, therefore, may be a wholesome source of encouragement to such of the women who may be still walking in secret in the old ways, making them retrace their steps.

It is no longer possible nor is it necessary to penalise a woman simply because she sings or dances and if there happen to be among such some addicted to loose morals they need not be taken notice of any more than we do men in various walks of life found in similar positions.

With the growing advance of the cinemas and talkies, music and dance are bound to prove a new source of employment for both sexes and if these new conditions portend a moral danger, society has to devise new ways and means to combat the evil.

'There is more joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance.' Is it a wonder if the Congress is actuated by a sentiment like this towards women performers coming under its influence?

Penukonda
(Anantapur Dt.)
16th February 1936.

T. SIVASANKARAM.

RAMAKRISHNA CENTENARY MESSAGE.

The President of the Ramakrishna Math and Mission has issued the following message on the eve of the Centenary: "The dawn of the New Age is breaking over the World—the Blessed day is at hand that will illumine our hearts with the glory of its effulgence.

"Knowingly and unknowingly man is moving forward along the road of salvation inspired by the Master's message of the harmony of all religions and by his unique realisation of the essential oneness of Karma (Action), Jnana (Knowledge), Bhakti (Supreme Devotion), and Yoga (Psychic Control). The day is not far off when all lands and seas shall witness the establishment of a universal kingdom of peace and when in loving response to the call of the Master, all nations and peoples, in one glorious confederation joining, shall sing with jubilant acclaim, yea, with no heat of strife and no passion of controversy, the Master's message—"As many faiths, so many paths." Then the full meridian light of the Master's advent will light up this world of ours and that song will ring from end to end, and the sons and daughters of men, will stand side by side under the banner of the New Age in Spiritual Comradeship.

Many of the citizens of the world on this blessed day, understand the meaning of the Master's Coming. This and this alone is my fervent prayer.

Peace, Peace, Peace unto all.

Hindu Temple in London:—The Gaudiya Mission have taken up the task of constructing for the first time a Vishnu temple in a respectable quarter of the city of London, for which purpose they have invited a suitable design with elevation plan and rough sketch of sections to be drawn by engineers and architects interested in the line. The designer of the approved plan will be awarded a gold medal.

EVOLUTION OF CONGRESS POLICY.*

(By S. G. WARTY.)

MRS. BESANT'S WARNING.

Among other successes gained by the Congress during this period, the modification of the partition of Bengal was the most important. This was partly due to the attitude of non-co-operation maintained by Bengal, even Mr. Surendranath Bannerji refusing to be elected to the Imperial Legislative Council. But Mr. Gokhale also played a most valuable part as a negotiator and Lord Hardinge, the most sympathetic Viceroy since Lord Ripon, did the rest. The South African settlement and Lord Hardinge's despatch of 1911 were other successes of the Congress.

War came, and as India gave her assistance voluntarily, her expectations grew and British politicians also made profuse promises. But now appeared on the scene Mrs. Besant, a most dynamic personality, who with her political insight warned India not to trust wartime promises and go to sleep, but to carry on vigorous agitation. It was she who made India's struggle internationally known, and brought her worldwide influence and connections to bear on the question. It was significant that when she was incarcerated, the Congress Committee, at the suggestion of Mr. Tilak, seriously discussed the starting of passive resistance.

The ill-fated Rowlatt Act passed against all moderate counsels, goaded the Congress to cast all loyalty to the winds and declare an open rebellion. Even then, like the American Olive Branch Petition, the Congress accepted the Montford reforms, but when it was found that the so-called heroes of the Jallianwalla Bagh were not properly punished, but Britishers had raised a fund for their benefit, the breach was complete, and the Congress passed under Mr. Gandhi's controlling influence.

Under Mr. Gandhi's influence the Congress made a complete departure and declared an open rebellion. It was significant, that men like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Mr. C. R. Das, Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, men who were reputed to be very circumspect and practical, willingly joined his banner, having despaired of every other method to bring redress.

The early fathers of the Congress asked for reforms leading to Swaraj which they regarded more or less as a gift from the British. Mr. Tilak regarded it as India's birth right, and Mrs. Besant demanded it on the ground that it was good for the peace of the world. Mr. Gandhi accepted all this and stated further that it was good for England herself to grant it immediately, because he thought that oppression in India was demoralising the British people. Mr. Gandhi was a humanitarian and loved Englishmen as much as he loved Indians.

In Mr. Tilak's time, the movement was not known, outside the country, but Mrs. Besant made it internationally known, and as Mr. Gandhi was a world figure and as his methods were of a novel character, the world began to take greater interest in India's struggle. Gandhi's power of endurance and suffering were also unsurpassed and the masses came to regard him as a saint. Even women were drawn into the movement.

The early fathers of the Congress were more interested in rousing the British conscience and hoped to win by arguments alone, and their methods were sincerely loyal. As regards the extremists under Mr. Tilak their loyalty was make-believe and their methods retaliatory. Mr. Tilak hoped to conquer the British by diplomacy and cunning in which he excelled.

* Concluded from the last issue.

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MR. GANDHI AND NON-VIOLENCE.

But Mr. Gandhi thought that the British were past masters in this game and could not be thus conquered. And besides, it would result in a race in rascality, which Mr. Gandhi as an ultra-moralist and a humanitarian abhorred. His ideal was truth and he placed all his cards on the table. The British people could understand Mr. Tilak's methods but Mr. Gandhi's methods were a puzzle to them.

In the non-co-operation movement, passive resistance, boycott of councils, Hindu-Moslem unity and khaddar were the most prominent items in the programme. To tell the masses to break laws was a dangerous experiment as it was bound to result in disturbances, especially when people had yet fully to imbibe the spirit of non-violence.

Similarly a country-wide boycott of councils was not practicable. It was true that, as against the partition of Bengal, it had partly succeeded under Mr. Surendranath, but then it was confined to one province and the franchise then was practically limited to politically-minded people and it was exercised to meet a specific grievance to which every Bengalee was alive. It was due to Mr. Gandhi's personality that the people responded even to the extent they did.

As regards Hindu-Moslem unity, it had been wisely fostered by the Moderates under Mr. Gokhale's fruitful lead, and Mr. Gandhi had nearly succeeded in cementing it by espousing the Khilafat. But the wind was taken out of his sails by the British Governments declaration about Turkey, and the Civil Service also was casting its crafty nets skilfully round. If Mr. Gandhi had a colleague like Mr. Gokhale who was trusted as an intimate friend by all parties and communities, the Hindu-Moslem relations would not have been strained.

It was true that the first non-co-operation movement failed in its main purpose but it brought about an un-paralleled awakening among the masses and raised their self-esteem, and the servile temper and the slave mentality began to disappear. A subject people regained their soul.

Nobody can deny at this date that Mr. Gandhi greatly miscalculated and especially his promise of Swaraj within one year was highly speculative. But, let us remember the very astonishing fact that wise and practical-minded leaders like Pandit Motilal and Mr. Patel fully acquiesced in this programme and evidently thought like Mr. Gandhi.

The birth of the Swaraj party with its Council programme of obstruction, was not first favoured by the Congress, and Mr. Gandhi himself thought that Government would thrive by opposition. But under the incomparable leadership of Pandit Motilal, it achieved signal successes and justified itself and today the Congress had created a Parliamentary Board and even Mr. Gandhi has blessed it.

The Congress movement has now to be considered as a regular war of Indian independence on non-violent lines. There have been and there would be retreats on either side, honourable and hasty, but every time some ground would be gained for India. But growth of parties within the Congress and attacks on it from communal institutions like the Moslem League and the Hindu Mahasabha, are trying to check its influence. At this stage, all non-communal and national-minded parties, especially the Liberals and the Congress, must come closer together. When bad men combine the good must associate.

RELIGION AND RELIGIONS.*

O. KANDASWAMY CHETTY.

It is necessary to make a very important distinction, namely, between Religion and Religions. As the Tamil Poet and Saint, Thayumanavar says, "Religions there are myriads: but Religion there is one." We should distinguish between inward religion and outward religion, between personal religion and communal religion between *subjective* religion, consisting of spiritual experience, of inward motives and sacred affections, of self-examination and reflection, of contemplation, prayer and communion with God, and *objective* religion, institutional in character, consisting of Temples, Churches, Mosques, Ceremonies, Festivals, Priesthoods etc., all involving vested interests of one kind or another. The one is personal religion with freedom to change and to develop; the other is corporate religion demanding social conformity. The one is ethical religion and the other is formal and mechanical. The one is thoughtful religion and progressive, the other is unthinking and conservative. The one is fervent and the other is fanatic. The one is a religion of service and self-sacrifice, and the other is a religion of selfish security and salvation. I have thus briefly and rapidly indicated the distinction in broad outline, and expect you to fill in the picture from your own knowledge and experience.

If we will all learn to make this distinction in our lives and teach others to make this distinction too, we shall soon see that what matters in religion and what will go to form our personality and will endure in us for ever, is the religion of the heart and not the religion of the priest. We may then be inclined to join with the poet and say,

"For forms of faith let senseless bigots fight,
He cannot be wrong whose life is in the right."
Only this life is not merely outward life visible to all men but also inward life, based upon a sense of the eternal verities of the Universe, sometimes visible only to God.

If instead of concentrating our attention and wasting our passions upon the externals of our religion whatever religion we may profess, we direct our thoughts to its ethical contents and spiritual suggestions, if we transfer our affections and energies from the outward shell, hard and indigestible, to the softer nutritive kernel within, we shall feel ourselves insensibly drawn in sympathy and mutual appreciation to those who are enjoying similar but not exactly the same kind of satisfying nutrition from other religions than our own. Then we shall feel no antagonism or sense of separateness from them. We may have different views of things from them, we may not see eye to eye with them in all things, we may differ from them even in our view of life as a whole, of Man and Nature, of God and the Universe, but shall respect them and feel no bitterness or suspicion or strangeness towards them. We would even like to share in their spiritual experience and thus widen our outlook and enlarge our sympathies and enrich ourselves in the inmost parts of our being. For instance, would you expect a foremost Protestant preacher of America confessing himself at Rome, at the religious worship of different religions? This is what Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, the minister of the famous Riverside Church in New York city, a beautiful and imposing structure on the banks of the Hudson River,—says in his book,—"Religion as I see it".

It is only over-emphasis on external forms and precise definitions,—over-emphasis on the part of both the protagonist and the antagonist that breeds

* Presidential address Coconada Inter-religious Conference.



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a sense of rivalry between different religions. A desire to emphasise and to appropriate and assimilate whatever is good, true and beautiful in any religion, whether own or other, will throw into the shade whatever is unseemly, untrue or evil, and deprive it gradually of its power to influence the lives of people. I do not wish to say that in our study of religions, we should notice only points of agreement and ignore points of difference; but I do say that I would first of all appreciate the points of agreement before dwelling on the points of difference; because the former process helps friendliness and the latter tends to hinder it. For example, I would notice the points of agreement between Islam and Christianity,—and these are many—before I see how they differ from each other. Similarly I would find out the points of agreement between Islam and Hinduism in any of its phases—and these points of agreement are not a few and not unimportant—before I notice how they differ from each other, I would use the points of agreement as a common platform on which I could cultivate fellowship, and use the points of difference as a means of correcting my views or adding to my knowledge. Thus I would go on expanding my knowledge and the range of my appreciation, and widening my sympathies and my area of fellowship by bringing into the circle more and more of these religions.—Christianity, Zoroastrianism, Jainism, Sikhism,—until at least my mental, moral and spiritual equipment, shall in the course of years consist of truths, forms of goodness and features of beauty belonging historically to the different religions with which I am brought into contact in a living way. For it is not a mere academic exercise I would indulge in, nor a mosaic of different religions I would amuse myself with: but a living organic development through experience and assimilation that I would subject myself to. For this kind of sympathetic contact with different religions and their professors cannot but result in the interaction of different elements, and lead to a critical appreciation, a criticism based upon an understanding sympathy and not prompted by any sectarian propaganda.

I can easily imagine persons saying or at least thinking, that this is all too vague and amorphous to be accepted by the followers of different religions in the country. They want something definite to live by: but if what they have is not sufficient to answer the demands of a rapidly changing world and has not helped in securing the unity and the peace which are necessary for progress, it is time that they look within and review the situation and revise their view of life. What India badly needs today is a common religion over and above the particular religions which the people profess and practice. Even as we are most of us a bi-lingual if not a poly-lingual people, with a common language which binds us together and helps us to understand one another and cultivate fellowship and friendship over and above our vernacular language with its hoary literature and sacred associations, we require a common body of religious beliefs and attitudes and social practices resulting therefrom which, while reacting towards reformation, reconstruction and reconciliation upon the several religions of the country, will bind their professors by a common bond of tolerance, mutual respect, and mutual understanding into a united people working their way towards freedom and a fuller life. This would solve the various communal problems with which we are confronted, besides helping India to take her place as a free member in the world family of free nations. I am convinced that a common religion for India transcending and fulfilling but not necessarily supplanting

the various religions of the country, was in the mind and soul of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, fitly called the Father of Modern India. I have often thought that if the Brahmo Samaj movement had gone on developing on the lines of its original insights, without being driven by the hostility of persons from without and from within the country into a self-protecting cave instead of spreading and leavening the religious, social and political life of the whole country, the inter-communal tensions and frictions which mark the life of the people to-day would not have appeared at all. But it is not yet too late to go back to the religious and inter-religious spirit which animated Raja Ram Mohan Roy and successors: Devandra Nath Tagore, Keshub Chandra Sen and Mahadev Govind Ranade, and is still preserved for us and for the world by Rabindranath.

UNTOUCHABILITY AND CONVERSION.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Dr. Ambedkar declared at the Yeola Conference that the untouchables will get their grievances redressed only if they abandon Hindu religion and become converts to some other religion. This affirmation and declaration by an educated man like Dr. Ambedkar has attracted the attention of many people in India, as it is a question of vital importance, affecting a population of about 7 crores of people in this country. It, of course, appears to be a big move on the part Dr. Ambedkar, and, therefore, one does not restrain oneself giving vent to one's thought that it is a blind leap beyond the scope of the ignorant masses and at the same time a move which does not warrant any social benefit or elevation even after conversion to another religion. So far as religion is concerned, it is dear to the untouchable and caste Hindu alike and the idea of change of religion for the emancipation of the untouchables will be certainly revolting to even a reformed untouchable; while the uneducated masses living in villages will not at all be agreeable to this way of improving their status. Hindu women are deeply religious, they will not easily submit to this change of religion; if some class deserves credit for clinging to religion and for upholding the same, it is due to the women-folk in India, who deserve the highest credit in the matter. Dr. Ambedkar expects and is over-confident that within a period of 7 or 8 years, there will be complete conversion amongst the untouchables and by this drastic method, their grievances will be redressed without looking to the sympathy and help of the caste Hindus.

History for the last 25 years shows that the untouchables are on their way to social uplift. Are the caste Hindus not trying their best to remove this social sin? Is not the young generation trying its level best to give the untouchables their ordinary rights and equality in society even at the cost of their being upbraided by the Sanatanists? Is not the Hindu Mahasabha trying for the removal of untouchability and has it not passed resolutions supported by no less a person than His Holiness Dr. Kurtkoti of Karvir Peth in its recent sitting at Poona for the elevation and uplift of the untouchables? The efforts of the Hindu Mahasabha are really splendid and the work of Mahatma Gandhi is too noble to be appreciated by the ordinary people. He has been striving hard for the uplift of the untouchables for many years.

The untouchables will completely lose the affection and sympathy of the caste Hindus if the former are converted. Untouchability will be removed by



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the co-operation of the caste Hindus, who alone will destroy the curse on the society. The Hindus will not be so cruel to the untouchables as to drive away a big section from their religion and the present move of Dr. Ambedkar is totally un-called for.

If we observe the sub-castes and differences existing among the untouchables themselves, we find that there exists the same evil of untouchability among them, and unless the untouchables show a united front the prospect for the total removal of untouchability is remote. Though inter-dining is practised between untouchables and caste Hindus in some places, still among the different sections of the untouchables themselves we find such amenity does not exist. Such being the case how can any one remove the general untouchability without the removal of the untouchability existing amongst the untouchables themselves? The disease should be cured at its root and it should not be cut superficially by allowing the root to grow again. Education will alone remove the prejudice among the untouchables and Government and the public are both trying hard for spreading education among them. It will thus be seen that in the near future the desired end will be achieved.

Satara
18, February 1936. } R. D. PATANKAR

ITALY AND COLONIAL POSSESSIONS.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your leading article last week you quote the Italian propagandist's figures showing that, out of the ex-enemy possessions in Africa, Italy was given only a much smaller area of land than she apparently expected or had been promised by England and France.

Considering that Italy joined the Allies only two years after their declaration of war against Germany, she was not unfairly rewarded with 80,000 square kilometers of land with 70,000 inhabitants for her exploitation.

The Americans, who claimed that they brought victory to the allied arms, and complained that they were ill-rewarded for their sacrifice, received the following reply from the late Mr. Kipling:—

"At the eleventh hour he came,
But his wages were the same
As ours who all day long had trod
The winepress of the wrath of God.
"Since his back had felt no load,
Virtue in him still abode;
So he swiftly made his own
Those lost spoils he had not won."

This the Americans compared to the German hymn:

"French and Russian they matter not,
A blow for blow and a shot for a shot,
We love them not, we hate them not,
We hold the Wechsel and Volga's gate,
We have but one and only hate,
We love as one, we hate as one,
We have one foe and one alone—England."

I give below the dates on which the various countries declared war on Germany.

Russia, August 1st, 1914.
France, August 3rd, 1914.
Belgium, August 3rd, 1914.
England, August 4th, 1914.
Serbia, August 6th, 1914.
Montenegro, August 9th, 1914.
Japan, August 23rd, 1914.
Portugal, March 9th, 1916.

Italy, August 28th, 1916.
Rumania, August 28th, 1916
America, April 9th, 1917.
Cuba, April 7th, 1917.
Panama, April 10th, 1917.
Greece, June 29th, 1917.
Siam, July 22nd, 1917.
Liberia, August 4th, 1917.
China, August 14th, 1917.
Brazil, October 26th, 1917.
Guatemala, April 23rd, 1918.
Hayti, July 15th, 1918.
Honduras, July 22nd, 1918.

The following countries broke off diplomatic relations with Germany:

Bolivia, Nicaragua, Santo Domingo, Costa Rica, Peru, Uruguay and Ecuador.

The world will soon know how these same countries will array against one another in the forthcoming European war for the re-distribution of non-European possessions.

Sylvan, Coonoor, } Yours, etc.,
19th February 1936. } M. G. JOSEPH,

THE AGA KHAN ON MUSLIM POLICY.

To define the attitude which Indian Moslems should adopt regarding future Indian politics, a large number of Moslem leaders met under the chairmanship of H. H. the Aga Khan in New Delhi on the 15th February.

Those present included Sir Fazli-Hussain, Nawab of Chhatari, Sir A. H. Ghuznavi, Sir Feroze Khan Noon, Sir Mehr Shah, Sir G. H. Hidayatullah, Sir Mahomed Yakub, Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan, Abdul Qadir of Badaun, Haji Rahim Baksh Sahabi, Mushir Hussain Kidwani, Mr. Shafi Daudi, the Hon'ble Abdul Hafiz, the Hon'ble Mr. Mahomed Suhrawardy, Capt. Sher Mahomed Khan Mr. Nauman, Sir Yamin Khan, Nawab Jamshed Ali, Hon'ble Mr. Mahomed Padsha Sahib, Mr. Abdullah Haroon, Nawab Mahomed Hayat Khan, Raja of Salimpur, Dr. Ziauddin, Messrs. Allabaksh Tiwana, Azhar Ali Raja Ghaznafar Ali, Mir Maqbool Rashid Ahmed, S. M. Abdullah, Maulana Shaikat Ali, Abdul Matin Chaudhuri, Haji Sattar Essak Sait, Badrul Hassain, Khurshed Ali and Mazruddin.

H. H. the Aga Khan took the chair amidst cheers. He read out a statement which was frequently punctuated with applause.

H. H. the Aga Khan said:—The first half of the nineteenth century saw the sovereignty of India pass out of Moslem hands into the British hands. The responsibility for the events of 1857 was laid at the door of Moslems, and this made the thoughtful section among them to think of their future position in India. It took Indian Moslems quarter of a century to make up their minds, and the result was that of the great Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh's policy of concentrating on education and avoiding political agitation of an acute kind. A few Moslems joined the Indian National Congress, but the community as a whole stood apart.

"As a reaction to twenty years of inactivity, the All-India Moslem League came into being in 1906 and the co-operation between the Congress and the League culminated in their agreement in 1916 which was the basis of the Montford Reforms. Thus in the first decade of the 20th century, Moslem India reconsidered its policy, and in the second decade, formulated a new one. Had it not been for the World War, things may have been different, but the problem of political advance was pressing and Indian Moslems decided that, despite being a minority in India, they will not stand in the way of their Motherland placing before itself the goal of



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Self-Government. Indian Moslems realised that most of them were of the same blood as their Hindu brethren, that many of them were of mixed blood and those who had come to India with Moslem invaders had settled down in India for many centuries and had made India their home and had no home outside India, and that they were natives of India just as their Hindu brethren were natives of India. The mere fact that they professed a religion which was professed by the inhabitants of other countries also made no difference. Just as the Afghans would not like Arabian domination and Arabs did not like Turkish domination, there is no occasion for India to doubt the genuine feeling of Indian Moslems for Indian Nationalism. Our cultural and spiritual links with Moslems of other countries do not, and cannot prevent us from following purely national programmes for Self-Government. Having made their choice, they were ready for political advance, and the 1916 agreement between the League and the Congress was the result. Hindu leaders assured Moslem leaders of their religious and cultural integrity and readily agreed to separate representation through separate electorates, and assured Moslem leaders of adequate representation in future as the Moslem community took to politics. Unfortunately, the co-operation did not last long.

ATTITUDE TO REFORMS.

"What would Moslems do in the matter of further reforms? Moslem leaders gave this their most careful consideration and came to the conclusion that they were in a minority and at that, a weak minority. Though the attitude of their powerful sister community had been cold and distant, their patriotism and their sense of self-respect and honour did not permit their going back on their ideal of Self-Government for their country. So they decided to ask for maximum reforms and to this object they adhered all along. They knew Provincial Autonomy in Central Provinces, United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, Madras, Bombay and Assam would spell ruin for them if worked in a communal spirit, but they hoped that better sense would prevail and all communities would work for the betterment of their Motherland, instead of against each other and in return, they only wanted to have the satisfaction of being a majority community in the Frontier Province, Punjab, Sind and Bengal, knowing full well that their majority in the Punjab and Bengal was only nominal, while in the Frontier Province, on account of its geographical position and economic condition, it was not likely to have much of real Provincial autonomy. Thus the Moslems were not improving their communal position in any way, but still they were for political advance. Why, they were for this political advance solely from national motives. Their objective, therefore, in the matter of representation was to secure such a position as would enable them to have a majority in the Legislature of some of our Provinces. They succeeded in the case of three Provinces, but failed in the case of Bengal.

"In the case of the Central Legislature they retained their proportion to a certain extent, but with the extinction of the official bloc, from the communal point of view they were not going to be as strong in the future as in the past. But here again, their motive for political advance was national, not communal. They failed to secure a clear enunciation of their undoubted rights to adequate representation in the Services in the Provinces, but have been feeling that their case is so strong that no Government claiming to be civilised would be in a position to refuse their just demands. They are not elated by the successes achieved, nor are they too depressed by the failures suffered. Success and failure in life and particularly in political life was inevitable and regardless of

them we should go on. India is now entering a new phase of political life. Indian Moslems are ready to take their due share in developing political life in the best interests of the country. The political goal is Dominion Status. They feel India's most pressing needs are externally securing recognition in other countries. Indians are not fairly treated, whether in Dominions or the Colonies. At home, Indians must have economic reorganisation. There is a wide gulf between different sections of Indians—extreme poverty, hunger and nakedness, emaciated and enfeebled body, and ignorance that they are human beings by courtesy only. To add to this economically depressed status, they are intellectually depressed.

"With this denial of divinity in mankind there is a denial of human brotherhood, and we have developed intolerance in matters religious and sectarian. The whole economic, social and religious fabric calls for immediate relief—the uplift of the weak—economically, intellectually and culturally, that there may be left no one to be called downtrodden. Faith is a matter of individual convictions and should not be allowed to create ill-will between the various communities of India. Islam teaches tolerance and the smallest and the humblest should feel that in a self-governing India, his faith and religion would be secure and also his culture.

"I have so far referred to the past. What is the immediate future, which is to be the object of political changes that are coming? What are we to strive for and pledge as a programme to our countrymen? What is the real work to be accomplished? The future programme is the "uplift", personal, spiritual, moral, intellectual and economic, not only of families but also of the poor masses, the needy and the backward. It is this noble work of uplift with which we should concern ourselves irrespective of considerations of caste, colour and creed. This is the prescription which thoughtful Indians prescribe for the betterment of India's position abroad."

Sir Shafaat Ahmed Khan moved the following resolution:—

"This meeting of the Executive Board of the All-India Moslem Conference places on record its grateful thanks to His Highness the Aga Khan for the constructive lead he has given to the community at this juncture in his statement made at this meeting and adopts the policy therein enunciated as an integral part of its programme and appeals to Indian Moslems of all schools of thought to give effect to it."

The above resolution was passed after a large number of speeches were made, paying glowing tributes to the services of the Aga Khan. The question of amalgamating the Moslem League and Moslem Conference was not put forward in view of the Aga Khan's opinion that it should be left over for the decision of Moslems elected to the new Provincial Legislatures.

BENGAL WHIPPING ACT.

A Bill to make certain offences against women punishable with whipping.

Whereas it is expedient to make certain offences against women punishable with whipping,

And whereas the previous sanction of the Governor-General has been obtained under Sub-section (3) of Section 80A of the Government of India Act to the passing of this Act,

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. (1) This Act may be called the Bengal Whipping Act, 1936.

(2) It extends to the whole of Bengal.

2. Whoever—

(a) being member of an assembly of two or more persons the common object of which is to commit an offence punishable under Section 366 of the Indian Penal Code, abets, commits or attempts to



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commit such offence, or

(b) abets, commits or attempts to commit in respect of any female person any offence punishable under section 366A, 366B, 367, 372 or 373 of the said Code; may be punished with whipping in lieu of or in addition to any other punishment to which he may for such abetment, offence or attempt be liable under the said Code.

Section 366 states: "Whoever kidnaps or abducts any woman with intent that she may be compelled, or knowing it to be likely that she will be compelled, to marry any person against her will, or in order that she may be forced or seduced to illicit intercourse, or knowing it to be likely that she will be forced or seduced to illicit intercourse, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years, and shall also be liable to fine."

"And whoever, by means of criminal intimidation as defined in this Code or of abuse of authority or any other method of compulsion, induces any woman to go from any place with intent that she may be, or knowing that it is likely that she will be, forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person shall also be punishable as aforesaid."

Section 366A states: "Whoever by any means whatsoever induces any minor girl under the age of eighteen years to go from any place or to do any act with intent that such girl may be, or knowing that it is likely that she will be, forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine."

Section 366B states: "Whoever imports into British India from any country outside India, any girl under the age of 21 years with intent that she may be, or knowing it to be likely that she will be forced or seduced to illicit intercourse with another person, and whoever with such intent or knowledge imports into British India from any State in India any such girl who has with the like intent or knowledge been imported into India, whether by himself or by any other person, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine."

Section 367 States: "Whoever kidnaps or abducts any person in order that such person may be subjected, or may be so disposed of as to be put in danger of being subjected, to grievous hurt or slavery or to the unnatural lust of any person, or knowing it to be likely that such person will be so subjected or disposed of shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine."

Section 372 states:—"Whoever sells, lets to hire, or otherwise disposes of any person under the age of 18 years with intent that such person shall at any age be employed or used for the purpose of prostitution or illicit intercourse with any person or for any unlawful and immoral purpose or knowing it to be likely that such person will at any age be employed or used for any such purpose shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine."

Section 378 States: "Whoever buys, hires or otherwise obtains possession of any person under the age of 18 years with intent that such person shall at any age be employed or used for the purpose of prostitution or illicit intercourse with any person or for any unlawful and immoral purpose or knowing it to be likely that such person will at any age be employed or used for any such purpose shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to ten years and shall also be liable to fine."

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A limited number of copies of this valuable work of reference was sent to us for circulation in India and they have been sold out. A further supply is expected in about a month and orders can be booked for at Rs. 10/- (Rupees ten only) a copy, postage 12 as. extra.—

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The Late Mrs. Jawharlal Nehru:—The news of the death of Kamla Nehru, wife of Pandit Jawharlal Nehru after a prolonged illness at a sanatorium in Switzerland, has called forth country-wide sympathy for the President, designate of the next session of the Indian National Congress. The Nehru family has won for itself an abiding place in the affections of the Indian people by its services and sacrifices in the cause of freedom. Mrs. Jawharlal Nehru fully shared in her husband's political and public activities. The varying phases of her long illness were followed by the public with anxious interest. It appeared that she had benefitted by the climate and treatment in Vienna and Switzerland; and her death, on the eve of the Pandit's departure for India to preside at the Congress, came as a great shock to the Indian public. In Bombay, the principal markets were closed and a crowded public meeting was held to express the citizens' condolences to the Pandit and his family. Similar demonstrations of sorrow and sympathy have been held all over the country. As President of the Congress when the new constitution is about to be inaugurated, the Pandit has a heavy responsibility which has been heightened by the personal sorrow which has befallen him.

Bombay Legal Aid Society:—We print today a summary of the speech made by Mr. B. G. Kher at the public meeting held on Monday under the chairmanship of Sir John Beaumont, Chief Justice of the High Court, to create public interest in the Bombay Legal Aid Society. The Society was started 12 years ago to perform social service rendered imperative by present-day developments. The maxim that every one is assumed to know the law, was, perhaps, true in societies which were governed entirely by customary law. It was

partially true so long as the criminal law, which most concerns the poor, ran along the lines of the current moral code and was based on it. But now-a-days, laws are made which have no relation to current ideas of right and wrong. In fact, the law itself recognises a distinction between offences involving moral turpitude and offences which do not involve such turpitude. The average citizen who in this country is, in eight out of ten cases, illiterate, may find himself in trouble without being conscious of having done any thing wrong. If he is found guilty, he is sent to jail. If he is acquitted, his case is even worse. What little money he might have had, is lost in defending himself; and while his brother in prison is assured of his daily meals, the acquitted man is ruined and is left to beg or perhaps to steal. A society to assist such helpless people, is therefore, a necessity and the Bombay Legal Aid Society has a very good record of service to its credit. We strongly support the appeal which was made for public support to it by the Chief Justice and other speakers.

Marriage Temple at Allahabad:—Hindu marriages in South India are cheaply and expeditiously performed in temples. The Tirupati temple is most resorted to for this purpose. A lead, first of its kind as a practical step in socio-religious reforms in the United Provinces, has been given by Baba Girdhari Lal, Advocate of the Allahabad High Court, in the form of opening a Central Marriage Temple of India in Allahabad. The object of the temple is stated to be: "To give effect to the speeches and resolutions of the various religious and social sabhas, societies and conferences to simplify marriage ceremonies, curtail expenditure and abolish unnecessary and improper, expensive and uncivilised customs and practices, so eloquently advocated by many leaders." This is a purely religious and social institution in which the parties to the proposed marriage, if they so desire, can get married any evening within three hours after giving 24 hours' previous notice of the proposed marriage. The wedding party of not more than six persons may arrive at the temple and depart the same evening. The actual marriage including the fees of the officiating high priest and other expenses will not be permitted to exceed Rs. 5. The ceremonies will be those prescribed by the Hindu Law for legality of marriage according to Vedic rites as recognised by the Sanatana Dharma,



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Arya Samaj or any other recognised faith of the bride-groom or the bride. The marriage will be duly recognised and witnessed. We trust it will also be registered under the Gour Act.

Mr. Subhas Bose's Visit to Dublin:—It was stated that Mr. Subhas Bose was visiting Ireland in pursuance of the wishes of the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel who left a legacy to Mr. Bose for utilisation on behalf of the Indian national movement in foreign propaganda, and who had founded an Indo-Irish League when he visited Ireland some years ago. We reprint to-day the account given by the Dublin correspondent of the *Amrita Basar Patrika* of Calcutta of the reception of the Indian leader in the Irish capital. Mr. De Valera treated Mr. Bose as a sort of ambassador from India and other leaders were also equally cordial. Mr. Bose, it is said, is considering ways in which Indo-Irish trade may be developed. The economic policy which is being pursued by the Free State and to which we made a passing reference in an editorial note (*Reformer* February 15) has many features of interest to us. The promotion of international understanding and goodwill, is in itself a service to the cause of humanity. Mr. Subhas Bose is gifted with high intellectual qualities and the Irish people, we are sure, will think of this country with greater regard as a result of his visit to them.

Immigration to U. S. A.:—The February number of *Current History* gives figures relating to immigration into the United States during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1935. The number of quota immigrants permissible under the law was 17,291. Only 11 per cent of this number obtained admission. This was not due to stringency of administration of the law but to most of the countries eligible, sending few or no immigrants. There were no immigrants from Afghanistan, Andorra, Ethiopia (which is allotted 100), Liechtenstein, Muscat, Nauru, Nepal, New Guinea, Saudi Arabia, Southwest Africa or Yap. The Irish Free State, with a quota of 17,853, sent only 322 immigrants. This is eloquent proof of the success of the De Valera administration under which £ 6 millions worth of food commodities, which used to be exported, is consumed in the country itself. The largest number of immigrants were from Germany (4,653) and Italy. The German immigrants, no doubt, consisted in large part of Jews. Next after Italy came in order Great Britain, Poland and Austria. Eight Japanese obtained entrance, as did 42 Chinese. It appears from this list that many countries in Asia are on the quota and that Chinese and Japanese, although they are not on the list, are able to secure admission, under a Gentleman's Agreement. There is no reason why Indians should be excluded. The Reciprocity Bill which Mr. Govind Vallabh Pant has drafted for introduction in the Legislative Assembly, will facilitate negotiations with the American Government in securing fair treatment to India. Sir Girja Shanker Bajpai told the Assembly a few days

ago that the Government of India have addressed His Majesty's Government regarding the disabilities of Indian merchants in the United States whose merchants enjoy full rights in India. We are sure American self-respect will urge reciprocation of the hospitality which Americans have been long enjoying here.

Delimitation Committee's Report:—The committee appointed by the British Government to define the electorates under the new Indism constitution, have made their report. The Committee consisted of three members, Sir Laurie Hammond, Chairman, and Justices Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao of the Madras High Court and Din Mahommed of the Lahore High Court. In their despatch to the Secretary of State, the Committee express their keen disappointment at not being able to base their recommendation on a uniform plan for all the Provinces because of the differences of opinion which they found prevailing in the different provinces. For instance, on the distinction between rural and urban constituencies, the Bombay and Madras Governments took the view, which is the right one, that the distinction was largely artificial. The Madras Government, indeed, said that there was no question of urban and rural in their province, and that if they had had a free hand they would have recommended the abolition of urban constituencies altogether and would have divided the whole Presidency into territorial constituencies without distinction of rural or urban. The Bombay Government did not go so far but they also maintained that, except a few large towns, the others were merely market towns which did not differ in their characteristics from villages. The Hammond Committee somewhat reluctantly acquiesce in these views so far as Bombay and Madras are concerned and accept the proposals of the local Governments. The only noteworthy change which they have made in the Bombay proposals, is grotesque. The Women's seats assigned to Bombay city, three in number, are to be filled by election by the women voters only of two Wards, Girgaum and Bhuleshwar, though women candidates may live in any part of the Presidency! The reason given for this absurd proposal, as it seems to us, that it will prevent undesirable women from being present at the polls, is ridiculous. There can be no undesirable women without undesirable men, and if the latter are not objected to on account of their morals, the exclusion of women who are mostly their creatures, does not seem to be logical. The Hammond Committee was not appointed to uphold the double standard of morals. Moreover, we are not sure that there are no undesirable women in Girgaum and Bhuleshwar.

The Indian Budget:—The Finance Minister of the Government of India, Sir James Grigg, is able to show a surplus of three crores of rupees while all the provinces are suffering from large deficits. The United Provinces budget shows an excess of 74 lakhs expenditure over revenue. Bengal is 41 lakhs short of her needs, the



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Punjab 16 lakhs, Bihar, 11, Central Provinces, 8 lakhs. Bombay just manages to scrape through owing to the 'betterment' resulting from the amputation of Sind. On a broad view, it is plain that the seeming prosperity of the Central Government does not reflect the economic condition of the country but is attained at the expense of the provinces. The Indian Finance Minister's proposals for distributing his surplus are unsatisfactory. The restoration of the minimum limit of income-tax to Rs. 2,000, and the doubling of the weight of letters carried for one anna, will afford relief to classes who stand most in need of relief. But these two items cover only a fifth of the surplus. Nearly twice as much is absorbed by a reduction in the surcharge and supertax on the higher incomes. The reduction of the rates on postcards would not only have afforded relief to the public but would, as last year's experience shows, have increased the revenue of the Post Office. The compliments paid to Sir James Grigg for producing a surplus budget, are unnecessary. Any one can do the trick by starving the country while keeping taxation high. The following from an editorial in the *Times of India*, is a welcome sign that non-official Anglo-Indian opinion is beginning to view Indian problems from the nationalist standpoint. 'The Secretary of State's pledge about the restoration of the pay of Government servants was one of the worst blows India has received for a long time. The scale of pay in all departments of Government in India is grossly in excess of the country's capacity to pay. Nowhere in the world are posts of all kinds in administration, in education, in transport, in the medical service and elsewhere so highly rewarded as in India. The situation is scandalous. But at this transitional stage in constitutional development it is vital to maintain financial stability. The widest considerations do not make it expedient to throw out Provincial budgets as a mark of indignation. But it would be a good thing if all Provincial Legislatures made it quite clear that as soon as the new constitution is on its feet there will be a demand from all of them for such cuts in the pay of Government servants as are reasonable in relation to the country's capacity to pay.'

Shahidganj Dispute :—Sir Herbert Emerson, the Governor of the Punjab, is entitled to credit for not allowing considerations of prestige to come in the way of supporting the attempts of Mr. M. A. Jinnah to negotiate a friendly settlement of the dispute which has arisen over the demolition of a structure, claimed by Muslims to have been a mosque, within the precincts of the Shahidganj Gurudwara or Sikh temple. The Muslims had started a civil disobedience movement in connection with the dispute and the Punjab Government had interned some leaders and prosecuted others for disobeying their orders. At Mr. Jinnah's suggestion the civil disobedience was given up, and the Government responded with a general amnesty and released all who were interned or imprisoned for

connection with civil disobedience. Mr. Jinnah has had friendly talks with Muslim as well as Sikh leaders. He has stated that he found in all with whom he conferred an earnest desire to have the matter amicably settled. The Sikh leaders are willing to agree to any settlement provided it does not affect their religious sentiments with reference to the possession and rights in the Shahidganj area. Muslim leaders seem to be equally insistent on having the mosque restored or at least the sites of it fenced round and kept vacant without any Sikh structure being raised on it. It is obvious that there is not much chance of agreement so long as the dispute is maintained on these premises. On the other hand, it may lead only to further recriminations. Indian Muslims, notwithstanding the distinct injunctions of the Prophet, have not in the past invariably acted in the spirit of toleration to shrines of other religions. The best prospect of agreement lies in all communities realising that they have to live together and that God is not pleased to have His children fight with each other in His name.

Council of State Elections :—There is vigorous canvassing for the forthcoming elections to the Council of State. Voters should insist on candidates undertaking to support social reform measures and particularly to oppose any attempt to repeal or water down the Sarda Act. Mr. Shantidas Askuran who is standing for re-election to one of the Bombay seats, has sent the following assurance to a voter: "I need not assure you that I, being a reformer myself, am for the Sarda Act from the very beginning. It shall be a pleasure and a privilege of mine to associate myself with all the social questions that will crop up before the House." Similar assurances should be taken from other candidates. A determined effort is sure to be made to get the Sarda Act out of the way in the near future.

The Next Viceroy :—The new constitution has few friends in this country. But there is goodwill everywhere to the next Viceroy and the wish that he and his family may have a happy time here, is general. On the part of Lord Linlithgow, what is needed is that he should respect Indian opinion regarding the new scheme and go about his business of administering it without unnecessary insistence on his personal views on the subject. There is another thing. Lord Linlithgow will find that the Indian public expect the Viceroy to say exactly what he means, not to indulge in diplomatic periphrases, and to discard the old idea that Indians love to flatter and be flattered. We are led to make these observations by Reuter's summary of a speech which the Viceroy-designate made at the London Provision Exchange dinner on February 26.

A Correction :—By mischance the figures of the Reserve Fund of the Bank of India was shown in their advertisement in the last week's *Reformer* as Rs. 1,00,00,000. The right figure as it appears today is Rs. 1,04,00,000.



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BOMBAY, March 7, 1936.

WHAT JAPAN THINKS.

Japan has her own way of doing things. It is a way peculiarly puzzling to the western mind because it cuts across all its preconceptions. Last week's military rising in Japan which seemed about to overturn everything including the Throne, has subsided as suddenly as it broke out. The Premier, Admiral Okada, whose murder was circumstantially reported, was not murdered after all. He is alive. It seems that his escape was due to his brother-in-law, who bears a resemblance to him, being mistaken for him. Eighteen of the officers concerned in the revolt have been "authorised" to commit harikari and are not to be regarded as criminals. Their family escutcheons will remain untarnished by their crime. They are said to have despatched themselves not with the traditional dagger but with modern revolvers. The War Minister attributed the rising to his own lack of virtue. It should not surprise any one if he also commits harikari to atone for his faults. The delay in suppressing the revolt is explained as having been due to a desire to avoid bloodshed. The result has vindicated the wisdom of this course. The Japanese are going through a process of acute disillusionment. General Araki, who was Minister of War two years ago, told Mr. Chamanlal of the *Hindustan Times* when he last visited Japan, that they were making great preparations to rebuild Japan on a fresh enlightened and moral basis. Asked as to what he meant by rebuilding Japan, the General replied: "We are reviving the original civilization of Japan and are discarding the evil contamination of the West adopted in great haste. We are discarding what is bad and retaining what is good." The General was regarded by Foreign Governments as a fire-eater but Mr. Chamanlal writes of him that, from his most simple dress, clean shaven head, and simple and polite manners, one would feel that he was more of a sage than a warrior. But all the same, he adds, Araki is the Hitler and Mussolini of Japan today and carries the whole nation behind him, because of his strong military policy. It was stated last week that Araki had set up a military dictatorship. That is what a European in his place would have done. Personality is the core of Western civilisation. But in the East Impersonality is the highest principle. Araki would never think of acting disloyally to the Emperor who is regarded as the head of all Japanese families and as their common ancestor. That Japan is reacting violently against western influence is obvious but her reactions will be shaped by her old traditions which are still very much alive in the hearts of the people.

It is noteworthy that the Japanese Foreign Office alone was not involved in the recent rising. While the other offices and residences of Ministers were

surrounded, the Foreign Ministry and Minister, Mr. Koko Hiroto, were left unmolested. Mr. Hiroto has been a strong Minister and his foreign policy is evidently in accord with Japanese sentiments. In an important speech delivered in the Japanese Diet last January, Mr. Hiroto declared that Japan had in view an even greater mission than rebuilding herself. She wished to be helpful to the world at large. She had made herself a great Power by borrowing from the West. "Now," he said, "it is time for us, I believe, to try to introduce our arts and culture to other lands and thus contribute towards international good understanding, to the enrichment of world civilization, and to the promotion of the peace and happiness of mankind." The white man, in fairness to him, should no longer be left to shoulder his burden alone. Immediately, the objectives of the Japanese Government, according to the Foreign Minister, are three: suppression of communist activities for the stabilisation of East Asia and of the world; early diplomatic recognition by China of Manchukuo; and basic readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations and her effective collaboration with Japan. The Foreign Minister informed the Diet—we do not seem to have heard of this through Reuter's Agency in this country—that the Chinese Government had not only indicated its concurrence with these views but had recently proposed to open negotiations on Sino-Japanese rapprochement. Mr. Hiroto added that the Japanese Government sincerely hoped to smooth the progress of the newly established Commonwealth of the Philippines. The prospect of an early settlement with China of all outstanding questions, was indicated also by the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Navy at about the same time. Vice Admiral Kenkichi Takashahi said: "It is likely that Japan's economic advance in Manchukuo will soon reach its limits, and, therefore, the Empire's future commercial expansion must be directed to Southern Seas, with Formosa or the mandated islands of the Equatorial Pacific as bases." Whatever view may take of the significance of these observations of responsible Japanese authorities, it does not lie in the mouths of other Powers to condemn Japan.

This was the gist of some addresses (published as a book) delivered by the Japanese Ambassador to the United States Mr. Hiroshi Saito, and the *Unity*, edited by Dr. John Haynes Holmes, has the fairness to admit that the Ambassador's argument is unanswerable, except by America and other nations overhauling their own economic and general policies. "There is no need for suspicion of Japanese policies," Mr. Saito told the Woman's Club at Richmond last year. "They are based on facts. I venture to say that the policies of no other rational people similarly situated would be very different from ours. They are the result of existing conditions. We must exist and we must be secure. We must not menace others



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and we want to no menace to ourselves. These are the fundamentals of our national policies." How does this differ essentially from British Ministers' oft-repeated declaration that, while they are all for peace and disarmament, they can not in the existing conditions avoid strengthening the Defence Forces of the Empire? At Birmingham last week Sir Austen Chamberlain who, thought not a Minister, seems to enjoy nowadays an authority before which Ministers quail, emphasised that Britain had no warlike ambitions but there were portents which she could not neglect. He declared that he was never an alarmist but in the face of a world which was rearming, his view was that it was not safe for Britain to neglect her defences any longer. *Unity* takes the same view as we did of Japan's right to naval parity. It writes: "Japan's desire to see navies reduced, disarmament achieved, is predicated on her determination to have security. And her experience is that she knows she can not trust the so-called Christian nations. They have attacked her shores so often for her to feel safe, unless she has an equal navy. Let us equalize our navies and then scrap them all".

THE JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM.*

I have received your printed letter No. 775/160/35-36 dated 27th inst. soliciting opinion on a questionnaire re: Joint Hindu Family System.

While I am of opinion that the disabilities of Hindu women in a joint family should be removed by placing them in the same position as male members, as has been done in Baroda in regard to succession and in the Bombay Presidency by the recent Privy Council decision enabling a Hindu widow to adopt a son independently of the permission of coparceners, I feel strongly that the institution with suitable adaptations should be of great value in modern India. One of the needs of the time is a supply of public workers who, in the nature of things, must be relieved more or less from the necessity of earning their own livelihood. A joint family is a convenient means by which this can be done. Several public workers would not have been able to devote themselves to such work but for the help and support given to them by their uncles, brothers and other relatives.

There is an even more important aspect of the question. We have been able to do in this country to-day without a poor law and several other measures of relief now in force in the West owing to the joint family and the caste system undertaking the responsibility of looking after their own aged, feeble and destitute members. This responsibility has been tending to weaken. Nevertheless, it still exists and I am strongly of opinion that if the joint family is to be abolished by legislation, it cannot be before the State is prepared to undertake these responsibilities as is being done in Western countries.

In connection with this I will call your attention to the observations made by Prof. Wadia in a paper on "Parsis of Bombay and Parsi Charities" part of which is reprinted in the current issue of the *Reformer* (Nov. 30, 1935). Prof. Wadia says that the Parsi Community is handicapped in competition with the Hindu communities, owing to its having discarded the co-operative joint family system which

still continues among its neighbours and that this is one of the main reasons why the number of individuals and families who depend upon Parsi charity funds has steadily tended to increase during the last 20 years.

I will also call your attention to an extract in the *Indian Social Reformer* of the 23rd November headed "The present Tendencies in the Japanese Family." You will find therefrom that the Japanese family system is in essentials the same as ours and that even the joint family still survives. Nevertheless, Japan has become one of the great powers of the world, thus disproving the assumption that the backwardness of India is primarily due to our family and caste system. The whole question requires to be considered carefully in the light of contemporary social evolution which has departed to a startling extent from some of our nineteenth century preconceptions.

MARRIED WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT.

The question of married women and employment cropped up for discussion some time ago in the Bombay Corporation, in spite of that body having only recently declared itself for the principle that marriage should not be a bar to Municipal service. A doubt arose because the Municipal Commissioner, in contravention of the principle, did not allow an extension of service to a married woman doctor employed in the Corporation. From the report which appeared in the press, it was amusing to read the solicitude exhibited by the Commissioner that the lady concerned should not neglect her wifely duties. One would have thought that it was the lady's business to determine whether she would devote herself solely to marital duties or continue in her employment. Since she had chosen the latter course, there was no rational ground for not retaining her services unless she was found incompetent. Subconsciously, the Commissioner seems to have been influenced by conditions obtaining in his home country and parts of Europe, rather than by those existing here. In the two countries on the Continent where Dictatorships prevail, women's position and status have been adversely affected; they have been forced back to their home to fulfil their duties as wives and mothers and employment has become the monopoly of men. In England, though we read of stray cases of married women ousted from their jobs in order to make room for unemployed men, no movement is on foot for that purpose. In citing the example of the above countries the excess of women over men should be taken into account, which compels many of the former to earn their own livelihood.

Now, in this country where literacy of women is hardly two percent and the percentage of women professionally trained is still lower, it is a distinct loss to the community if their training is not put to use. Hence it is not surprising that, in rural and backward places, marriage, far from being a bar to women in service, has been even a recommendation. Instances are not wanting of married couples being employed in educational and other institutions, the women occupying posts as heads, while the men are employed in one or other subordinate capacity in the same institutions. The inclination among the educated women themselves is to drop out of their occupation once they are married. The few who stick to their jobs do so actuated by the desire either to be useful to the community or to supplement the income of their "bread-winners." I have noticed in the North that a trained nurse, wife of a Tanga driver, makes a larger contribution to the family income than the fares collected by the husband, and, that too, with the handicap of a burka which she had

*Copy of the Editor's letter to the Legal Remembrancer to the Government of Baroda.



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to put on every time she went on a professional call. Her husband, illiterate as he was, never objected to the wife earning. Instances like this are many.

It is generally found that the lower the strata of society, the greater is the recognition that women should work. In fields, in mines, in factories, women take their equal share of work with their men. Why not the same thing happen among the educated classes? With few openings for educated men and women, and the professions overcrowded, the competition for available jobs is very keen. This is especially so in cities. Though there is no opposition from men to women taking up employment when it is an economic necessity for them, there persists the feeling that married women need not join in the general hunt for work. With more women entering the professions, the tendency seems to be to eliminate more and more the married women from employment as her economic position is better than that of her unmarried sister and as her added responsibilities require more of her attention. But as things are at present, the altruistic motive of giving up one's job for the jobless, does not find favour with economically better situated women. On the contrary, there are to be found many middle-aged and elderly women with families of children and grand children occupying important positions in institutions which would benefit a great deal by the infusion of new spirit and modern ideas. This can only be done if the older women are replaced by younger, energetic and more competent women.

For those married women who do not find outlets for their intellectual attainments in domestic work and care of families, it may be suggested that the vast field of social and welfare work affords ample opportunities for them. Our women have still to realise that pleasure and profit can be derived to a degree which salaried employment cannot give by rendering service to others. A lady who figures prominently in the social, medical and welfare work of her province once bitterly complained that, though there were a number of women graduates in her part of the country she could not get them to interest themselves and much less help her in the numerous activities in which she was engaged. "Soon after their graduation, the girls are anxious to secure jobs," said another woman leader. It is but natural that economic independence should have an attraction for women, whether married or unmarried, after centuries of dependence on others, which has been their lot. In order to make this independence widespread, our women should undertake to enlighten and raise their sisters to the level to which they themselves have risen.

Among educated women very few have entered public life. They can do much useful work by entering municipalities and local boards where the opportunities of supervising and improving the standard of primary education and physical culture of the boys and girls, are plentiful. Women's powers of organisation have enabled them to achieve great things in the world—in England their political freedom and in Soviet Russia the citizenship of free and full standing in the State in addition to their recognition as independent economic entities.

Unwise Officials:—The *Dnyanodaya*, the well-known Christian missionary organ, writes: "How unwise some Government officials can be was illustrated in another happening of last week, when the semi-official volume, *India In 1933-34*, was published containing unfortunate aspersions on Indian politicians. That this kind of thing must cease if India and Britain are to remain united, was shown by many angry Indian comments."

FREE LEGAL AID FOR THE POOR. *

(B. G. KHER.)

The history of the origin and growth of the Legal Aid movement is extremely interesting. Just 60 years ago, *i. e.*, on the 8th March 1876, a few Germans met in the office of a lawyer in New York and decided to form an organisation to render free legal aid to German immigrants who were in those days being exploited by dishonest employers, boarding-house keepers and others owing to their poverty and ignorance. In course of time, the value of its work and the sound instincts which had prompted it, enabled this small Society to become one of the largest organisations in New York rendering assistance to all poor persons unable to obtain justice owing to lack of means—not confining its activities to the poor and helpless of any particular nationality but extending them to all alike. To-day, each large town in America (and several countries in Europe) has its Legal Aid Society. Thousands of poor and helpless people take advantage of its beneficent activities. Millions of dollars have been recovered by Legal Aid lawyers for the poor and helpless and a considerable amount of misery and heart-burning have been relieved by their efforts.

It is a great pity that Legal Aid work has not yet obtained in this country the recognition which it deserves as a highly important and useful branch of social service activities. Thus, for example, while we find a ready response to appeals for free medical aid for the poor, a similar appeal on behalf of Legal Aid falls on deaf ears. We have just heard from the President of the Bombay Legal Aid Society what splendid work it has done during the past ten years. It must, however, be admitted that our progress has not been as swift nor the extent of our operations as great as our cause entitles us to expect.

The reasons are two-fold. (1) First: There is considerable misapprehension in the minds not only of laymen but also of lawyers as to the meaning of Legal Aid, the kind of suffering a Legal Aid Society seeks to relieve and its proper functions. Very often, when I requested members of the Bar in some District to start a Legal Aid Society in their town, the reply made was "O! but we do not charge the same fees to all clients and when we have a client who is too poor to pay our fees, we do not always refuse him: we do his work without charging any fees—there is no need for a Legal Aid Society in our District." Now a little thought should reveal the fundamental difference between individual members of the Bar working for poor people without charging fees as a favour and an organised Society rendering free legal aid to all deserving poor people who are unable to secure justice owing to lack of means. Moreover, conducting cases in Court without any fees is not all that is expected of a Legal Aid Society. In fact that is only one out of the many functions which it is meant to discharge. It may perhaps be worth-while, therefore, to deal with this subject at greater length.

In theory, the law is the same for rich and poor alike. Equality before the law is the only basis on which a democracy can safely be founded and the equal protection of the laws is the sole guarantee of the individual's right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. But unfortunately, these ideas of social justice do not work themselves out in practice.

The function of a Legal Aid Society is to do in an organised way what has heretofore been done privately by many members of the Bar in their own offices. Organized attempt makes the work more efficient and there is no sense of obligation or embar-

*Speech at the public meeting held on Monday on behalf of the Bombay Legal Aid Society.

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ressment on the part of the Legal Aid client. Legal Aid work supplements and does not compete with the work of the Bar. So, no cases are received, where the applicant can afford to pay a fee to lawyers. Our laws have recognized the duty of providing free legal aid to the poor by making provision for *pauper* petitions, but practical experience has shown that in this country at any rate, there are many, who are too ignorant and too poor to avail themselves even of this facility, unless guided by somebody. Besides, there is a very large amount of work outside the Courts, which a Legal Aid Society has to do and the *pauper* procedure takes no count of this. Far from encouraging or increasing resort to the Law Courts, a Legal Aid Society avoids hasty resort to the Law Courts by conciliation, arbitration, persuasion and proper advice. Having thus given an outline of the functions of a Legal Aid Society, let us see how it works and whom it is intended to help.

A Legal Aid Society helps the poor applicant *i. e.*, one who has no income or whose income is just sufficient to maintain himself but insufficient to meet extraordinary demands. As soon as such a person comes to the office of the Legal Aid Society, he is asked to give particulars regarding his own name, age, etc., as also those of the person against whom legal aid is required, particulars of his income and those who are dependent on him, the name of the person who referred him to the Society and the other details of his case. His application is then referred to a Committee which carefully considers whether he has a just grievance remediable by law. This, sometimes, necessitates repeated interviews and discussions. The Committee also considers the ethical aspect of the case, the means of the applicant, his chances of success in a Court and numerous other practical questions. If it is decided to admit the application, a letter is usually sent to the opponent stating the claim, a member of the Committee interviews him if advisable and in a large number of cases, recourse to Law Courts is found unnecessary. The applicant gets proper advice as to his own rights and the rights of his opponent, the opponent knows that the applicant is not so helpless as he believed, and in a number of cases, a satisfactory solution of the dispute is arrived at by negotiations. If this fails, then the Courts have to be resorted to.

I shall now turn to the other reason, why our Society in Bombay has not made greater progress. In most of the American Legal Aid Societies, the rule is to retain a commission of 10 per cent on all collections of five dollars or over. A retaining fee of 10 cents is also charged for each case and in cases, where any drafting of documents or appearance is necessary, a further fee of 15 cents is usually charged. In deserving cases, this small payment is no doubt waived, but small as the sum appears to be, as the recoveries made by the Society on behalf of applicants are fairly large, its funds are always receiving an income. In Bombay, for our expenses, we have to rely merely on the small annual subscription of members, who also render personal services to the Society as volunteers. We have, therefore, no separate office, or paid Secretary, or staff to assist and no regular organisation devoted solely to the furtherance of this movement. We are, therefore, handicapped to a certain extent for want of proper machinery to accelerate our pace.

I would take this occasion to draw attention to another of our disabilities. Even if a Legal Aid client succeeds in an action in Court and costs are awarded to him, he is unable to recover them from his opponent, as he has been given legal aid under an agreement that the services are rendered free of cost.

If our Society were allowed to recover and retain the amount of costs awarded to a successful Legal Aid client, we will soon be in possession of sufficient funds to extend our organisation and render more efficient service.

It will not be disputed that the work is very noble. We must bring it to the notice of those to whom movements for social welfare make an appeal. Already, the Courts and Judicial Officers in Bombay recognised the utility of our work and frequently applications made to them by people in distress for legal aid are referred by them to the Legal Aid Society. If it were generally known what an amount of suffering is relieved by the mere knowledge that there is some one to turn to for help even when you have not got a pie in your pocket, no Legal Aid Society would lack for funds to carry on its good work. "I've heard of hearts unkind, kind deeds with coldness still returning; but the gratitude of men, hath oftener left me mourning," is the frequent experience of a legal aid worker.

There is another aspect of the movement which I would like to emphasise, particularly so far as lawyers are concerned. Nobody loves a lawyer. He is generally considered to be a selfish member of society, if not an unworthy pest in it. One need not point out how mistaken this view is. One must remember that just as a soldier is necessary to defend the country against unlawful aggression from outside and a policeman to keep peace and order within it, so is a lawyer necessary to society to uphold the cause of justice between man and man. It is his province to help the weak and the oppressed, to obtain justice as against the strong and the oppressors—regardless of whether the former can pay for it or not. It is pre-eminently the business of the lawyer to make justice available even to those who are without means to obtain it. The stigma which, rightly or wrongly, attaches to the profession of a lawyer and the charge of selfishness laid at his door, will be at least partially removed if lawyers organize a movement such as the Legal Aid Society. Thus even if all other noble considerations are left out, from the purely selfish point of view also, lawyers would be well advised to organise and carry on this movement vigorously.

I would, however, personally prefer to appeal to the nobler side of human nature, which prompts us to assist the poor and distressed—regardless of any thought of return. We must place before us the high and noble ideal of making justice not only *equal* but *free* to all. The lawyer must work and prove his usefulness to society not merely because it brings him a pecuniary recompense but because looked at from a proper point of view, there can be no profession or calling which can be deemed more honourable than that of upholding the noble cause of justice, of defending the poor against the oppression of the mighty, of restoring peace and harmony where strife and bitterness prevail—these in brief are the high ideals actuating the Legal Aid Movement.

Rural Uplift Grant for the Punjab:—

The Department of Public Health, Punjab, has been allotted a sum of Rs. 2,44,151 out of the grant of Rs. 8½ lakhs, which the Government of India has placed at the disposal of the Punjab Government for the promotion of rural uplift work in the province, says the Director, Public Information, Punjab. The Department has taken in hand three different items of public utility programme, comprising sanitary improvements in 81 villages of Gujarat district, provision of bored-hole latrines in Gurdaspur district, and the supply of wholesome drinking water to seven important rural centres.



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THE NEW OUTLOOK TOWARDS SOCIAL PROBLEMS.

"The first thing that we have got to impress on the public is the extreme complexity of all social problems. When men and women come and tell me that they know the right way to act in any of these grave social matters, I anticipate either the inspiration of genius or the rashness of folly." Karl Pearson.

It is a cardinal feature of this age that the centre of gravity of the world of controversies has definitely shifted from theological abstractions to social problems. All over the world diverse social problems are being hotly discussed, great scientists and social thinkers are in search of adequate remedies that will mitigate the social crisis. In America persons like Ben Lindsey have been baffled out of their wits at the ghastly figures of the divorce-rate, and the problem of the mulatto. In France people are scared away by the population problem, the decrease in birth-rate and the enormous use of contraceptives. In England the population is almost stationary, and the family is gradually disintegrating. In Germany Hitler is 'going back' to medieval times, in the face of the whole civilized world, with high pretensions of being an apostle of Aryan purity.

In India everybody knows how bitter these controversies have been. Inter-caste marriage, the desirability or otherwise of the caste-system, and sects that have been almost water-tight compartments, the growing necessity of the means of birth-control etc., all these have been the causes of internal dissensions I believe that these social problems are seldom approached in a manner in which they ought to be. Whenever these are tackled there is a top-heavy clamour, people indulge in needless rhetoric and cheap platitudes, all sound and little sense. It does not dawn upon them that the social problems come within the purview of the social sciences. If anybody tells them that sociology or biology is vitally connected with social affairs it comes to them as a revelation. The method of discussion in which people habitually indulge is frankly an *a priori* method which is opposed to all logic and scientific investigation. This is an age of cant and commonplace sayings by which the populace is easily deluded. Havelock Ellis has sufficiently exposed the cant of "Divine Love" and Feminism which first culminates in delicious flapperdom and then into racial suicide. Eminent biologists like D. M. Bateson and Karl Pearson have exploded the myth of democracy and the pernicious nature of the caste-system. The right way of approaching these social problems is to consult these social sciences viz. biology, psychology, or sociology without which any solution is bound to remain inherently defective.

As Julian Huxley remarks, "The discoveries of biological science, during the last hundred years have quite altered our outlook upon many familiar aspects of human life. One of the spheres where the change has been most obvious is in regard to heredity and racial problems. While dealing with society and its problems we must thoroughly investigate the biological basis of human nature, the evolution and the structure of society. It has come to be recognized that man is a biological specimen, as much as snakes and ants, his affairs are biological affairs, and must be carried on in accordance with sound biological principles."

If we just visualised the diverse problems that confront us in our daily life such as marriage, education, moral or survival values, criminality and the high talk of individual freedom, divorce, sex education, family as the unit of social

organization, it is incumbent upon us to investigate very carefully the nature of these problems and deal with them in a scientific way. It is an amazing fact that modern youths who are so proud of living in this scientific age want to show themselves off as basing their considerations on the findings of modern science. They profess to have a scientific outlook; they are knights out for the destruction of hypocrisy: their slogan is reason. But this is a travesty of words, a mere 'fiction'. The 'fact' is they are too impatient of scientific erudition, reason is thrown to the winds to the painful realization that after all that "Man acts as he feels and not as he thinks". In the preface to Saint Joan, Shaw tells us that in the modern world credulity and intolerance are on the increase 'the layman superceding the theologian'. People are little aware of the fact that biology has much to say in the advance of human civilization. The idea that "the conduct of life and society should be based on sound biological maxims" (Jennings) becomes a paradox.

Biology is the science of living organisms. Within the span of fifty years, it has wrought marvels in contributing to the knowledge of mankind. Recent researches into heredity the genes and hormones, the blending of racial stocks etc., clearly testify to the fact that biology has to play the first fiddle in solving the world problems of social structure, population and racial improvement. The prohibition of any marital relation between Aryans and non-Aryans, discouraging women from falling into a dynamic industrial life, an earlier age for marriage, the sterilizing of defective individuals these are some of the features in which the biological tendency is being manifested in the Western nations.

The familial disintegration, the declining birth-rate even in the midst of differential fertility, the "south slaves danger," the exuberant growth of social pathology, these are some of the problems which have profoundly disturbed the conscience of Western civilization. In 1880 the average English family had four children, the present average is two (4.58 to 2.14 to be exact) the fall in the birth-rate from 34.2 per thousand in 1880 to 16.3 in 1930. America has always been styled as "a museum of races in a melting pot". It is well worth remembering that various races and illustrious dynasties have been mercilessly obliterated from the face of the earth. The Nordics are hastening towards extinction.

These illustrations are sufficient to point out what a potent influence biology wields over human affairs; and a solution to any social problem should be fortified by such considerations.

635, Bhanwar, }
Poona 2. }

V. R. TALASIKAR.

Dr. Pelt's Visit :—Mr. A. Pelt, the Director of Information Section of the League of Nations, Geneva, was among the prominent passengers who arrived in Bombay by the "Strathnaver". Mr. Pelt, in an interview, said that he was visiting India for the first time and his visit had twofold object, namely, to establish closer relations with the Government of India and also to inspect the League of Nations local office in Bombay. Mr. Pelt is now on a visit to Delhi meeting Government members and members of the Legislative Assembly. He will return to Bombay after a week's stay in Delhi and will meet officials and non-officials here. Since the visit of Sir Arthur Salter seven years ago, said Mr. Pelt, no high official of the League of Nations had visited this country on behalf of the League and, therefore, it was that he had been sent out. Mr. Pelt hoped to visit Madras and Calcutta if time permitted.

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INTER-RELIGIONS CONFERENCE. COCANADA-1936.

In pursuance of a resolution passed at a meeting of Brahma Workers in Andhradesa held in Berhampore (Ganjam) in March 1935, an Inter-Religions Conference for promoting peace, concord and fellowship among the people, through a realisation of the harmony, unity and universality of all religions, was held in the Town Hall of Cocanada on the 22nd and 23rd of March. Persons attended from almost every important town in the Province, Masulipatam, Rajahmundry, Bezpada, Pittapuram, Amalapuram, Narasapur, Madhavaram, Nidadavole, Gandhredu, Peddapuram, Kovvur, Tuni, Gudivada, Thotapalli and Ramachendrapur and also from Madras and Mangalore. The attendance at the three sessions in spite of the inclement weather varied between 250 to 300.

The proceedings began with the singing by a choir of three girls of Rabindranath Tagore's Bharata Geeta, followed by a prayer led by Mr. E. Subbukrishnaiya, Brahma Minister from Mangalore. Thereupon Mr. K. Kalliana Swami read the Secretaries' statement giving the history and activities of the Andhra Brahma Sadhanasram under whose auspices the Conference was convened. The opening address was given by Rao Bahadur C. V. Krishna Swami Aiyer, who pointed out that the way to achieve religious unity was to emphasise the essentials of the different religions and to discourage the exaggeration of non-essentials.

In welcoming the representatives of different religions Mr. D. V. S. Prakasa Rao, Chairman of the Reception Committee, pleaded for the popularisation of the highest wisdom of the different religions of the land as a means of bringing about unity and concord among the people. Mr. O. Kandaswami Chetty, was elected President of the conference. In his presidential address Mr. Chettiar pointed out how by formulating the harmony, unity and universality of all religions as the basis of this conference the Reception Committee carried the Inter-Religions movement in the country one step further than a similar Conference held in 1934 at Bangalore under Muslim auspices, and another held later in the year under the auspices of Sri Sankara Charya, Dr. Kurtikoti. These Conferences had to content themselves with inviting representatives of different faiths to expound the teachings of their religion. The Cocanada Conference ventured to focus the teachings of different religions upon the solution of the crying problem of Unity in India and thus create harmony and fellowship among these religions. This the President said was in harmony with the spirit and message of Ram Mohan Roy and his successors in the Brahma Samaj. Dabendra Nath Tagore and Keshub Chandra Sen, and of Justice Ranade of the Prarthana Samaj. He believed that if the message and spirit of these religious leaders was absorbed by the people throughout the country over and above their distinctive faiths, many of the social religious and political problems of the country including the communal problems would be easily solved.

The reading of papers specially prepared for the Conference followed the reading of messages received from leading gentlemen in different parts of the country, among whom may be mentioned His Holiness Jagad Guru Sankara Charya, Dr. Kurtikoti, Babu Ramanand Chatterjee, Editor, *Modern Review*, Dr. G. S. Arundale, President, Theosophical Society, Mr. D. G. Vaidya, Secretary, Bombay Prarthana Samaj, Dr. Sir Radhakrishnan, Sir R. Venkata Ratnam Naidu, Dr. James Cousins, Mr. L. Patnaik, Dewan of Parlakimidi, Dr. D. S. Ramachandra Row,

Mr. V. R. Shinde, Depressed Classes Mission, Poona, Dr. Heramba Chandra Maitra, Ex-Principal, City College, Calcutta, Babu Satis Chandra Chakravarti, President Sadhanashram, Calcutta and Mr. Nyapathi Subba Rao Pantulu.

Mr. D. S. Sarma, M. A., the principal of the Rajahmundry Government Arts College, sketched the task before those who wished to bring about religious unity as fourfold, to unite in fighting irreligion, to condemn the abusing and ridiculing of ones' neighbours' religion, to encourage a reverent study of other religions than one's own, and to reform and strengthen one's own religion. The oneness of Religion was the subject of Rev. A. E. Massey who pointed out how religions found their unity in Love. Rao Bahadur A. Rama Rao, B. A., B. L., in illustrating and enforcing the fellowship of Faiths quoted from Emperor Akbar's Prayer. "Thy elect have no dealings with heresy nor with orthodoxy. Heresy to the heretic is orthodox; but the dust of the rose petal is dear to the heart of the perfume-seller." Sir Nawab Amin Jung of Hyderabad's paper on Unity and Union in Religion on the basis of a few fundamental beliefs and practices, was read by the probationary Sub-Registrar Mr. M. A. Khayum B. A., a member of Executive Committee of the Conference. This brought the first session of the Conference to a close.

The second session began the next morning at 9 with prayer led by Mr. K. Hanumanta Rao. Mr. T. Prakasa Nayudu M. A., then read his paper on the Religion of Man in which he said he would turn away from all divisive doctrines and try to find his oneness with his brother man at any cost. Fraternising; not proselytising, is the crying need of the times. He would identify truth with love and love with truth. Swami Omkar of the Santi Ashram in the Tottapalli Hills had his paper read by Mr. D. V. S. Ross, B. A., B. L. The way to realise the Universality of Religions, said the Swami, through peace is to cultivate God consciousness or universal Love in our individual hearts and thus pave the way to the establishment of peace on earth and goodwill among nations. This was appropriately followed, on the suggestion of Rev Mr. Massey, by the observance of two minutes' silent meditation on Love, Harmony and Peace. The Catholicity of Islam was explained by Khan Bahadur Mr. Zindah Sahib B. A., who said that far from being a sectarian religion Islam thought that other religions too demanded respect and toleration. The Democracy of the gods was the title of a paper read by Mr. M. V. V. K. Rangachari, B. A., who identified the gods whom men worshipped with the forces of nature which worked impartially towards all men. Speaking last in the morning session, Mr. B. Venkateswarlu M. A., claimed for Hinduism all the elements of universality in as much as it found a place in its system for every kind of faith.

The afternoon session opened, after prayer by Mr. G. Satyanarayana Murti, with an exhaustive exposition by Mr. T. H. M. Sadasivayya M. A., B. L., Additional District Munsiff, Amalapur, of Veerasaivism, as a middle way between Advaitism of Sankara and the Dwaitism of Ramanuja. The various tenets and practices of Islam were explained at full length by Mr. Abdul Karim B. A., D. F. O. of Vellore, whose paper was read by his fellow theosophist, Mr. A. V. Narayana Swami Aiyer M. A., of the local Gautama Lodge. The sufficiency of the principles and methods of Hindu prayer was the subject of the oral address delivered by Mr. J. Purushotam M. A., of the Sanskrit College, Kovvur. Dr. B. Seshagiri Rao M. A., Ph. D., of Vizianagaram sent a learned thesis, read by Mr. S. Atchanna Pantulu, B. A., B. L., tracing the points of identity between Islam and



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Hinduism both in theory and in practice. Christ and Religious Harmony was the theme of Rev Dr. J. B. Mc Laurin, D. D., of the Canadian Baptist Mission. He dwelt on the ethical teachings of Jesus which sought to unify all classes of people whether rich or poor, educated or ignorant. The last paper was by Mr. E. Subbu Krishnaiyya, M. A., B. Sc., B. D., missionary of the Brahmo Samaj, who quoted Pandit Sivanath Sastri's description of Universal religion, as based on a belief in the progressive nature of religions, the several religions being imperfect attempts of man to grasp God under various intellectual, moral, social and political conditions.

In bringing the proceedings to a close the President pointed out that the various papers read evidenced the working of an inter-religions mind among the followers of different religions in India. Every one sought to expound his religion in the light and the terms of other religions. A noteworthy feature of the papers read was the tracing of a parallelism between one religion and another. These were preliminary steps towards a unification of faiths in India. The most important thing they should care for now was the will to understand other religions than one's own and an attitude of fellowship and love in their mutual relations.

Mr. K. Kaliana Swami, Secretary of the Conference, then announced the personnel of the Standing Committee of the Inter-Religious Conference for 1936, as appointed by the Andhra Brahma Sadhanasram.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE, BOMBAY.

Twenty-five years ago, on 19th March 1911, for the first time in India, an institution started specifically for rendering social service was formally founded in our great city by the late Sir N. G. Chandavarkar, Kt.

Through the kind financial help the League received in its infancy from great philanthropists like Sir Ratan Tata and Sheth Damodardas Gordhandas Sukhadwala, it was able to make a very decent beginning in the very first year of its existence. We deem it our good fortune that during the last quarter of a century, by the grace of God and by the generous support accorded to the League by the Bombay public and specially by well-known citizens like the late Sir Vithaldas Damodar Thakersey, Kt., the late Sir Dorab Tata, the late Sir Ratan Tata, Sheth Kanji Karsondas and the Trustees of the late N. M. Wadia Charities, the League has been able to carry out almost all its aims and objects for which it was started. We feel much gratified that in spite of the most adverse circumstances through which our city has been passing during the last fifteen years, our League has kept up its beneficent activities. The fact that we have been able to show a clean record of genuine service is our legitimate cause of pride. We are fully conscious of our limitations. We are also quite aware as to how unfortunate circumstances compelled us to curtail our usual activities, yet in spite of this, it is a matter of intense satisfaction to us that we can present before you a substantially good record of social service.

Further it is a matter of great rejoicing that the founding of the League in Bombay has been followed by several Leagues in India.

The specially prepared Silver Jubilee Report for the years 1911 to 1935 will be shortly out; in the meanwhile, to make you acquainted with the League's past, present and future aspirations we place before you a summary of this Report. I request you to go through it and to satisfy yourself as regards the justification of the existence of an institution like ours in our city.

Our wants for the future are many. We require the League to be re-invigorated with new blood. The future of the League is in the hands of the youth of Bombay. We wish intensely that on an occasion like this a large number of them should come forward and get themselves enlisted as the League's Standing Militia of Social Service.

My heart-felt appeal to all men and women, rich and poor, young and old, is to help the League readily and willingly according to their means so that the celebration of the Jubilee may result in a substantial Memorial. To my mind, the best Memorial which we could devise is to build two buildings—one for the Parel Industrial School of the Mahila Seva Mandal in the compound of the Damodar Thakersy Hall at Parel at a cost of Rs. 50,000 and another for a gymnasium at the same place, at a cost of Rs. 10,000, plans of which are annexed to the accompanying Report.

My special appeal is to the Trustees of all charitable trusts. The League being a cosmopolitan institution unites people of all castes and creeds on a common platform for rendering social service and hence it eminently deserves recognition at their hands.

In this appeal, I wish to draw your pointed attention to the item of the Variety Entertainment in the programme. The Entertainment will be given over two days: one on Sunday the 15th March from 10 to 12 a. m. when all primary school children and all secondary school students will be admitted at a flat rate of 8 annas, and the other for adults on 21st March (Jamshedji Naoroz Day) from 9-30 p. m. to 11-30 p. m.—both at the Royal Opera House. Tickets will be available for the first show both at the Opera House and at the League's Head Office (Servants of India Society's Home, Sandhurst Road) and for the second show at Mrs. H. J. Kania, B. A.'s Bungalow at Ridge Road, Malabar Hill, or at the League's Head Office.

The League's much-curtailed annual expenditure for maintaining its usual activities is Rs. 55,000. We very badly need all the help that you can give, either by giving donations, big or small, or by becoming Patrons, supporters, Life members or ordinary members or by rendering social service in any of the various directions of service the League has undertaken.

Yours faithfully,
KRISHNALAL M. JAVERI,
President.

Indian Women in Science:—Mr. Robin Dr. Mohan Datta, M.Sc., writes in the *Modern Review*: "Indian women, who are now keen on being trained according to Western methods of education and going in for education, health culture, aeroplane training, etc., do not lag behind in the domain of science. In the twenty-third session of the Indian Science Congress, held this year in the month of January at Indore, many women read papers of considerable value and many joined in the discussions. In the Chemistry section the following joint papers were read, one of the authors in each case being a woman. *Condensation of Bromal with Urethanes*, by Prof. N. W. Hirwe and Miss K. D. Gavankar of Bombay. *Action of Hydrogen Sulphide on Oxalones Oxides*, by Miss B. N. Katrak and Prof. T. S. Wheeler of Bombay. *Studies in the Anthraquinone series*, by Prof. P. C. Mitter and Miss Tanima Sen Gupta of Calcutta. *The Chemistry of indigenous fatty oils, Part XI. The Chemical Composition of the fat from the seeds of Garcinia Indica*, by Prof. P. Ramaswami Ayyar and Miss P. Devi of Bangalore. In the Psychology section, Miss S. B. Gupta of Calcutta read a very interesting paper—*Application of newly devised tests to find how children of seven years reason*. In the Botany section, a paper entitled *Common Plants of Northern Sikkim*, was contributed by Mr. K. P. Biswas Curator of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Sibpur, with Miss H. P. V. Townend of Calcutta.



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IN DEFENCE OF INDIAN UNIVERSITIES.*

Dealing with the criticisms that an alarmingly large number of students was receiving University education and that the Universities were responsible for wastage and unnecessary duplication of teaching arrangements, Mr. Shyamprasad Mookerjee Vice Chancellor of Calcutta University said they should examine the situation dispassionately, and ask themselves whether the criticism levelled against the Universities in India had any foundation at all. The following excerpts are from his speech.

Let me first take our own University. We serve the needs of Bengal and Assam, with the exception of a limited area which is controlled by Dacca. We have thus practically one University for a population of about fifty million in Bengal and nine in Assam. The number of students reading in the University and the colleges is about thirty-one thousand and the total expenditure on higher education is eighty-six lakhs of rupees, Assam spending about four. Take the whole of British India with a population of two hundred and sixty-three millions. India has only sixteen Universities and the number of their students will be about one lakh and twenty thousand. The total expenditure on higher education in India is less than four crores of rupees.

Let me now turn to other countries. The British Isles afford a good illustration for comparison from the point of view of population which is about forty-five million; but the number of Universities is as many as sixteen—what we have for the whole of India—and fifty-five thousand students receive instruction under their jurisdiction. About six crores and forty lakhs of rupees are spent on higher education only in England and Wales. To Universities alone within this area the State annually contributes two crores and twenty-seven lakhs of rupees.

Let me take the figures for a British Dominion. Canada, which has a population of ten million, has as many as twenty-three Universities and eighty-five thousand students pursue higher education. In Germany the population is sixty-six million with twenty-three Universities which have an enrolment of about eighty-eight thousand students. In Italy, which has a population of forty-one million, there are twenty-six Universities and fifty thousand students receive higher education. In Japan with a population of sixty-four million there are six Universities and seventy thousand students.

Let me now give some figures for secondary education. In Bengal the number of pupils in different grades of secondary schools is about four lakhs and sixty thousand, of whom about three lakhs belong to high schools recognised by the University. Assam has, in addition, an enrolment of seventy-seven thousand pupils in secondary schools. For every seventeen who receive secondary education, one proceeds to the higher stage. If we take the whole of India, there are about twenty-four lakhs of students in schools, and for every twenty, one goes up to the University stage. But what about other countries? In the British Isles seven lakhs of pupils read in secondary schools, and one in every twelve proceeds to higher education. In Canada one in every three joins the University. In Germany the proportion is one to nine; in Italy and in Japan it is one to ten.

The number of candidates at the Matriculation examination of our University often disturbs the peace of mind of our critics. May I bring it to their notice that if about twenty-five thousand candidates will appear at our Matriculation examination this year, four years ago fifty-seven thousand candidates sat for the Approved First Examination from second-

dary schools in England and Wales alone—an examination which has been adopted by the Universities as a Matriculation examination—and seventy-three per cent of them were successful?

Similar illustrations might be given in reference to educational opportunities existing in other civilised countries which allot enormous sums of money to education. We have not heard it stated that the number of students receiving instruction in Universities, in colleges and in secondary schools in these countries is by any means excessive, or that it displays an unhealthy mental development on the part of the people of these lands. Neither have we heard it stated that the large number of Universities and educational institutions existing in each of these countries—which must necessarily make similar provision for teaching and research in any branches of study—are wasting national resources or are guilty of duplication of arrangements. Neither again have we heard any sweeping condemnation of their educational systems on the ground that the vast majority of the students is pursuing education as indeed they must, not solely out of respect for learning for the sake of learning but also as a means to an end.

While I make these general observations, I do not ignore certain essential factors. I recognise that each country must have its own problems and nowhere is the educational system considered perfect. I recognise that in each one of these countries there is the amplest provision for elementary education. But surely, if in Bengal or in India primary education to-day is utterly inadequate, the fault does not rest with the University; neither does it stand to reason that the educational opportunities offered at the higher stages should be curtailed or condemned. I do not ignore that in other countries education is of a varied type and affords facilities for the training of youths in diverse branches of knowledge, theoretical and practical. But surely, the remedy for the present state of things in this country would be to make provision for similar kinds of instruction in our schools and colleges and not to complain against the number of students reading in them. I do not ignore that in other countries apart from the education which thousands of students receive through the medium of the universities, colleges and schools, there are other recognised institutes and bodies through which knowledge is spread for the benefit of the people, both young and old. In our country the number of such institutions is extremely limited. I do not ignore that in many other countries, although general unemployment is a disturbing element in national life, unemployment amongst educated people, though present, is not so distressing as in India. But let us not forget that national interests in those lands have secured among the different authorities—the state, the Universities and other educational agencies and representatives of trade, industry and commerce—a better and more harmonious arrangement for the proper utilisation of the skilled services of trained men and women who are absorbed in diverse occupations and careers. In our country unfortunately such co-operation is not at present found in any appreciable measure.

I am moved to make these observations because in recent times there has been a marked tendency to throw a major portion of the blame for the existing state of affairs in this country on the Universities and to minimise the importance of the work which has been done by them. There has often been a lamentable want of realisation of the scope for far greater service which the Universities, if better equipped and organised, are capable of rendering for the advancement of national prosperity.

* Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University's Convocation address.

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SUBHAS BOSE IN IRELAND.

The Dublin Correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes :

Before he left Ireland, the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel had promised Madame Gonne MacBride and Mrs. M. Woods, President and Secretary respectively of the Irish-Indian Independence League, that he would try and send Babu Subhas Chandra Bose to Dublin to continue the contact that he had established with the Irish people. That was three years ago.

On arrival Babu Subhas Chandra Bose was welcomed by a large number of Irish friends of Indian Freedom movement. The Bengal leader had landed at Cork that morning from the American liner, "Washington" and had travelled by rail to Dublin, having come direct from Paris. He was received by the Mayor of Cork and Mrs. MacSwiney. The welcome accorded to him in Dublin was similar to one accorded to the late President of the Assembly—warm, sincere and comradely. Apart from the Irish friends, there was also a contingent of Indian students who are mostly students of Law and Medicine in this country. Mr. Bose was garlanded by an Indian woman student in Indian fashion. As soon as he arrived, autograph hunters and press correspondents made him the much sought after man. The representatives of British Imperialist press were anxious to find out if there was to be any secret conspiracy between the Indian leader and the Irish patriots. However, when I interviewed him, he told me frankly that there was nothing up his sleeves. "I have come here," he said, "in fulfilment of the request made to me by Mr. Vithalbhai Patel before his death in October, 1933, to maintain that contact between the Indian Nationalist movement in Ireland." He would take the opportunity of meeting every political leader in the country. He has already received invitations to meet and discuss the Indian situation from various political organisations and men of influence. He would be seeing Mr. Cosgrave, Mr. Norton, the Labour Leader and a number of prominent members of the Fianna Fail Party.

Mr. de Valera has honoured the Indian leader by inviting him to see him. That was Mr. Bose's first interview in this country. The two leaders discussed many problems and the Irish President asked his Indian friend to make a survey of Irish industries. He will be afforded all facilities as, I understand, Subhas Bose, is particularly anxious to establish, if possible, trade relations between India and the Irish Free State. Though it was a long talk, the President has asked Mr. Bose to see him once again. He has also given him a hint that he might like to see him everyday during his stay in Dublin. With Mr. Norton, the Labour leader, Mr. Bose hopes to acquaint himself with the Irish Trade Union and Labour Movement. I asked Mr. Bose for his first impression of Mr. De Valera. "Your president," he said, "is a charming personality. He is a man of determined mind, with a quick grasp of essential things. I am very pleased to have had this opportunity of meeting him. My only regret is I could not see him earlier."

There is to be a big reception arranged in honour of the Indian leader under the auspices of the Indian-Irish Independence League. Though Fianna Fail Party members do not agree with many of the activities of the Republican Party they have joined hands in making to-night's function a great success, worthy of the Irish tradition in welcoming a foreign visitor. Mr. Bose will also address a public meeting and will speak through the Athlone microphone some time next week. He leaves Dublin about the 15th February for India.

Mr. Bose left Dublin on Wednesday (February 12), night. However, since writing to you on Monday, he had further conversations with the Minister of Agriculture and Lands. He discussed with him his policy of buying up the big estates and dividing them among the peasants. They also discussed its applicability to India. In his talk with the President of Sinn Fein and other officers of that organisation, Mr. Bose discussed with them the national situation in India and Ireland. He was much impressed by the activities of the organisation, though he could not wholly support many of its main features. However, there was a consensus of opinion that contacts between India and Ireland would lead to fruitful results for the two countries in their struggle for independence from foreign imperialism.

Being closely associated with trade unionism, journalism and literary work, the directors of the "Irish Press", and organ of the Fianna Fail Party, invited Mr. Bose to their office. He was received by the editor and the general manager. Mr. Bose was impressed with the organisational capacity of those who are responsible for the production of the leading nationalist newspaper. He naturally, in his discussion with the editor, took up the question of the foreign policy of the "Irish Press." He explained to the Irish journalists the main difficulty of Indian-owned nationalist newspapers and also the Press law under which the freedom of the press in India was much curtailed.

Mr. Bose demonstrated the traditional Indian courtesy by holding a reception at the Shelbourne Hotel before his departure for Cork. In an address he said that Ireland had interested the people of India for a long time and for many reasons. It was not only from the political side that the Irish movement had interested them. In Ireland he had found interest in India among people of all shades of political opinion. Other speakers included Madam Gonne MacBride, Mrs. Woods, Dr. Hanningan. Those present also included Mr. Erskine Childers, Mr. Sean MacBride, Miss B. O. Mullane, Mrs. Sean Keating, Mrs. G. Coulter. Various political and social organisations were also well represented, for we had the opportunity of chatting with Mr. T. O'Carroll of the Universities Republican Club, Miss Maire Comerford, who is woman editor of the "Irish Press."

A large gathering of Indians and Irish friends of Indian freedom saw Mr. Bose leave Dublin on Wednesday night for Cork from the Baggot Station. On the following day he sailed on the American liner, "President Harding" for Paris. Before leaving Dublin, Mr. Bose had a final talk with Mr. Sean T. O'Kelly, the Vice President of the Executive Council. They discussed the possibility of exchange of University professors between India and the Irish Free State. I am told Mr. O'Kelly assured Mr. Bose that he would bear the matter in mind.

I also took the opportunity of chatting with the Indian leader for a few minutes before his departure. I advisedly say that I chatted with the Indian leader and not with the Bengal leader. For, when I happened to mention Mr. Bose to an Irish friend as "the well-known Bengal leader," Mr. Bose resented such a suggestion. I did not realise that I was unwittingly responsible for doing injustice to him. Mr. Bose said "Why do you call me a Bengal leader? I am not provincial." I certainly accept Mr. Bose's contention. For the last few years I have had the privilege of reading his speeches and writings and I can safely say that Mr. Bose has always struck me as an Indian patriot first and Indian patriot last.

When I drew Mr. Bose's attention to the gossip that was available in the town of Mr. Bose being watched by certain plain clothes men, with a supreme



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air of indifference he discounted the same. In his opinion the gossip had no foundation, though many of my Irish friends think otherwise. Incidentally, I must emphasise the fact that although there are a few Irishmen in the pay of the British Government, it does not necessarily follow that an average Irishman is a renegade to his country and all that it stands for in relation to Great Britain. I can recall an incident which took place three years ago. An Indian visitor to Dublin was chased by an Irishman, who later on followed him to London, and communicated to Scotland Yard his whereabouts. On the following morning a representative of Scotland Yard accompanied by this Irish gentleman visited the residence of the Indian with the ostensible object of interrogating him. What amused me on that occasion was the quiet and unnoticed departure of this Indian from London back to Dublin after these two gentleman had waited for him in vain at his residence for over 24 hours!

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Commotion in Europe:—The Ethiopian War was overshadowed at the end of last month by the military revolt in Japan. Ethiopian and Japanese news have this week gone into the background as a result of Herr Hitler's announcement that German troops were being sent to the Rhineland in contravention of the Locarno Pact which, he declared, he regarded as no longer binding on Germany, in view of the Franco-Russian Pact recently made in violation of the same Locarno Pact. France denies that her Pact with Russia is contrary to the Locarno Pact but the German Chancellor thinks otherwise. The *New Statesman*, while stoutly maintaining that the Franco-Soviet fact is quite on all fours with the Locarno Pact, admits that the conclusion of the Pact, with a British blessing attached, means a serious blow to Nazi hopes and designs. After all, the Nazis today are the rulers of Germany. The journal dismissed (February 15) the talk that Germany would reply by seizing the demilitarised Rhineland as incredible, on the ground that it was a rash adventure into which even Nazis would not venture to plunge. That, however, is the very thing they have done. What is more, British opinion, while reciting the usual formulas about the enormity of breaking agreements, seems strongly disposed to condone Herr Hitler's act and to use it as a means of bringing Germany back to the League of Nations. Britain herself entered into a Naval Pact not long ago with Germany in contravention of the treaty of Versailles! France had to acquiesce in it because she is greatly dependent on British help to ensure her safety. She will have to compromise also on the German seizure of the demilitarised zone, if Britain is not prepared to support her in adopting extreme measures. Already it is said that France which had refused to negotiate unless the German troops were first withdrawn, is now demanding only an assurance

from Germany, with a guarantee by Britain and Italy, that she would not fortify the area. Italy is willing to be a guarantor provided the sanctions against her are withdrawn and she be made the overlord of Ethiopia by the authority of the League of Nations and the arms, if need be, of Britain and France. There is no likelihood of war. The British public is in no mood to participate in another war even for the sake of Belgium which is really not menaced by the entry of German troops in the demilitarised area. It is not unlikely that the move is intended to help Italy in Ethiopia. If France wants Italy to guarantee a new Pact, she should first extricate Italy from the position into which she has drifted of antagonism to Great Britain and the League of Nations. This will be done. Germany will re-enter the League, there will be general rejoicings and embraces, and some one in each of the Locarno Powers will pose as the saviour of Europe. Only, Ethiopia will disappear from the map!

The Shahidganj Affair:—Mr. Jinnah's endeavours to find a settlement for the dispute between Sikhs and Muslims in Lahore over the demolition of a mosque in the premises of what is now a Sikh Gurudwara, have not succeeded but they have created an atmosphere more favourable to a friendly settlement than before his advent on the scene. He has gone back to Simla leaving behind him a Committee of Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus to work at the question. An evidently well-informed message states that the negotiations at one stage were near fruition but when Mr. Jinnah found at a later stage that it was not possible to go further for the moment, at least, he decided not to press it to the breaking point, but leave it where it was with the proposals of either party, representing the limits to which they were prepared to go, still holding the field. It is learned that the Muslims were prepared on their part to waive their demand for the mosque in favour of an undertaking by the Sikhs that they will leave the site enclosed as a no-man's land or a public place, while the Sikhs on their part were willing to make no further construction on the site as also publicly express regret, if they had wounded Muslim feelings in the past. Between these two positions various proposals were made, but no meeting place could be found. There seems to be scarcely any difference between the two positions which cannot be bridged. The only point that may demand consideration



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is whether Muslims are to have access to the site. If it is converted into a public place such as a garden, all communities will have access to it and the incident which began inauspiciously may be the means actually of adding to the amenities of Shahidganj. The Sikhs are capable of generous action when their susceptibilities are respected. They invited Mr. Jinnah to visit the site and in other ways they have shown him the regard due to a national leader. He, on his part, has taken pains to understand their point of view. The situation certainly has been brought nearer solution. Why have Congress leaders done nothing to promote a peaceful settlement of this dispute?

The Indian Annual :—Government have been issuing for many years past an annual review of political and administrative events under the title "India in..." It was a substitute for the Statutory Report of Moral and Material Progress which the Secretary of State for India used to present to Parliament. The series was begun by Professor Rushbrook Williams and bore his name. It was written with judgment and was a very readable production. It came to be regarded all over the world as an authentic representation of Indian affairs. A few years ago, the publication ceased to bear a name and its authorship was shrouded in anonymity. Every newspaper in the land is required by law to print the name of its editor. Government put itself above the law. In the last issue of this annual, the writer of the first chapter dealing with the political situation, forgot that he was writing in the name of Government and gave himself a great deal of freedom in dealing with the motives and actions of Indian public men. The departure seems to have been made in some sort of concert as it was noticeable not only in the India but also in the Bengal and Patna publications. The Bengal review contained aspersions on Pandit Jawharlal Nehru for which the Government of Bengal apologised. Early in the Assembly session an adjournment motion was given notice of, but was withdrawn, by a Congress member to call attention to the comments in the India annual. The question was again raised on a cut motion during the debate on the budget this week by the leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly. In reply to him, the Home Member of the Government of India took the responsibility for the writing on himself, practically justified it as being merely reproduction of opinions expressed by some newspapers, declared that the compilation of the annual was a distasteful task of which Government would be relieved on the introduction of the reforms, and wound up by saying that there was no cause for censure against Government. In the course of his speech, Sir Henry Craik interpolated a casual remark that there was not the slightest desire to throw any doubt on the character of Mahatma Gandhi's campaign against untouchability. Mr. Bhulabhai Desai clutched at it eagerly, and "having regard to the expression he (the Home

member) has used with reference to one who led both these movements (Congress and Harijan)," he did not think it would be useful on his part to press the motion to a division. Except that Sir Henry Craik spoke of Mahatma (and not Mr.) Gandhi, we do not see that he said anything to justify Mr. Desai's decision.

Education in U. S. A. :—In last week's *Reformer* we published a part of the Convocation address of Mr. Shyamprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, showing by means of comparative statistics for several countries, how little ground there is for the complaint that higher education is being overdone in India. The Department of Research and Education of the American Federal Council of Churches, has issued in its Information section, a detailed statement on the position of education in the United States. Approximately one fourth of the population (120 millions) was reported in the 1930 Census as "attending school." This did not include the four-year-olds in kindergarten and younger children in nursery schools or the adults of over 24 continuing their education. Over one million students were attending Universities and Colleges, both regular and summer sessions. The expenditure on Education was about 2,000 million dollars or 3.9 per cent of the national income. The following are stated to be the problems confronting public education in America at the present time: To provide school support which will insure adequate educational and greater equality of educational opportunity for all children, and to extend the scope of those offerings and services which make for better adjustment between the individual and society, so that the school may make the maximum possible contribution to social progress. To raise the educational standards of teachers, and concomitant with the last, provision of sufficient compensation to attract men and women of ability and education; to improve provision for education especially in areas where such provision is now generally meagre and retarded; to provide appropriate continuing education for adults; and to centre attention on the well-rounded growth of individual children rather than on mass education limited to routine skills and knowledge.

Marriage and Dowry :—We reprint to-day two important articles on the problem created by the demand of dowries, often entirely beyond the means of parents of daughters, as a condition of securing suitable bridegrooms. The first is from the *Amrita Basar Patrika*, the leading organ of Hindu conservative opinion in Bengal. The second is from the *Guardian* of Madras, which is a liberal nationalist Christian weekly. The first point to note is that the dowry evil is not confined to Hindus but prevails also among Muslims and Indian Christians. Indeed, according to the *Guardian*, it is rather worse among Indian Christians than among Hindus. This is another proof that social problems transcend religious beliefs in India. The *Patrika* and the *Guardian* seem to agree that the evil has been aggravated by the higher education of girls.



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which was expected to remove it. We are not sure that they are right. The three sisters who committed suicide to save their father the worry of finding dowries for them, were educated at home; and home education in such cases falls far short of "higher education." Apart from that fact, the dowry evil, as both the journals recognise, existed many years before girls took to higher education in this country. Almost from the very beginning (1887) the National Social Conference passed a resolution at every session calling attention to the gravity of the evil. The *Patrika* says that there has been a reaction in Bengal against girls remaining unmarried which, for a time, was favoured by advanced opinion. Bengal is the land of extremes, and, consequently, of reactions. The problem of dowries is not peculiar to that province. It exists among Hindus in several other provinces, among Parsis, and among Muslims and Indian Christians, as the *Guardian* avers. What is peculiar to Bengal is the way in which adolescent girls are left to take the matter into their impetuous hands, while the community looks on helplessly. The root of the evil is the competitive principle which has invaded not only our economic but also our social and family life. The dowry evil will not be solved except as a part of the larger question, whether the co-operative or the competitive principle is to prevail in Indian life in all its phases.

The Catholic Church and Ethiopia:—We publish today an article by an Indian Christian correspondent on the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church towards the invasion of Ethiopia which has evoked an unprecedentedly large volume of protest from all parts of the world. The gravamen of his charge is that the Church seems to be more concerned for its own safety than to uphold the standard of Christian ethics against the aggressive Power, in contravention of the Scripture that he who seeks to save his life will lose it and that he who is ready to lose his life for the sake of righteousness shall find it. The Concordat entered into with the Fascist Government by the Church has been perhaps, the cause of the lukewarm attitude of the Church. It has been criticised from different angles as derogatory to both parties. Sylvia Pankhurst, writing in the *Hubert Journal* for January made the specific allegation that "since the Concordat with Fascism, the Church in Italy may, and actually does, authorise a religious marriage, carrying no civil rights, between persons one or other of whom is already married to some one else." We have not seen any repudiation of this allegation in any of the Indian Catholic journals. Then, again, six Italian Professors, among whom are Max Ascoli and Gaeto Salvamini, writing in the *New Statesman* (February 8) declare that the denunciation of the Lateran agreements of 1929 and the separation of the Church and State will be among the reforms which the Italian Republic, which they expect to succeed the Fascist Government, will immediately take on hand.

White and Black in Australia:—In Australia intermarriage between Whites and Blacks are prohibited by law. But all the same there is inter-mixing among the two colours and this is creating a new and serious problem in the country. In an article headed "Girl Slaves in Christian Countries," Edith Jones writes in the *Catholic Citizen*: "In the isolated native state this position has its compensations and even its necessities, and can only be changed if the whole tribe should choose a new social order as some tribes are voluntarily doing in Australia to-day. It is, however, the girl-children of the detribalised Australian Aborigines living on the fringe of white civilisation who call for the instant attention and help of their Christian sisters. Is it too much to ask that any English women who feel stirred by their plight should call upon the women voters throughout Australia to demand from the Government of Australia urgent attention to these children? Let it be first realised that there are now 20,000 half-castes in Australia and that the number is steadily increasing; further that all half-caste children are illegitimate; there is no marriage in Australia between the white father and the black woman (or black girl-mother)."

Industrial Development of Russia:—The February number of *Industrial and Labour Information*, published by the International Labour Office of the League of Nations, contains an informing summary of the detailed reports on economic progress recently issued by the Soviet Government. The second five year plan, it shows, has been making rapid headway. In 1936, it is expected that a number of industries are to reach the figures which, originally, had not to be completed until the last year of the second five year plan, chief among them being engineering construction and the Donat coal industry. The progress made by the Food Industry is so remarkable that the authorities think that the food problem may now be regarded as solved. In pre-war Russia, observes the Food Commisar, Mr. Mikojan, there was practically no food industry at all, home and small scale local output sufficing to meet the demand. Not until after the Revolution was it possible to set up a food industry in the Union; and one of the factors which had made its development necessary was the new and increasing importance of women in national and industrial life.

Mr. Rajbhoj on Untouchability:—The statement which Mr. Rajbhoj, leader of the Depressed classes, has addressed to his people and an English translation of which we reprint today from the *Mahratta*, should make the opponents of the removal of untouchability blush for shame by its generosity, breadth of vision and dignity. These people are a fast dwindling minority. We shall all wake up one day to find that untouchability has suddenly vanished. This has what happened to other reforms which were opposed with equal and even greater vehemence like sea-voyage and the remarriage of Hindu widows.



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BOMBAY, March 14, 1936.

THE HAMMOND COMMITTEE AND WOMEN'S ELECTORATES.

In noticing the Indian Delimitation Committee's Report in last week's *Reformer*, we criticised the restriction of the right to elect for the two women's seats reserved for women (non-Muslim) in the city of Bombay to the Girgaum and Bhuleswar Wards. The one seat reserved for a Muslim woman is also to be filled by the voters of Girgaum Ward. In both cases, men and woman voters will participate in the election for the seats reserved for women. Ranebinnur taluka in Dharwar district has been given the privilege of returning one woman to represent the Southern division as well as the rural area of Bombay Presidency. Mrs. Umabai Kundapur, President, Karnatak Provincial Bhagini Mandal, Hubli, writes to us strongly criticising the selection of this taluka for the privilege. "One is at a loss to know," she writes "on what principles the Delimitation Committee has based the selection of areas for women's constituencies. For instance, there are six women's seats in the Bombay Provincial Assembly. Out of these, three are given to the city of Bombay, one each to the cities of Poona and Ahmedabad, and the remaining seat to the Dharwar district. But the extent of the constituency for the women's seat in the Dharwar district is limited only to the Ranebinnur taluka. Why it should be so, one cannot understand. It is a puzzle why, of all the places in the Southern division and the Dharwar district, the Committee selected Ranebinnur taluka for the Women's constituency from that Division. Is it because the women in that taluka are more enlightened and educated and, therefore, the best fitted to become the voters for the only woman's seat in the whole Division? Nobody has ever heard of any ladies' organisation, whether social, political or educational, in the Ranebinnur taluka. There is not the least awakening of any sort among the women-folk of the area. To speak plainly, education and general awakening is comparatively less in Dharwar South, and it is even worse in Ranebinnur taluka. Hardly a handful of women throughout that constituency may understand, if explained to them, what a legislature is, what is meant by elections, polling, candidates, and their qualifications." Mrs. Kundapur does not seem to be aware that not only women voters but also men voters of Ranebinnur will participate in the election to the seat reserved for women. This, however, does not affect the force of her contention that the Delimitation Committee has chosen the least progressive part of Dharwar and the Karnatak as the most suitable place in which to try the experiment of woman suffrage. Referring to the limitation of the franchise

for the women's seats assigned to Bombay city to the two Wards, the Committee state that it has the full concurrence of the representative women who appeared before it and of the Local Government. We can only say that neither the Bombay Government nor the women representatives who appeared before the Committee, seem to have known anything about Ranebinnur's competence to be selected in the Karnatak for the bestowal of the seat reserved for women. Perhaps, they were hypnotised by the rhythm of the name, Ranebinnur.

Our objection, however, is not confined to the selection of areas in this haphazard fashion. It extends to the basic principle which has guided the Committee in dealing with this subject. The Committee had two alternatives before it. The Indian Franchise Committee indicated that it would be preferable that the representatives of women in the provincial legislatures should be returned from seats set apart for women in selected urban areas, the electorate in each such area being the electors belonging to that area, both men and women, the voters having in such areas two votes, one in the ordinary territorial constituency for which they were qualified, and the other for a woman candidate. The Joint Select Committee was provisionally in favour of the reservation of seats in constituencies formed for the purpose, and containing both men and women. They suggested that it might be desirable if possible to vary the areas so selected by rotation. The Joint Select Committee's idea of forming a constituency for the purpose of electing women representatives, is not clear. The Hammond Committee's decision to constitute ordinary constituencies into special ones for electing to the seats reserved for women, is certainly preferable. The Hammond Committee has adopted the Indian Franchise Committee's recommendation. The latter had before it a better plan which it rejected on unsubstantial grounds. It was that women should stand for any constituency for which they were qualified and that those women who, not being returned at the head of the poll, obtained the highest percentage of votes as compared with the numbers of electors on the roll in the constituencies in which women competed, should be declared elected, up to the special number of seats specially reserved for women. The Indian Franchise Committee admitted that this plan had great merits. One is that no woman would be returned to the Council unless she had had some measure of success in an ordinary election. The second is that it would give valuable training for the time when special facilities were abolished, and might help a woman to win the seat outright at a later election. These are solid recommendations in its favour, while its demerits in the eyes of the Committee were comparatively trivial. Electioneering in districts, far from being particularly difficult is relatively easier for women than in urban areas. The other ground, that it may lead to the successful and the defeated candidates being



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both declared elected for the same constituency, is surely far-fetched. The Hammond Committee's view that women's franchise should be considered to be in an experimental stage in this country, is totally opposed to the trend of previous pronouncements on the subject. An experiment is liable to be abandoned. But women's suffrage is now an integral part of the Indian system and a public man who advocated its abandonment will be bounded out of public life. As for the special constituencies fixed upon arbitrarily by the Committee, being educative, their educative influence will be extremely limited as compared with that of the scheme leaving women candidates free to choose their own constituencies.

The fact is that the Hammond Committee has allowed itself to be dominated by the socially most reactionary opinion in the whole country in its appraisal of the political capacity of Indian women and of their influence in national life. "At present, in one or two provinces, and in some influential quarters", it observes, "there is a distinct prejudice against women's active participation in public life. In all, there is among women as a whole at present but little political consciousness. There is no familiarity with parliamentary institutions." Every one of these assertions is more applicable to large sections of the male population who are now enfranchised than to women. The Hammond Committee seriously, advance, as a reason for rejecting reservation of seats in multi-member constituencies, "the very real difficulties which arise in Indian conditions from the presence of undesirable women at the polls." "Undesirable women" may stand as candidates and get into the legislature! But their presence at the polls for the few minutes which it will take to record their votes, be a danger to public morals. A more stupid argument we have seldom come across in a report with pretensions to be a State document. We have in the main confined our attention to the proposals for Bombay. But they are a fair sample of the recommendations for the provinces on this subject. Unlike the Bombay representatives who appeared before the Hammond Committee, Bengali women representatives refused to acquiesce in the Committee's crude plan. "In Bengal," says the Report "there was a marked difference of view between our Committee and certain of the women witnesses who appeared before us. The witnesses in question were, so far as we could gather, anxious to show that they would experience no difficulty in maintaining contact with constituencies larger by far than any ordinary territorial constituency." The witnesses knew what they were talking about. It is the Committee which has betrayed complete ignorance of the ramifications of women's organisations in India during the last ten or twelve years.

CONGRESS AND BHARATA NATYAM.

(By Dr. S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI.)

In the *Social Reformer* of the 22nd February N. K. Akshi writes as follows: "Now that the sting is taken out of the Devadasi profession, what harm can there be if these women are encouraged in the legitimate practice and cultivation of the Arts of music and dancing which have elicited the admiration of even the Western world and of which the Devadasis are recognised exponents". I am at a loss to know what makes your correspondent think that the sting is taken out of the profession. So long as a woman calls herself a "Devadasi" she has all the attributes or the qualifications of a Devadasi; none has any business to presume otherwise. 'Devadasi' itself denotes a particular individual or a class of women only and not men. Many do not seem to be aware of the fact that a girl or woman does not become a devadasi by her birth or being born even to a devadasi-mother. The daughters of a devadasi do not all become devadasis, some will get married and settled down into respectable family lives (that has been so from time immemorial and not the result of any new reform movement) while the others especially those who are fair and handsome, are taught dancing and singing and trained as devadasis. The girl has to undergo a course of training before she is dedicated to the temple and registers herself as a "devadasi." Therefore it must be clear to the readers that a special training is necessary for a girl or a young woman to enter into the profession of a "devadasi." Certain castes in South India still practise the habit of dedicating girls and women to temples as a religious custom. While the old families have become reformed and merged into the major Hindu community, new families seem to spring up here and there to keep up the supply of devadasis, dedication is still permitted in spite of legislation in certain temples even in the city of Madras, in the same way as the Sarda Act is violated by a certain section of the public in as much as both these practices are associated in the public mind with religious sanction.

Unfortunately dedication of girls and their service in temples has not yet become a thing of the past as N. K. Akshi imagines. Those girls that are to become devadasis are not only taught music and dancing but also taught, while they are quite young and unable to see the future before them, that prostitution is no sin or crime, that it is their 'Kula Dharma' and that it is a legitimate profession. They honestly believe it too. They are taught these arts neither for the love of those arts nor for making a living but primarily for getting accomplished and attractive enough to trade in vice. We must in all fairness and justice admit that a microscopical percentage of these devadasis take to respectable life in spite of such an early training and association, the divine in them having asserted itself. They invariably give up dancing, attach themselves to one man, are true and loyal to him and very often merge into his family. These angels are only exceptions and they certainly deserve our sympathy and admiration but all the same, even these cannot escape from the odium that is associated with the name of a "devadasi" and none will come forward to marry them (the men of their own community inclusive) for the reason that the majority of the devadasis lead a life of shame and vice. Therefore in South India a "Devadasi" means simply a prostitute, devadasis themselves are aware of this fact as well as the wide public. Again, a devadasi has been clearly defined in our dictionary as "an unmarried female who has undergone the ceremony of dedication or gajja puja in any place of worship."



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It is a well-known fact that poor girl children and orphans are purchased by the old devadasis who are very often sterile and, having been taught music and dancing and having been made to go through the ceremony of dedication, are made "devadasis". No doubt there is a Penal Code to prevent such practices but all the same such a heinous practice is still prevalent though not to such an enormous extent as before for the simple reason that some of the public still tolerate the Devadasi institution and hence the law cannot be enforced. I have myself rescued such cases from the grip of prostitution. That is why the enlightened State of Mysore legislated against this practice as early as 1909. The Mysore G. O. says, "The Government now observe that whatever might have been the original object of the Devadasi institution in temples, the state of immorality in which these temple servants are now found, fully justifies the action taken by them excluding the Devadasi from every kind of service in sacred institutions like temples." The Madras Legislative Council unanimously passed a resolution "that this Council recommends to the Government to undertake legislation at a very early date to put a stop to the practice of dedicating young girls or young women to Hindu temples which has generally resulted in exposing them to an immoral life," and has also legislated in 1930 dispensing with their service in the temples under the Hindu Religious Endowment Act. Now, only recently Travancore and Cochin abolished their service in the temples. If these girls have been tempted and turned into prostitutes while engaged in the service of the sacred temples, there is more likelihood of their becoming so while outside such holy influences. Again, we have to realise that these present day devadasis are not the same women as those in 1912 when legislation was first undertaken by the Central Government to put down the practice; and their number though smaller is being kept up by recruitment of new girls to the profession. So long as this system is tolerated by our society a certain number of helpless innocent young girls are bound to be drawn into this evil profession in as much as the licensed brothels (?) are the centres, the causative factors and the promoters of immoral traffic in women and children.

It is a well-known fact that there are certain still backward communities in South India as well as in Bombay and in Assam which train some of their girls for a life of prostitution and dedicate them ostensibly for temple service but actually for a life of prostitution and that whole families, mothers, and sisters very often live upon the earnings of one girl prostitute. The girl is helpless and leads a miserable life. There are also married women among those castes who are respectable. Why don't the married women of those castes learn and develop these arts and why are the dancers and singers kept unmarried? I quote an extract from the lecture delivered by Swami Vipulananda at the Senate House on 'Music and Art in Tamil literature': "On festive occasions when a chieftain held his court it was not considered complete unless the minstrel and his wife 'Padini' were present. While the minstrel played on his instrument, his wife generally sang and danced. They were respected. When the chieftain was pleased with them, he would present the minstrel with a gold lotus and his wife with a gold necklace. But in spite of these presents generally, the minstrel was poor. Like all artists he used to squander away his wealth. The minstrel's wife was chaste. A dancer was not then associated with prostitution. It was only subsequently, in the beginning of the 2nd century A. D., that the dancer became associated with prostitution."

Further these fine arts cannot be a monopoly of any particular individual or caste. It is not so in other countries. Why should it be in India? Nowadays a carpenter's son does not always become a carpenter and so also with all other professions. We cannot any more live in watertight compartments, the primary four castes of the Hindu fold cannot confine themselves to their respective professions as prescribed by our old Manu, and, therefore, our society need not any more manufacture a particular class of women named "Devadasis" whose practices, at least among the majority of them, are highly reprehensible, for keeping the art of music and dance alive. The Congress or any other association by giving their music and dance prominence will certainly revive and restore a system that has been found wicked and inhuman in the extreme and hence condemned by law and by all enlightened public opinion. The name of a "Devadasi" is deservedly more odious than that of an untouchable because of its invariable association with vice, and it is time now that the system that is productive of so much evil should be uprooted so that the name Devadasi may become obsolete in our dictionary.

My friend, Mr. T. Sivasankaram, seems to think that I have objection to unmarried women of any caste taking to music and dance and that I am unkind to the devadasis. I am sorry he has misunderstood me. I am sure this article of mine will clear all his doubts on that score and that he will see that I condemn the system so as to save the individuals who are the helpless and the innocent victims of the same.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ITALY-ETHIOPIA WAR.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

Those who follow the Roman Catholic Press in India will notice a good deal of special pleading with regard to the war between Italy and Ethiopia. Roman Catholic writers pour contempt and hurl invectives on those who venture to ask in the public press why the Pope who has unquestioned spiritual authority over all Roman Catholics, is unable to influence Italy or the public opinion of Italy against her unwarranted attack on Ethiopia which world opinion has condemned. Here again, it is a sad case of the most well-organised Church which claims to be the only true and catholic Church being compelled by political circumstances and made unable or unwilling to give a real spiritual lead to the millions of her votaries. By "political" circumstances one means those things which affect the future glory and success of the Roman Catholic Church as a well-knit world-wide organisation. The Roman Catholic Church believes that she is the sole custodian of truths revealed by God through Jesus Christ for the salvation of the souls of men.

Reports that come from Italy of the attitude that the Roman Church as a whole takes to Mussolini's Fascism and of some of the utterances of Roman Catholic ecclesiastics about the war against Ethiopia, go to show that it is a similar mentality that prevails even today. The interests of the Roman Church occupy an important place in the policy pursued by modern Fascist Italy. In support of this view I will quote from a document recently written by an Italian citizen on Italian nationalism and circulated privately among an international group which is making a study of nationalism in different countries. This Italian writer says:

"We can say roughly that there are on one side the supporters of absolute idealism who try to give to the State the figure and form of an absolute being, standing by itself, totalitarian and self-sufficient,



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Some recent declarations of Mussolini are in line with this: "Fascism is revolutionary and therefore, a totalitarian, organic, complete, and not fragmentary or partial, renewal of the civic values. After the unique party the totalitarian State is necessary, that is to say the State absorbing in itself, in order to transform and valorise them, all the energies, all the interests, all the hopes of a people. Last and most important condition: it is necessary to live a period of very high ideal tension."

On the opposite side stands a large group of Catholic laymen, who advocate the complete identification of Fascism with Catholicism, trying to unite the two emblems of the crucifix and the tricolour for a more powerful expression of spiritual and political authority, not only in Italy but in the whole world. They see in Fascism a new and strong ally for the revalorisation of Catholicism and consider this alliance extremely useful for the improvement of Italy, which is in their minds the outstanding supporter of the Catholic faith. This current seems to be backed also by the great majority of Catholic priests who find in Fascism a higher respect for religion and a useful means of protection against anticlerical and Protestant propaganda.

The truth is that Fascism has helped to give a more important place in the national life to all the manifestations of the Catholic faith. The Concordat has given a new authority and a new freedom to the Catholic Church, not only by the creation of the Vatican State, but also by permitting the teaching of religion in all the public schools—elementary and secondary—according to the Catholic tradition, by giving a more important part in public life to Catholic priests, by helping foreign Catholic missions morally and financially. Even in the most characteristic and fundamental expressions of the fascist life the Catholic priests take part. They have their place as chaplains of the Fascist army. No official ceremony of any kind, from the inauguration of a new street to the blessing of a warship, can take place without the presence of some priest officiating in the name of the Church. Even in the strictly military celebrations they march ranged like officers and give their tribute of honour to the *Duce* or to his representatives.

The Catholic faith and the Catholic Church—and for Italy Catholicism and Christianity are the same thing—seem to go hand in hand with Fascism towards the same common end. From time to time some isolated voices arise in the Catholic field against this identification of the sacred and the profane, but their number and importance seem to be decreasing."

In the light of the analysis of the situation in Italy given above we can understand what the Roman Catholic Cardinal of Milan said recently, about the Italy-Ethiopia war. He stated that *Italy was opening the doors of Ethiopia to our Catholic faith and Roman civilisation... We must co-operate with God in this national and Catholic mission above all at this moment when, in the fields of Ethiopia the standards of Italy carry to triumph the Cross of Christ to break the chains of slavery and open the path for the missionaries of the Gospel.* To many in India these words coming from a Roman Catholic Cardinal in Italy will sound as a miserable falling away from the spirit of Jesus, the Prince of Peace.

Is not Ethiopia a Christian country and why is the Cardinal speaking of "opening the path for the missionaries of the Gospel"? The answer is to be found in the past conflict that the Church of Rome had with the Church of Ethiopia. In the 16th century Portuguese adventurers came with their guns and strategy to the West Coast of India to acquire wealth and promote the domains of the Church of

Rome. Their methods met with success in the case of the helpless Syrian Christians of Malabar and so it is we find to-day a majority of them in obedience to the Pope of Rome. About the same time they went also to Ethiopia and prepared the way for the despatch of Jesuit missionaries. They succeeded in persuading the reigning Emperor to make formal submission to Rome which meant breaking way from the ancient Eastern Church of Ethiopia. But the nation rose in rebellion, the renegade Emperor was slain and the Jesuit Mission was expelled. It is one of the great ambitions of the Roman Church to reconquer the Ethiopian Church and bring it to the obedience of the Pope and in realising this end the present war which Italy is waging is considered as a God-sent means by the Roman Catholics. The statements that the Pope makes or does not make about the present war are to be viewed against this background.

THE SOCIAL SERVICE LEAGUE'S WORK FOR WOMEN.

At the recent Women's Conference in Bombay, one of the opinions urgently pressed by several delegates was that Industrial classes should be opened where poor and middle class women might learn to be more self-sufficient in their own homes, and where they might be enabled to supplement their husband's incomes by their own handicrafts. Several institutions and societies are already attempting such work for women, but none on such a large scale as the Social Service League.

It was in 1922 that Mahila Seva Mandal was started by the Social Service League for the purpose of organising Industrial schools for the benefit of women of the labouring and middle classes in Parel. There are now three branches of the Mandal—at Parel, Girgaum and Vile Parle. About 850 women take advantage of the classes daily, and a visit to any of these schools between the hours of 1 & 4 P.M. will reveal something of what has been achieved. Women who, on first attending, scarcely know how to hold a needle, learn to produce, in the course of their training, well cut and well finished garments of every description. Quite apart from the many economic advantages gained from this training, the sense of proficiency achieved, has its value for women, for they gain in self-confidence and self-determination in the realisation of their own attainments and powers of production. All the work is in the hands of competent teachers and one result of these Industrial schools is seen in the frequency with which ex-pupils start small classes of their own, and thus encourage spare-time industries and occupations amongst their neighbours and friends. Besides the making of such garments as are useful in the homes from which the women come, classes are also held in Fancy work, English, Home Nursing, and Home Hygiene. Since the Mahila Seva Mandal was first started, various other activities have been organised for the welfare and education of women, including Co-operative Societies, Travelling, Libraries, Debating classes, Excursions, Visits to Exhibitions and Lectures on suitable social subjects.

The demand for the type of instructions given at these Industrial Schools is so great that every centre is crowded, and visitors are at once impressed with the need for more accommodation for this work which meets such a popularly-felt need. The Parel and Girgaum centres are particularly in need of increased accommodation, for at present the classes are held in rooms loaned by other departments of the League's work or by outside institutions. This year the Social Service League, in celebrating its Jubilee, is anxious to build and establish a thoroughly well equipped Industrial School for women, in a



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building of its own on the vacant ground adjacent to the Working Men's Institute in Parel. Plans for this building are already to hand, and Rs. 1,000/- have been contributed by the late Lady Dorab Tata towards the Building fund. It is hoped that the public of Bombay will make the completion of the scheme possible, and will not fail to support one of its pioneer social institutions in this laudable enterprise.

These Industrial schools, it must be remembered, form only one department of the Social Service League's undertakings. For the last 25 years, the League has been a pioneer institution for the furtherance of social reform, and for the improvement of the conditions of life for the poor and labouring classes of Bombay. Educational work by means of publications, night schools, and Technical schools—Recreational work in the form of Dramas, Scouts, Gymnasiums and outings—Medical work in the form of dispensaries are amongst the many activities of the League. In times of calamity, the trained Life workers of the League have been requisitioned for the work of relief and reconstruction, and a glance at the reports of the League since its commencement reveal a meritorious record of steady and useful service on behalf of the needy in Bombay City and in other parts of the Presidency.

It is in order to support such good work that a Variety Entertainment is being held as a part of the League's Jubilee celebration. This entertainment will be given at the Opera House on March 21st at 9-30 P. M. The programme includes music and dancing, and number of attractive items by wellknown performers. His Excellency the Governor and Lady Brabourne have consented to be present. Arrangements are in the hands of a Committee of ladies under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Maneklal Premchand. Tickets may be had from Mrs. Kania, 102, Ridge Road. It is to be hoped that generously minded citizens will give this worthy cause their enthusiastic support.

HARIJANS AND CONVERSION.

The Editor,

Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

I regretted your statement that all Harijans who had turned to Christianity in mass movements had done so for economic reasons. You, of course, knew that was not strictly true but did not stop to consider how untrue. Most of my twelve years as a missionary in India were spent among mass movement Christians. I am sure most of them made the change for spiritual reasons—not that Christianity *per se* has greater spirituality than Hinduism but that Hinduism had neglected Harijans in their great spiritual need and Christians pointed the only way they knew—the way of Christianity. It seems as though in their great economic extremity they would have turned to Christianity or Mohammedanism as a way of escape, but in this world things have a habit of being other than as they seem. I doubt very much if any of them made the change for purely materialistic reasons. The truth, likely enough, is somewhere between your view and mine.

In mass movement areas you will find that a very large proportion of doctors, nurses, teachers, and others working for a better India are mass movement Christians or their sons and daughters. Many mass movement Christians are not as fine as they should be; neither am I. Many are fine enough to humble my spirit to the dust. Take it far and wide, Christianity has many groups of which it has much greater cause to be ashamed than of its ex-Harijan followers. In fact, hang me for an ass if you like, but

I think Harijans whether they are Christians or not are nice folks. I think the same of the aborigines. I wish I might spend my life with one or the other or both groups.

Of course, if or where, mass movements are brought about by proselytism, that is despicable. Jesus is clear enough on his attitude here and his true followers can take no other.

Your criticisms were a great help to me while I was in India and I am sure most missionaries feel the same. Let the good work go on. The situation is not as one sided as it must sometimes seem. Hinduism and other Eastern religions are more and more influencing Western thought. Many of us are using all the influence we have against the Exclusion Act and other hinderances to free intercourse and understanding. It will only be when we have learned to work it out together that we will ever find that Highest good for which we are all seeking.

Yours for Human Brotherhood, under God's universal and eternal Fatherhood,

Ingomar, Montana,
U. S. A.
January 30, 1936.

MABEL E. SIMPSON.

We do not recall where we said that all harijans had become converts for economic reasons. A statement of that kind can only be made after a plebiscite which we have not taken. It is, nevertheless, true that many harijans and others have embraced Christianity in the hope that missionaries, like their Master, may perform miracles for them either by feeding them, or curing them of disease or, perhaps, by even raising their dead. We do not know of any missionary warning them that these miracles are beyond his power.—Ed., I. S. R.]

THE DOWRY EVIL.*

It is impossible to read without emotion the proceedings before the City Coroner's Court in the inquest on the death of the three sisters who committed suicide in circumstances not then fully known but believed to be pathetic. The tales of the father of the unfortunate girls and that of the surviving girl have fully confirmed what the public thought was at the bottom of the painful tragedy. The tale that this gentleman told will find a parallel in many middle class families. The dowry evil has ruined numberless families and has brought down to a low economic level the condition of the upper and the lower middle classes who represent the culture, the enlightenment and the spirit of sacrifice of the whole nation. Economic causes over which there is little or no control have already depressed the middle class and what little is left of the substance of this class is being ruined by a process of mutual destruction.

It was thought at one time that the spread of education among women would minimise the evil of extortionate dowry, but the reverse has been the case. It has become increasingly difficult to find suitable matches for fairly educated girls. Marriage is not the "prearranged affair" so far as the educated middle class is concerned as it was even a decade back. Parents have to be in search of matches that would be suitable to their daughters regard being had to the education the latter had received and the way they had been brought up. This, added to the difficulty arising out of the unwillingness of many educated young men to marry, has made the task of the parents of educated girls even more difficult. It was the fashion not long ago to say that the girls should remain unmarried to the same number or proportion as the young men do as is the case in many countries in the West. But a reaction has set in, in the light of recent experience. There is again the prevailing anxiety on the part of

*Amrita Bazar Patrika.

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the parents to give every girl in marriage. The result has been, as we pointed out in our previous article on the subject, that the demand has far exceeded the supply. The disadvantageous position in which the bride's party is placed is fully exploited by the other party who think nothing of ruining the parents of the girl whom they have brought to be adopted as one of their own daughters. There is a large element of selfishness in this business that has come to characterise the transition of our society from collectivism to individualism. On the groom's side the expectation has gone much higher than it ever was. They now expect, as the saying goes, "half a kingdom and a king's daughter". The girl should be a paragon of beauty, highly accomplished and must bring with her a handsome dowry in cash, ornaments and presents. With that spirit of sacrifice that has always characterised middle class families, parents often sacrifice all for a groom who they imagine would bring happiness to their daughter. This spirit of sacrifice in other fields, political and educational, has made Bengal what she is—the most advanced province in all India. By our mutual exploitation of this spirit of sacrifice we are only driving the Bengali race back to the condition of the least advanced provinces. If girls are committing suicide, we as a people are committing national suicide. It is only a strong public opinion organised for systematic propaganda and such drastic action as social boycott that can mitigate the evil. The indignation, disgust and sorrow for the terrible tragedy described in all its horrors before the Coroner's Court, should be harnessed for effective action if there is anything like conscience still left in a moribund society. Not every girl placed in the situation in which these young women of Garpar found themselves, is capable of mustering courage for suicide at the pitiable condition of their parents and the despicable conduct of their neighbours. But the feeling of hopelessness and the corroding anxiety are there devastating many homes that should otherwise be happy.

The dowry that is extorted in cash seldom goes to swell the bank balance of the receiver of it. It is spent on lavish entertainments, the idea being that the father of the bride should not only bear his own expenses on this account but also those of the other party. And to make the situation worse, the standard of such entertainments has gone high both in quality and in the number of guests that are to be invited. The old naturalness that assigned to every member of society his proper duty and obligations has given place to an artificial life that calls upon every person to live and spend beyond his means. It is not enough to combat the social evil of dowry but also the practice that has grown up of indulging in expenditure beyond one's means on such occasions as marriage to keep up an artificial social prestige or promote personal importance.

The Dowry Evil.—Writing to N. K. Akshi, who is grateful for the letter, Dr. Muthulakshmi Reddi observes: "I thank you for the article in the issue of the *Indian Social Reformer* dated February, 29 on the evils of the dowry system that is prevalent in our society. I am one with you there. We are running a Home for orphan girls and a hostel for unmarried girls of poor parents. I am trying to instil into them the idea that marriage alone should not be the end and aim of life. They should first make themselves economically independent and useful to the society. I value education for girls very much and I always emphasised that it is the first duty of all parents to give as much education to their girls as to their boys. We are also running a women's magazine *Stri Dharma* propagating the above ideas."

THE DOWRY EVIL II.*

We print elsewhere this editorial comments of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* of Calcutta on the revelations made in connection with the tragedy of three sisters who chose death to involving their parents in distress because of dowry demands. Our contemporary is the leading Hindu Nationalist Daily of Bengal and must be taken to be an authoritative exponent of conditions prevailing in Hindu Society to-day. Every one of the details narrated in impressive array, is significant and together throw light upon the evil, not as a survival from ancient days which may be expected to disappear under modern conditions, but as an active force which has taken on a new lease of life, calling to aid even those conditions which should be hostile to it.

Higher education of girls, it was hoped, would emancipate parents and girls from the dowry demon. The contrary result has occurred. Suitable husbands are hard to obtain for highly educated women. So the prices demanded have risen rapidly. This wail from Hindu Society, stated by the *A. B. Patrika*, receives remarkable confirmation in a Muslim correspondent's letter to the *Statesman* this week, wherein he makes the identical allegation with regard to Muslims. Less than a month ago the writer of this article met a group of College girls (Christians) of Madras who discussed the dowry evil. The group was emphatic that conditions in the community were getting worse and for precisely the same reason. One of them with a fine sense of humour remarked: "Boys will not study well and if we do, this is the result". To the question whether young men did not want educated wives in these days, the reply was that young men were not in favour of higher education of women as they were afraid of not securing wives less educated than themselves.

Evidence available in every community as mentioned above, points to the direct effects of higher education of women upon dowry rates. Social conditions are such and openings for employment so limited that the hope of educated women remaining unmarried as a challenge to iniquitous demands, has not been possible of achievement as a rule, though it is true that in several individual cases the emancipation has been worked out. The delay in marriage made possible by a stay at College has proved dangerous beyond a certain stage, for not many years elapse before girls are clearly ruled out of the marriage market. The dilemma whether to be educated or not is most perplexing, for what may happen in the latter case is illustrated in the front page advertisement appearing in last Monday's *Hindu*: "Wanted healthy beautiful Desastha bride with decent dowry."

On the men's side the demands are unrelenting. If a man is of moderate education, he does not tolerate equal intellectual capacity in the girl he would accept. If he is of more than average university attainments, there is literally no limit to the price he would place upon himself. In this respect, there is no difference whatever between the Indian Christian and the Hindu, though we gather that in some districts there are worse sinners than in others so far as Indian Christians are concerned.

The *A. B. Patrika's* description reveals a highly sinister aspect of modern dowry. Rates according to ancient ideas have been replaced by rates measured by one's professional or official standing. In the case where the recent tragedy occurred, the parent's social status remained at the level to which his official position had elevated him. The programme of squandering was determined by the bridegroom's party directly according to his measure

*The Guardian, Madras.



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and not in relation to the future needs of the young persons contemplating marriage. Once a high official, always the same, according to the dowry schedule of rates even in the days of the parent's retirement.

We may understand continuance of the evil among the comparatively uneducated classes. But it is among them that we hear of youth organizations busy with reform. Backwardness in education of the conservative classes is a vulnerable point which reformers find it easy to assail, not without success. For the villager and his type in the towns, are at least impressed by arguments of the economic consequences of the practice, though they do not carry their conviction further. But 'enlightened' people and those in affluent circumstances are secure against this attack. Ostensibly they are well placed to stand the strain of bestowing gifts upon sons-in-law (in the name of daughters!) and the evil influence of the system does not occur to their minds. In so far as it is a system that they perpetuate and not voluntary action confined to their own class, it is their duty to break its sting by restoring in the system the idea of free gift and not keeping alive the idea of obligation. But the reform would be more far reaching than this, if the leaders of society reckoned the effect of the existence of dowry among them, upon the poorer classes. All this incentive to reform is absent, for the reason, as we have stated already, that the economic strain does not affect them.

The lesson of the suicide is that girls are willing to accept the challenge as many mentors desire. But it would appear that the course open to them is that of the sisters. Few parents there are, who wholeheartedly favour a life of single blessedness for their daughters, for perhaps the very good reason, that they will have little to do when employment is not available and conditions have not developed which favour dedicated service to different unselfish causes. To remain unmarried still carries with it a stigma or at least an attitude of grudging toleration on the part of society which does not make for happiness.

Although the social reform movement has become merged in recent years in the general national awakening and has been strengthened thereby, there is need to restore some of the older methods of social reform. Particularly bad evils have to be singled out for concentrated attack and the dowry evil snapping the life of all communities, is one such.

HARIJAN LEADER'S WARNING.

In *Dalitabandhu*, a weekly Marathi paper edited and published by Mr. P. N. Rajbhoj, Secretary of the All India Depressed Classes League and leader of the Parvati Temple Satyagraha, an article under the heading, "Dangers of Exaggeration" appeared. For the following English translation of the article, we are indebted to the *Maratha*.

"Those who were dazzled by English education and mechanical advance viewed all things in India as worst and described them in exaggerated terms by comparing them with similar worst things in the West. The untouchable community was placed on a parallel with the slaves like the Negroes and we are told that the contemptuous treatment by Europeans of the Hindus in Africa and India is a result of the sin of observing untouchability which the Hindus had committed. Even those who have taken a vow of truth and non-violence, really violate the truth by using strong language in this respect.

Modernists like the communists, socialists etc., have declared the untouchables to be the slaves of Sanatani capitalists. These talkers have no know-

ledge of the fact that the untouchables have amongst themselves Sanatani capitalists. There can be no comparison between the untouchability of the untouchables and the slavery of the Negroes. Nor can the independent Harijan artisans following their ancestral industries be in any way likened to the millhands. But the bookish Pandits would not care to look to actual facts. They will keep to their books and their sensational outbursts.

The Aryans who came from the North made slaves of some of the original inhabitants of this country and discarded others as untouchables. Out of those untouchable classes some remained on the outskirts of the Aryan colonies doing dirty and despised work and others lived away from them in forests and hills. Some researchers tell us that the present Bhils and forest tribes are the descendants of the latter. This research is of the European type and utterly unfounded. Even if that is accepted, it is obvious that the Vedic Aryans did not tyrannise the original inhabitants in the way in which the Muslim and European invaders did in other countries. Even at present the wrongs done to untouchables are nothing when compared with the treatment given to the Negroes and the atrocities perpetrated by Muslims and Europeans.

Modern educated Hindus have used stronger words than Miss Mayo about the caste system, the dress of Hindus, the climate of Hindustan and the condition of Hindu women, as they use strong words about untouchability. The Hindu society is suffering now from the effects of their exaggeration. Dr. Ambedkar's declaration of the determination of conversion is one of these evil results. Otherwise Dr. Ambedkar would not have wished to leave a religion so tolerant, comprehensive and full of perfection as Hinduism.

It cannot be gainsaid that the Hindus should abolish the custom of untouchability with the march of the times. But it is foolish to suppose that untouchability was imposed on the untouchables by others as slavery or persecution. Because the untouchables themselves of their own accord observed it as a religious duty. But this never came in the way of their freedom or prosperity. Nobody among the Hindus entertains the idea of liberty as freedom to marry or take food with anybody. That idea of liberty was never cherished by the Hindus in general and therefore the untouchables also amongst them. Every other freedom the untouchables did possess from olden times. There are many rich untouchables now and there were many in the past.

It is a wrong idea that untouchability itself means moral degradation. The untouchables do have a moral code of their own like that of every other Hindu caste. There were saints and morally great men amongst untouchables in the past and there are even now. Untouchability came into existence owing to the occupations. As all other Hindus are abandoning their ancestral occupations it has become difficult even to preserve the caste system. How will then untouchability survive? Differences in caste do not mean high or low status, so also untouchability does not involve the idea of depravity or dirty living. It is an exaggerated notion of untouchability which should be henceforward avoided.

The man who exaggerates things and the man about whom the exaggerations are indulged in, both suffer thereby. False ideas about the custom of untouchability have greatly harmed the untouchables as well as the caste Hindus. By these exaggerations of the reformers they may have satisfied their own objectives but the untouchability did not disappear. The untouchable youths should bear this in mind.



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and give up these exaggerations. It is no greatness to be always an object of pity of others. By indulging in the ideal talk that the caste Hindus tyrannised us for generations and generations we seem to admit that all our ancestors were divorced from humanity. The untouchable youths should never lose sight of this.

We cannot improve our lot by abusing caste Hindus. If we go to outsiders saying that these caste Hindus deprived us of everything, the outsiders may sympathise with us for some reasons, but these outsiders realise the fact that we are people who can be deprived of everything, what else would then the outsiders do to us than depriving us? It is therefore, suicidal to call us down-trodden, backward, deprived etc. Nobody can hinder our advance based on the reliance on our own selves. We must have the grit and the courage to do it.

How will the Muslims and Europeans fail to plunder people who are deprived of everything even by the god-fearing and docile Hindu? And that kind of thing is already happening. Therefore, although by exaggerating our ills we evoke sympathy and compassion from others the exaggeration results in making us helpless and hopeless. The Harijan youths should recognise this and should avoid exaggeration and should not be misled by exaggerations indulged in by others. Human nature is the same every where. The way of advance is open for those who have the strength and courage. The weak and imbecile are always doomed to dependence on others.

SANCTIONS: ARE THEY RIGHT OR WRONG?

(DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.)

If we study sanctions as laid down by the League of Nations, we will see that they are substantially of three kinds. These are economic sanctions, military sanctions, and outlawry sanctions.

Of these, the least important, it seems to me, is the outlawry sanction which provides that an offending member may be banished from the League of Nations. It is the least important because obviously, it is the least effective. The League of Nations, unfortunately, is not strong enough today in world affairs to make it a matter of any great concern to any nation as to whether it is a member of the League or not. There may come a time when the League of Nations will be so powerful that exclusion from its membership would be as disastrous as exclusion of any one of the States from the United States; but at a time when three of the greatest nations of the earth, Japan, Germany and the United States, are outside the membership of the League, and when the chief problem is not that of asking nations to leave, but to persuade them to come in or stay in, this threat of banishment is not a sanction of any serious consequence. On the contrary, in the present crisis, it is Italy which is threatening to leave the League, rather than the League which is threatening to make her leave. Not until membership in the League has become an asset and not a liability, a privilege rather than a responsibility, will this sanction against war be anything more than a scrap of paper.

This leaves but two sanctions for our consideration—economic sanctions and military sanctions. Of these two sanctions I believe that military sanctions as a means of preventing war are absolutely impossible, for the simple reason that such sanctions constitute in themselves an act of war. They are but the latest version, so to speak, of "a war to end war" which was fought out with such dreadful results in the great conflict of 1914. Let us consider for a moment,

what is contemplated in this business of military sanctions.

Here is a nation which has gone to war against another nation in violation of its solemn compact to keep the peace. Under this idea of military sanctions, it is proposed that the other nations of the world shall get together to consider, as Article XVI of the League covenant puts it, "what effect military, naval or air force the members shall contribute to the armed forces to use to protect the covenants of the League." Note, if you please, that the armed forces are to be *used*, used to impose force upon the nation which is making war upon its neighbour. But when military, naval or air forces are used, what, I ask you, is this but war? A military sanction is simply one more endeavour to sanctify the war process, and I tell you, it cannot be done!

This brings us, lastly, to the question of economic sanctions. By this we mean the use of financial and commercial controls, to the end of peace. There are those opposed to this type of sanctions for the same reason that they are opposed to military sanctions—on the grounds, namely, that such sanctions constitute an act of war, or at least contain within themselves the seeds of war. George Lansbury of England, saintly and devoted man, whose name I cannot speak without reverence, took this position when he resigned from the leadership of the British Labor Party on the issue of sanctions either economic or military; and Lansbury was right in the sense that in England, at that time, it was proposed that economic sanctions against Italy should be enforced if necessary by the military—in this case, by the English fleet at Gibraltar, Malta and Alexandria. Such mingling of military and economic forces was bound, in the end, to make war and George Lansbury knew it, and it might well, therefore, be also described as an act of war.

What I want to point out here is that economic sanctions are not necessarily entangled with armies and navies. They need not, they should not, be enforced by any military action. Economic sanctions, I would emphasize, are to be judged upon their own merits as a control in the directions of national policy to the end of securing national and international interests of human welfare. Nobody objects to such control and directions of national policy in time of peace—not, at least, on the ground that it involves anything like an act of war. When a country, for example, imposes a tariff upon the goods of another country, it is not written in any book, neither is it believed by any public opinion, that the first country is thereby going to war against the second country. A tariff may be as abominable as you please, but it is not an act of war.

We know what war is, you and I. We know that war is an attack upon a nation with weapons of force and violence to the end of destroying the property, killing the citizens, and breaking the powers of the enemy. Why should economic sanctions be confused, either actually or potentially, with such a phenomenon, especially when these sanctions are definitely used to prevent it, or, if it cannot be prevented, to end it without delay.

So far from regarding economic sanctions as an act of war, I for one must insist upon regarding them as an alternative to war—the only alternative we have to a war which is sure to come if economic sanctions be not promptly and effectively applied. For what are we going to do, I ask you, when a nation like Japan or Italy violates its solemn pledge to peace and proceeds to make a war which throws the entire world into confusion and disorder? We cannot



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pick up the gauntlet of battle and fight ourselves, for this, as we have seen, would only compound the crime which we would prevent or overcome. But does this mean we must do nothing in opposition to this offense, and by doing nothing perhaps even aid the offender in his evil doing? Is there no effectual alternative to armed resistance but inaction, acquiescence and surrender?

Mahatma Gandhi of India, let me remind you, did not think so. He met this dilemma by an act of statesmanship which was as wise as it was idealistic. Gandhi would not take up arms against the British, even for so sacred a thing as liberty. His principles of non-violence forbade such a policy. But neither would Gandhi surrender to the crown, give up the fight and accept the condition of subservience to alien rule. His principles of resistance forbade such a policy. But surrender was only one alternative in his mind to violent resistance. Another alternative, destined forever to be associated with Gandhi's name, was non-violent resistance. He would resist British rule by organizing his fellow-countrymen to withdraw all relations with the Empire. At the heart of his non-violent movement of revolt were economic sanctions which took the form of a boycott of English goods intended for the Indian market, and an embargo upon Indian goods intended for the English market. When Gandhi heaped up great piles of English cotton cloth in the city of Bombay and burned them in a solemn ceremony of public sacrifice, he showed the power as well as the drama of economic sanctions.

Now, it is sanctions of this kind which I believe can be effectually add rightly applied to nations which break the solemn covenant of peace. Once it is understood that these sanctions are not to be sustained by any appeal to arms, I doubt if there will be any disagreement among us upon this point, except perhaps, on the question as to how far such sanctions should be applied.

The refusal of loans and credits, therefore, signifies opposition to a war and desire to stop it, as their bestowal assuredly signifies a desire to have it go on.

A second economic sanction to which we must all agree is the refusal of arms and munitions to any nation that ventures to go to war. To furnish such arms and munitions is to make an even more direct contribution than to furnish money. It is a supply at first-hand of the weapons of destruction without which the war cannot be continued even for a single hour.

But if arms and munitions must be forbidden, why not raw materials which go into the production of such weapons? Is there not here suggested a third economic sanction which challenges our unanimous support? A few weeks after President Roosevelt, acting under the power granted to him by Congress in the famous Neutrality Act, had banned the sale of all arms and munitions both to Italy and Ethiopia, it was discovered that ships here in New York harbor were being loaded to the gunwales with scrap iron for Italy. This was an anomalous, not to say an absolutely ridiculous, situation, for scrap iron, next only perhaps to dynamite, is undoubtedly the most essential ingredient that is involved in the manufacture of explosives. And here we were shipping tons of this iron to Italy at the very moment when we were setting ourselves up to live under a ban of neutrality as against both the belligerent powers in Northeast Africa. All of which means, to my mind at least, that an economic sanction against arms be supplemented by a similar sanction against the iron, the ores, the nitrate, and all other substances which contribute to the production or use of arms! We must ban the raw materials as well as the finished article of warfare.

To these three economic sanctions against credits, arms, and the materials of arms, there can be no reasonable opposition. Trouble being only when we come to things which enter into the business of peace as well as the business of war. Cotton, for example, is as necessary to the manufacture of explosives as nitro-glycerine; but cotton must also be used to clothe the nakedness of men. Steel is basic to the construction of tanks and battleships, but steel is also basic to the construction of railroads, office buildings, automobiles, and the myriad machines of industry. Food is as indispensable to soldiers as their guns and cartridge belts. Napoleon said that "an army travelled upon its stomach," by which he meant that an army can move only as fast and far as it can be fed by its commissary department. But food is also indispensable to women, children, and the aged. Italy cannot live without the importation of vast quantities of food which, in the division, must go equally to the military forces.

Now, what are we going to do with a situation of this kind which involves articles as necessary to life as to war itself—articles, therefore, which belong to the routine of peace as well as to the business of war? To this question I have never seen but one satisfactory answer, and that is the one offered to the Congress of the United States at the present time by the National Peace Conference in its redraft of the existing neutrality law of the nation. This National Peace Conference, in addition to the present embargo on loans and credits and the further embargo on munitions, would also put general raw materials of every kind such as cotton, oil, and food products which are useful in war and also useful in peace, on a definite quota basis in accordance with the pre-war trade of immediately preceding years. Such provision will protect the population of the belligerent country. If they suffer at all, it will be because of the action of their own government, and not because of anything that we ourselves have done.

Now, such, to my mind, is the program of economic sanctions, which I believe must be adopted for the modern world, in lieu of any effective means of preserving peace against the degradation of bandit nations. This program is justified not merely by expediency, but quite as much by the standards of right and wrong. The sanctions involved are right as adjudged by the principles of self-respect and by every ideal of a free, ordered and happy world. They are properly being applied to Italy today, as they should properly have been applied to Japan yesterday. Not otherwise, I venture to suggest, amid the complexities and confusions, the hazards and dangers of our contemporary life, can our civilization hope longer to survive. At their best, these sanctions may save our world.

INSCRIPTIONS AND MONUMENTS DISCOVERED.

Important inscriptions and monuments, throwing considerable new light on ancient Indian history and culture were discovered by Dr. A. S. Altekar, Manindra Chandra Nandi Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University, in the course of a tour in Kotah State arranged under the State auspices with the help of the State Historian Dr. Mathuralal Sharma. The oldest among the inscriptions are three stone sacrificial posts, commemorating the sacrifices performed by three sons of a Mokhari Commander-in-Chief. These pillars bear inscriptions dated in the year 295 of the Vikrama era, and thus prove for the first time the existence of rulers of the Mokhari as early as the 3rd century A. D.

Three inscriptions of the Gupta period were recovered, out of which one records the dedication of a 'Siva Linga'. An inscription of the Paramara

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King Udayaditya, recording the grant of a village to a temple of Somanath was discovered in a temple, of Vishnu, showing hereby that Somanatha had to vacate the sanctum in favour of Vishnu, some time during the course of the last few centuries. Another inscription in the same temple, belonging to the Paramara period, records numerous private benefactions made to God Somanatha. An inscription recording the grant of a village by king Jayasinh to his poet laureate Narayana was also discovered. Numerous inscriptions were recovered showing that Buddhism and Jainism were flourishing in the State during the period 800-1200 A. D.

Among the monuments discovered may be mentioned the remains of two temples of the Gupta period discovered at Mukundara, three temples of about the 9th century discovered at Bhimnagar and a beautiful temple full of exquisite carvings, of about 10th century discovered at Kamagadh.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice : I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Pandit Malaviya in Nasik:—Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has been in Nasik nearly the whole of this week on his mission of removing the blot of untouchability on Hindu Society. He has had a wonderfully enthusiastic reception from all classes and he has discussed the problem with orthodox leaders and leaders of the depressed classes. A small faction of caste Hindus has tried to obstruct his work. It was reported to have gone even to the extent of attempting physical coercion though we find it hard to believe that any section of Hindus, however much they may disapprove the of Pandit's views, would dare to lay violent hands on one who is the greatest Hindu of our time. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has never changed except when change was forced on him by the need of the country. He has been the same simple, courteous, patient, devout Hindu, meticulously scrupulous in the observance of the rules and practices of orthodoxy, all through the seventy-five years of his life. No Shastry can claim to be more deeply versed in the sacred lore or to have been more loyal to the dictates of his *dharma* than Panditjee. When he feels it is his imperative duty at his age and in the weak condition of his health, to devote his energies to persuade his fellow Hindus to give up the notion of untouchability and to treat their brethren of the depressed classes as they treat one another among themselves, Hindudom is profoundly moved and the hour has struck for the extinction of this ancient wrong to millions of men and women who have never swerved in their devotion to the Hindu *dharma*. Panditjee has not been able to secure immediately his three specific objects in going to Nasik. They were to get the depressed classes admitted into the Kalarama temple, to have their right to participate in the car festival recognised by their fellow Hindus, and to secure freedom to them to bathe

in the sacred pools in the bed of the Godavari. But there is not the least doubt that his visit has shaken orthodoxy to its foundations not only in Nasik but all over India. It is now a question not of years but of months and weeks when this hideous prejudice will pass out of Hindu mentality. The deepest gratitude of all Hindus is due to the venerable Pandit for his services in this cause.

Church Car-Pulling in Chetpat:—While the five year old controversy over the right of the Hindu castes, classed hitherto as untouchable, to join in drawing the car of the Kalarama temple at Nasik, seems to be in a fair way to settlement, an analogous affair is reported from a village in the North Arcot district of the Madras Presidency among high caste and low caste Catholic Christians. The Roman Catholics in the south of India, have retained their old manners and customs even in their religious observances. (In Western India they have Portuguese names, and affect western dress and manners, but cherish at heart and in social relations the pride or prejudice of their ancestral Hindu castes.) One of these old customs is drawing a heavy wooden wheeled structure in which the image of the Deity (Virgin Mary in this case) is placed, round the four streets which run parallel to the four sides of the temple in most South Indian towns. This year the Bishop of North Arcot directed that low caste Christians should be allowed to join their high caste fellows in this act of devotion. The latter strongly objected and even the Archbishop was unable to shake them from their opposition. As a breach of the peace seemed likely, the Magistrate banned the function in the interest of law and order. We reproduce an account of the incident with the comments of the *Guardian* of Madras.

Qadians and Muslim:—Reference has been made in these columns to the controversy between some Muslims and Qadians in the Punjab (*Reformer* February 1). The quarrel shows signs of spreading to other provinces. There are only about 4000 Qadianis in Bombay city out of a total Muslim population of 209,000. A child aged eighteen months of Qadiani parents died the other day. When the little body was taken to the Muslim cemetery, it was denied burial on the ground that its parents belonged to the Qadian sect. The matter was taken to the Commissioner of Police who was not able to bring about agreement



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between the parties. As a last resource he, in consultation with the Municipal Commissioner, secured a separate area for a Qadiani cemetery and the child was buried there after the body had been kept for a night in the morgue. A fuller account of the incident will be found on another page.

Marriage Extravagance:—The ashes of the three sisters who committed suicide because their father could not find them adequate dowries without which they could not secure bridegrooms, are still warm. It is notorious that the larger part of the sums paid as dowry—is usually spent in tamashas or entertainments, to relatives and friends. In other words, extravagance in expenditure on these tamashas is at the root of the dowry evil; and social reformers for many years past have been exhorting people to avoid needless expenditure on marriage entertainments. A public-spirited citizen of Allahabad has opened a temple where marriages can be celebrated at minimum cost with all necessary religious rites. The most effective way of bringing about this reform, which involves the happiness and even lives of thousands of young women, is by example. Men in affluent circumstance, should set the example. They should understand that men who are not so fortunately placed are obliged to follow their example not necessarily from a vainglorious motive but to protect their daughters from the taunts which the husband's relatives often heap upon the girl who brings a poor or no dowry. Within the last few days we have seen reports of marriages in wealthy families celebrated with an extravagance of pomp and show bordering on the callous, in more than one part of the country. It will be asked why, if a man can afford it, he should not please himself and his friends by spending lavishly on such occasions. The reason as we have said, is, he sets a bad example, he puts up bridegroom prices, makes it difficult for girls in less affluent families to set up homes for themselves and, in the last analysis, is responsible for great hardship to thousands of families, which lead to tragedies as in the case of the three sisters.

To hold or to let go:—Speaking at a banquet in celebration of the Jubilee of the Aitchison College in Lahore, an institution founded fifty years ago for the education of the scions of landholding and ruling families, Sir Herbert Emerson, Governor of the Punjab, observed: "In England the families with a stake in the country, whatever changes have occurred, have throughout realized their responsibilities for its welfare, have kept their hold on public life and public service, and have continuously not only consolidated their own ranks, but have added to their strength by co-opting to them all that was outstanding in commerce, industry, science and the professions; and the result in sum total has been that, whatever the changes, an atmosphere of sobriety and prudence has prevailed, and in many cases the statesmen and public men of today continue to be drawn from

families which occupied these positions in the days of Queen Elizabeth or even earlier—men imbued with the inspiration and tradition of generations devoted to promoting great national destinies and the public service. You have learnt many things from England. Let her teach you this lesson also: 'Do not lose hold.' We doubt if this is the right view to take. The British ruling class or caste accepted Disraeli as its leader notwithstanding its strong prejudice against him as a political adventurer and a Jew. It accepted Lloyd George as its Prime Minister at one of the greatest crises in English history, although a few years previously it had denounced him as a 'Welshman and a thief' for proposing land taxes in his Budget. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald remarked to his colleagues when he first became Prime Minister, "Now all the Duchesses will want to kiss me." The Irish leaders who were one day denounced as murderers with whom no Government could honourably negotiate, were the very next day or week acclaimed as patriots the disinterestedness of whose motives should be considered in connection with their crimes. The lesson to be learnt from these examples by the students of the Aitchison College, seems to us to be the very opposite of what His Excellency told them. To yield at the right moment and not to cling to their privileges with fanatical persistence, is the moral which they should learn from their British exemplars.

Indo-British Contacts:—A promising sign of the development of a closer understanding between the British and Indian peoples is that afforded by the tendency of recent British foreign policy to approximate to Indian sentiments. That this is not the result of conscious adaptation but is the outcome of the logic of events, makes it all the more significant. This was the case notably in the Ethiopian affair. When the Laval-Hoare Pact was indignantly rejected by Britain, India felt that the British mind was in this matter inspired by the same purpose as itself. Notwithstanding Herr Hitler's recent remarks about India, which have been resented, Indian opinion is inclined favourably to Germany in her desire to be mistress in her own house, as the Aga Khan aptly put it on the eve of his departure last week to attend the League of Nations session. British official opinion is necessarily constrained in expressing itself by antecedent commitments, but there can be no doubt that public opinion in that country will never sanction any hostile action against Germany. Germany's re-arming in violation of the Versailles Treaty has been acquiesced in as inevitable in the circumstances. The Locarno Pact does not essentially differ from that Treaty. Technically, no doubt, Germany signed it of her free will. It was, indeed, the idea of Stresemann to have such a Pact. But Stresemann's action was condemned by German opinion at the time. The Locarno Pact was denounced as a shameful treaty by his own colleagues in the Ministry of the day. More than that, "the European idea"



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which Stresemann saw embodied in the Pact, dropped out of sight almost as soon as the Pact was signed. If it had materialised Herr Hitler would not be the German Dictator today. These are hard facts which even the decision of the Hague International Court can not change.

American Tribute to British Genius:—The *Unity* of Chicago pays a fervent tribute to British character, commenting on Mr. Baldwin's declaration two months ago that Government would take over the coal mines of the Kingdom and operate them as a national enterprise for the use and service of all the people. It observes: "Ever since the famous Sankey inquiry, this step has seemed inevitable. Not otherwise could ruinous competition be eliminated, disastrous waste ended, and decent labor conditions established. And now the English are going to take the step, by action not of the Laborites but of the Tories, and everybody seems to be content. Theory, in other words, prejudice, dogmatism, are not allowed to operate in the English mind in a case of this kind. These cousins of ours simply face a situation as it is, do what has to be done, and then pass on to the next items of business. And, in the process, vast revolutions are achieved with no violence or bloodshed, with scarcely even a tremor of disturbance. What is there in the English genius which works this miracle? Why can't Americans be equally sensible and efficient? We do not know. But that the English, at home and abroad, are the greatest masters of government, since the Romans, is obvious."

Some Qualifications:—No great genius is needed to bow to the inevitable, as the nationalisation of the coal mines had become in Great Britain. We may be sure that the owners get better terms from the Tory than they would have got from a Socialist Government if they had held out against Mr. Baldwin's proposal. The British 'genius' for bloodless revolutions is, in any case, confined only to Britain. Outside, the genius seems to evaporate. The operations against the rebel colonists who founded the United States, were far from bloodless. The Indian Mutiny, the Boer War, and, more recently, Jallianwala Bagh, and the Irish "Black and Tans" are other instances. While bloodshed arouses horror and evokes public sympathy, some of the most excruciating forms of human suffering are unaccompanied by bloodshed and, therefore, pass unnoticed. The treatment of the suffragettes in Britain before the War, did not bring out the best side of the British character. Thousands of families in this country were made miserable, several ruined, by the Ordinance rule penalising peaceful picketting to promote swadeshi and to discourage the liquor habit.

The Negro Delegation:—The *Canadian Student* for February writes that the visiting delegation of Negroes to India from the United States Student Christian Movement was receiving everywhere a cordial welcome. This is true though we wish they had had greater

opportunities of reaching a much larger circle than they did. The delegation did not come into close touch with the living, moving currents of Indian life. It was rather handicapped from the start by its quasi-religious character. The Christian message delivered through the delegation sounded either pathetic or else professional. The *Canadian Student* observes: "A people who can point to a striking development of their innate qualities under modern conditions, which are by no means favourable to their growth, have a more stirring message to modern India than our country's heritage created in a far distant past." Every one who came in contact with the members of the delegation, was much impressed by their intellectual and moral calibre but their presentation of the Christian message, through no fault of theirs, suffered from lack of grounding in the religious thought of India.

Nazis and Catholics:—We publish in another column a communication stating that there is an early possibility of a settlement of the differences between German Catholics and the Nazi Government. These differences are clearly summarised by the Foreign Policy Society of New York in its last fortnightly report on "Religion in the Third Reich." Two thirds of the population of Germany are Protestants, the remaining third is Catholic. The Reich has constituted the Protestant sects, collectively called Evangelicals, into a national Church of Germany of which the heads are appointed by the Chancellor-President. This can not be done in the case of the Catholics who owe spiritual allegiance to His Holiness the Pope. One of the crucial points at issue between the Reich and the Vatican, is the law relating to compulsory sterilisation. With the general principle and policy of the Nazi State, most German Catholics are in agreement. Herr Hitler is himself a Catholic. In the religious sphere, the main difference between the Reich and the Catholic Church is that, while the former aims at eliminating Jewish elements from Christianity including the whole of the Old Testament, the latter holds that without the Old Testament, Christianity has no meaning. It is interesting to note that the Tannenberg Bund, inspired by General Ludendorff and his wife, attacked Christianity on the ground that the Bible was not original and that important elements in it were merely borrowed from Indian sources. It will be interesting to know how the fundamental differences between Nazism and the Catholic Church, are sought to be reconciled.

Marriage in Mauritius:—Every country has its own problems. In India for a single vacant job hundreds of applications pour in. There are no doles for the unemployed here. In Tottenham, England, Mayor E. A. Jay published the letter of an unnamed British soldier stationed in Mauritius, asking for a wife "who is blonde, lively, a non-smoker, about five feet three, not too plump." Mayor Jay got applications from 250 British women, and forwarded them to Mauritius.



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BOMBAY, March 21, 1936.

REPRESENTATION OF THE SCHEDULED CASTES.

The Hammond Committee in their Report have dwelt at length on the perplexities created by the Poona Pact in devising a scheme for election to the seats reserved for the scheduled castes known hitherto as the untouchable castes. The important clause of the Pact is as follows: "Election to these (reserved) seats shall be by joint electorate, subject, however, to the following procedure: all the members of the depressed classes registered in the general electoral roll of a constituency, will form an electoral college, which will elect a panel of four candidates belonging to the depressed classes for each of such reserved seats by the method of the single vote, and the four persons getting the highest number of votes in such primary election shall be the candidates for election by the general electorate." The circumstances in which the Pact was framed are well known and they precluded a detailed consideration of its implications. Some of the latter were quite obvious at the time. In a leading article immediately after the conclusion of the Pact (*Reformer*, October 1, 1932) we wrote: "Two objections to the proposed primary elections strike us. One is that the community will have to find six hundred men (for the 150 reserved seats in all the Legislatures) to stand at the general election with the certainty that three fourths of the number will not be returned. Even if in consideration of the special circumstances of the community the deposit required of candidates be waived, the expenses of an election would still be a heavy burden to them. An even more serious objection is that the primary elections must lead to rival canvassing by the candidates; and even in more advanced and politically experienced communities election quarrels do not cease with elections. Would it be wise or safe to expose the infant electorates to risks of this kind?" The Pact is now an integral part of the Communal Award incorporated in the Government of India Act, and these doubts and difficulties were beyond the scope of the Hammond Committee. But there were others with which they had to grapple before they could frame a scheme of election for the seats reserved for the scheduled castes. The first question which they had to consider was whether the panel of candidates to be elected at the primary election, should consist of only four, or may consist of more or less than four. The number, four, was certainly not a minimum, as the caste Hindu opinion before the Committee is said to have maintained. There would be numerous difficulties in getting even four men of the scheduled castes to stand at the primaries. The Committee has rightly decided that the four is not obligatory and that, if there is only

one candidate as the result of the primary election or on account of subsequent withdrawals, that candidate should be returned unopposed for the reserved seat at the final election. The primary election will, in that case, be a formality. Gandhiji has recently stated that if it is found to be inconvenient or unnecessary, it is not obligatory to hold a primary election.

Another question which the Committee considered was whether, under the Pact, an otherwise qualified voter could stand for a general seat without submitting himself to a primary election. The Poona Pact did not take away the right of a voter to stand as a candidate in his electorate. A Maratha or a woman is not disqualified to stand for the general seats, though they have some seats reserved for them. It cannot be different in the case of the scheduled castes. The wording of the Pact is peremptory that only a candidate chosen at the primary election, shall be a candidate for election by the general electorate. But the Pact deals only with the reserved seats. Not only would it have been against the main object of the Pact to impose restrictions on the freedom of candidates irrespective of caste to compete for the unreserved seats. It would have been an interference with the right of a general constituency to elect the best man available to represent it in the Legislature. A Bombay general constituency is surely entitled without the formality of going through a primary election to elect Dr. Ambedkar for an unreserved seat. So also a Madras constituency to elect Mr. M. C. Raja. The Pact was intended to secure a minimum of representation to the scheduled castes beyond the chances of a contested election. The Committee has decided that, in all provinces except Bengal, there should be no restriction on a member of the scheduled castes standing for an open seat. The exception made in the case of Bengal, is sought to be justified on the ground that, in the other provinces, the proportion of the scheduled castes to the whole electorate is so small as to render unnecessary the provision that only candidates on the panel of primary elections should stand for the open seats. This is hardly convincing. The heavens will not fall if both the reserved and unreserved seats in a general constituency are won and held by candidates belonging to the scheduled castes. 'Untouchability' as it exists in Bengal and so far as it exists there, is a very mild variety of it as it prevails in Malabar or South India. In fact, some authorities hold that what exists in Bengal cannot be classed in the same category. One large caste, the Rajabansis numbering over 1,800,000 who were included among the scheduled castes by the Bengal Government, demanded to be excluded and the Indian Franchise Committee agreed that they should be excluded. There is a strong case for drastic revision of the scheme of the Pact as well as of the Hammond Committee based on it, so far as they concern Bengal. The



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Marquis of Zetland, the present Secretary of State for India, in a paper read before the East India Association on the reforms had declared that, in his opinion, the Poona Pact would operate with great harshness and great unfairness, especially in Bengal. The grounds on which the Delimitation Committee recommend making an exception of Bengal in requiring that only panel candidates should compete for seats in the general electorate, more than justify the exclusion of Bengal from the operation of the Pact or, if this is not possible at this stage, a considerable reduction in the number of seats reserved for the scheduled castes, since they postulate that these castes are strong enough, numerically and economically, to win the reserved as well as the unreserved seats in that province.

THE TWO WAYS.

It is generally accepted that the two greatest World Teachers are Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ. Both were moved by an intense sympathy with human suffering. Both did their best to alleviate it. But there is a sharp distinction between the methods adopted by the two Teachers. One instance was alluded to in the article headed, "Faith and Fire Walking," in the *Reformer* of February 29. It is as follows. A child playing in the fields is bitten to death by a cobra. The bereaved mother takes the child to where Buddha was sojourning at the season and begs him to revive it. He tells her to bring five mustard seeds begged from the householders of the neighbouring township, but they must be from a house or houses in which no one had died. The woman goes round the village homes. Every one is sympathetic and readily hand her the mustard seeds. But when she enquires if any one had died in the family, they all say with one voice, alas, we have lost this or that beloved one. She returns the mustard seeds and comes back empty-handed to the Master with her story that she could not find a single home in which no one had died. Buddha explains to her the meaning of her experience:

"My sister! thou has found," the Master said,
"Searching for what none finds—that bitter balm
I had to give thee. He thou lovedst slept
Dead on thy bosom yesterday: to-day
Thou know'st the whole wide world weeps with thy
woe:

The grief which all hearts share grows less for one.
Lo! I would pour my blood if it could stay
Thy tears and win the secret of the curse
Which makes sweet love our anguish, and which
drives—

Over flowers and pastures to the sacrifice—
As these dumb beasts are driven—men their lords.
I seek that secret: bury thou thy child!"

Kisagotami became the first woman disciple of the Master and she rose to be one of the great saints of Buddhism. Jesus in analogous circumstances is said to have called the dead to life, though Jesus himself did not claim to have done so. He told the wailing relatives the dead Lazarus was not dead but was only sleeping. Lazarus was evidently suffering from a kind of sleeping sickness. How the Church came to represent this as raising the dead in the face of the distinct statement of Jesus, I have not been able to discover. No great Teacher has suffered more from the misrepresentations of his followers than Jesus Christ. In that wonderful story—Brook Kerith—Jesus after the

"Resurrection," goes to the Order to which he belonged, far away among the mountains. There rumours reach him of the doings of his disciples. He goes to the Head of the Order and asks permission to return to Jerusalem to correct the erroneous stories told of him by his followers. But the Abbot forbids. The people will not believe you if you told the truth, he says.

The current number of the *Mahabodhi* narrates the following under the heading "How the Master Ministered to the Sick" which I do not remember to have seen before.

"Tissa, a fair youth of Savatthi, heard the Lord preach one day, gained faith, left home, entered the Order, and lived with the Brethren, loved of many. As time went on, he became ill of a certain skin disease. Eruptions, which first were as small as the seeds of mustard, soon grew big, even as big as Vilva fruits, and the venerable brother's case became incurable. The sores sent out ill-smelling exudations, and so loathsome was his body that friends called him "Tissa the putrefied", and fled from him. As he lay alone in bed, his flesh became more and more corrupt and bones fell from their joints.

And as the Lord surveyed the world thinking, "Whom shall I save?" He saw the poignant sorrow and agony of His own son, left alone dying.

"To my Tissa, there is none but me to befriend him" thought the Lord, and coming out of the Fragrant Cell, with his own holy hands, the Lord washed a large earthen vessel, filled it with strained water and boiled the water Himself. Then He went to the room where Tissa lay helpless, and tried to lift up the bed in order to bring him to the bathroom. But other Bhikkhus, who had gathered by now, stopped the Father saying "We will bear him, Lord."

Then the Lord ordered a tub to be brought in and had the robes of the brother washed in warm water while He himself did bathe the patient tenderly, rubbing the sores so softly with his own healing hands, even as a mother bathes her new-born babe. By the time the bathing was over, the robes too were dry, and when Tissa, refreshed, was laid gently on his bed, serenity came over his mind and body. And as a mother broods over her babe, so did the Lord stay by his side, even near the patient's pillow.

Tissa forgot his fear and found comfort in the Lord. Then in His divinely sweet voice, the Lord said unto the brother:—

"Impermanent, alas, is this body. It will, ere long lie on the earth, void of consciousness, even like a useless log."

When the Lord had thus ministered unto the afflicted brother's mind and body, calm and happy, he slept the sweetest sleep.

And it was noised abroad that, even on his death-bed, "Tissa the Putrefied" became "Tissa the Sanatified."

Owing to the practice in the early days of Buddha's ministry of his disciples wearing only cast-off rags, there was much skin disease prevalent among them. The rule was modified by the Master on this account and disciples were permitted to accept gifts of fresh clothes from the laity. Tissa's complaint seems to have been of a leprous character. The point we wish to emphasise here, is that the Buddha while he did his best to relieve the patient did not offer to cure him. Buddha's method was to change the mental attitude of sufferers and not their material condition.

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HAMMOND COMMITTEE'S REPORT AND WOMEN'S CONSTITUENCIES.

(By MRS. UMABAI KUNDAPUR.)

As we go deep into the study of the Hammond Committee's Report we find that many of its proposals are without any principle behind and uniformity between them.

India will be divided under the new constitution into eleven Governors' provinces or presidencies. But for the three provinces of Bombay, Madras and U. P., all the remaining presidencies have only urban areas selected for their women's constituencies. Bengal, which has got five women's seats, has all its women's constituencies limited to big cities (vide, Vol. II page 71). Same holds good with the C. P. Punjab, Bihar, Assam, Orissa, Sindh, and others. None of these has any rural area for women's constituencies. It is true the two provinces of Madras and U. P. have them. But their selection seems to have been based on a principle. Only the leading, the most educated and enlightened Talukas in three of the districts in each of these provinces have been proposed for women's constituencies. In the former Bellary Taluka which, according to our information is the most enlightened in that district, has been selected. In U. P. Cawnpore Taluka from the Cawnpore District has been marked out for the purpose (pages 10 and 99 respectively). If it were the intention of the Hammond Committee to have in the Bombay Presidency at least one rural constituency for women, they could follow the principle they did in Madras and U. P. and accordingly the constituency would have gone to Dharwar Taluka.

Again there is one more impropriety in this case. In the third volume of the Report the evidences given by representative women in different provinces have been reproduced. But no such evidence of any lady from the Bombay presidency (which is one of the leading provinces of the country) appears in the Report. It is said in the first volume that some women representative were consulted. But there is no mention who they were and what they said. The evidences of women coming from even the small provinces like Orissa and Sindh have been given in full while the Report is silent on the opinions of women from our presidency. Hence we do not know who represented the women of Bombay and what they opined.

On pages 78 to 94 of Volume III there appear evidences from which it is clear that women are in favour of having all their constituencies in urban areas and preferably in big cities at least during the initial stages of the new reforms. Otherwise they say, due to the women's social, religious and economic conditions prevalent in the present Indian society, lady candidates for legislatures will find their task very difficult. The larger the constituency the greater will be the expenditure to be incurred by the candidates. The greater the ignorance among the electors the more difficult is the propaganda. Hence some of the women representatives are of the opinion that at least for some years to come their constituencies should be limited only to big cities by rotation, if necessary. Later on, they say, as female education goes on increasing more and more even into the villages, rural constituencies may be created instead of the urban. This is the gist of what our sisters like Shrimati Lejhawati Jain, Kumudini Basu, Mrs. Braj Sundar Das and others say before the Committee. On page 82 one of them says, "I take the strongest objection to this arbitrary and whimsical method which I characterise as the negation of all laws, rules and procedure." From this it is evident what some of the women representatives feel about the decisions of such Committees.

Though the constituency is limited to the Ranebinnur Taluka any woman voter in the Dharwar

District who can vote at the provincial Assembly elections can also stand as a candidate for these elections. This is our inference on reading the Report. One can obviously see how inconvenient it is for woman residing in other parts of the district to go and stay in Ranebinnur Taluka for months together and carry on propaganda and other work in connection with the election. From the point of expense and labour it is most difficult and impracticable. As stated in my preceding letter female education and the general awakening being very little in the Ranebinnur constituency one may predict safely that very few women may stand as candidates from the area itself. And if our sisters comparatively advanced educated and enthusiastic but residing in other Talukas of the district intend standing for election they will have to leave their homes, go to the remotest taluka of the district, stay and work there for a considerably long time. The difficulty and impracticability of such a task are self-evident and need no comments. We only reproduce what Mrs. N. C. Sen said before the Committee. "What will the poor women do? I have lived in England for 16 years and have seen many women campaigns there. How difficult it is for women there to canvass inspite of the fact that they have so many organisations and more freedom than the Indian women... when you are giving it (women's constituency) for the first time do you not think you should make it easier for women?"

This according to Mrs. Sen is the condition of women in England and efforts are being made there to remove the obstacles in the ways of women candidates in that country. Is it not necessary then that the path of the Indian women for election purposes be made as easy as possible?

On page 123 of the first volume of the Report the Committee says, "We wish to provide a representative electorate and to ensure that the constituencies in which the women's seats are filled are small and select and so framed as to minimise the difficulties of canvassing, the hardships of communications in rural areas and the obstacles likely to be met by a member in maintaining contact with her constituents."

Now let me ask the Committee whether by choosing Ranebinnur in the Southern Division they have fulfilled their objects enumerated above. Is that taluka a select area in the whole of the Division? Has its selection minimised the difficulties of canvassing? When the Committee allows any woman voter in the district to stand as a candidate for the women's seat, is it not necessary to choose a central place as far as possible equidistant from the corners of the district with a view to enable her "to maintain contact with her constituents"? The report again says that their own disposition in these circumstances was definitely in favour of confining the women's constituencies to urban areas. When such was the Committee's disposition we know not who prevailed upon them to choose the rural area and that too of a taluka like Ranebinnur.

These constituencies, says the Report, are experimental and it is uncertain to what extent women generally would be prepared to contest seats. If any constituency on account of its backwardness fails to show keen desire on the part of women in matters of Council and Assembly elections the Government may feel that the Indian women themselves are not enthusiastic about their own political rights and they, therefore, do not deserve the franchise, the special seats, and other concessions granted to them. This may exhibit to the world that the Indian woman is not particular about any political or administrative powers. It is for this reason that we should strive to send into the legislatures the best available material from the select parts of the country, so that



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the Indian woman may show her mettle and grit and prove in course of time that she is in no way inferior to her sisters in other nations. Hence our desire to get transferred the women's constituency of the Southern Division to a central and better area.

CASTE IN THE INDIAN CHURCH.*

The *Madras Mail* reports an interesting incident among Roman Catholics in a village in North Arcot in the Madras Presidency which illustrates the strength of the caste spirit in the Indian Christian community.

In Chetpat, the yearly Catholic festival of "Our Lady of the Lourdes" was from February 24 to March 4. From March 1 to March 4 were important days of the festival and the Car of "Our Lady" ordinarily is dragged in procession. The Car hitherto had been drawn only by caste Catholics, by mamool (immemorial custom). Adi Dravidas had never before participated. This year, however, the local priest, Father Carlatto, proposed that Adi-Dravida Catholics, too, should join in dragging the car in procession. His Grace, the Archbishop of Madras, Dr. L. Mathias, approved the suggestion, and came to Chetpat from Madras towards the latter part of the festival. The entire mass of caste Catholics vigorously objected to the proposal, stating to permit Adi-Dravidas to join in dragging the car was an infringement of the immemorial rights of caste Catholics. On March 1, the day of the car procession, over 10,000 Christians mostly caste Catholics, from surrounding areas collected in Chetpat and demonstrated against Adi-Dravida Catholics taking a part in dragging the car.

The Archbishop's efforts to arrive at a compromise between the rival parties failed and the Sub-Magistrate of the place seeing that feelings ran high, issued an order under Section 144 Cr. P. C. prohibiting the car procession for two months. The suggestion that it may be conducted within the Church compound was also discountenanced by the officer.

The incident near Vellore arose because the custom in danger was regarded as an "immemorial one". Entrenched "right" persist in other or minor forms among non-Catholics also and if a start is to be made, systematic education should begin at the bottom and be maintained persistently.

The disgraceful incident brings out what is often ignored. The theory that the time spirit will solve the problem has been abandoned in the non-Christian community. We fear that the same conviction has not come to the Indian Church. There are silent tragedies occurring because of caste in the community which are no less deplorable than the upheaval near Vellore. Leaders of the Church are however under the delusion that the refined and respectable manner in which divisions lurk is not harmful. If the Church had any programme of reform for the community, caste evil would form the foremost item. Such however is totally absent because there is comfort in the thought that some of the virtues of the community are a complete expiation for its many sins.

* The *Guardian* Madras.

All-India Rabidas Conference:—Sj. Balu Babaji Palwankar of Bombay, at one time well-known as a cricketer, will preside over the forthcoming session of the All-India Rabidas (Chamar) Conference to be held at Monghyr on 28th, 29th and 30th March. Well-known depressed class leaders, such as Mr. Kajrolkar of Bombay, Mr. Rajbhoj of Poona, Choudhari Beharilal of Dehradun and Mr. Radhanath Das of Calcutta are expected to attend the conference, which is likely to be of great importance in view of the fact the Rabidas community as a body is stated to be strongly opposed to Dr. Ambedkar's move to renounce Hinduism.

TRADE TREATY BETWEEN INDIA AND U. S. A. *

There is more than one reason why a trade treaty should be concluded between India and U. S. A. In view of the recent trade treaty between Canada and U. S. A., and the more recent reports that negotiations of an exploratory nature are afoot for a trade treaty between the United Kingdom and the United States, it seems opportune to consider the question of a trade treaty between India and the U. S. A.

At present there is no direct trade treaty between India and U. S. A. Replying to Sirdar Sohan Singh's interpellation in the Indian Legislative Assembly on 13th February 1934, the Hon. Sir Joseph Bhore, on behalf of the Government of India said:

"There is no direct trade agreement between India and the United States of America, but there is a Convention of Commerce concluded as long ago as 1815 between His Britannic Majesty and the United States of America, Article 3 of which is applicable to India. The provisions of this Article are unilateral inasmuch as they make no stipulations for the treatment of Indian trade in the United States of America."

The chief purpose of the Convention was to provide a "reciprocal liberty of commerce" and the most-favoured-nation treatment as between the two countries. This purpose is secured in Articles I and II of the Convention. On the British side the scope of the two Articles is limited to "all the Territories of His Britannic Majesty in Europe."

India is mentioned only in Article III, and then only to give U. S. A., the most-favoured-nation treatment in India without, however, conferring a reciprocal advantage on India. Says the Article:

"His Britannic Majesty agrees that the vessels of the United States of America shall be admitted and hospitably received at the principal settlements of the British Dominions in the East Indies videlicet, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay and Prince of Wales' Island, and that the citizens of the said United States may freely carry on trade between the said principal settlements and the said United States in all articles."

The Article does not confer on Indian citizens the right freely to carry on trade between India and U. S. A. That is why the Government of India characterized it as unilateral.

U. S. A. has trade treaties with Borneo, Ethiopia, Liberia and Siam, among other countries. The U. S. A. trade with the first three is apparently so insignificant, if there is any at all, that no mention of it is made in the official report on "Foreign Trade of the United States."

The trade between U. S. A. and Siam is but a fraction of the trade between U. S. A. and India. From the point of view of U. S. A., India ranked nineteenth in the matter of exports and eleventh in the matter of imports.

There is yet another reason why there should be concluded a trade treaty between India and U. S. A. as soon as possible. India is perhaps alone in being subjected to a disability which does not apply to any other people, white, black or brown. The Immigration Act of 1924 denies admission into U. S. A. to all those who are "ineligible" to naturalization. Under the Act of February 18, 1875, amending the Act of July 14th, 1870, naturalization is open only to "aliens being free white persons, and to aliens of African nativity and to persons of African descent." And the Supreme Court of U. S. A. held that "a

* The *Servant of India*; March 27.

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high-caste Hindu of full Indian blood" born in India was not a "white person" within the meaning of the naturalization law (261 U. S. 204 of 1923).

The same disability applies to most Asiatics, and in particular to the Japanese and the Chinese. It does not seem to apply to the Syrians, the Turks, the Armenians, the Persians and the Parsees.

The U. S. Immigration law, however, exempts certain defined people from the bar against entry, though not from naturalization. Among these are what are called "treaty-merchants." A treaty-merchant is "an alien entitled to enter the United States solely to carry on trade under and in pursuance of the provisions of a present existing treaty of commerce and navigation" (Section 3 (6)). Inasmuch as the United States has trade treaties with China, Japan, Siam and Borneo, *bona fide* merchants from these countries may enter the United States as "non-immigrants" and carry on trade, though the citizens of these countries are debarred from entering U. S. A. As there is no trade treaty between India and U. S. A., no Indian merchant may enter U. S. A. Merchants of the "white" and the "black" races may enter U. S. A. because of their racial qualifications; merchants of China, Japan and Siam may enter because of trade treaties, though racially ineligible. Merchants from India alone may not enter because they are racially ineligible, and there is no trade treaty between India and U. S. A.

Whether a trade treaty between India and U. S. A. to be concluded *hereafter* will place the Indian merchant on the same basis as the merchant from Japan and China under the existing immigration law is not without some doubt. It is conceivable that the courts may hold that inasmuch as the statute speaks of the "present existing treaty", the rights secured thereunder will not accrue under treaties made *subsequent* to the passing of the Act in 1924.

Even so, a trade treaty between India and U. S. A. will confer a right on Indian merchants already in U. S. A., which, in view of the few and diminishing rights of Indians in U. S. A., may not be despised. At present no Indian, who is already in U. S. A. and who cannot be deported, can introduce his Indian wife or minor children. An amendment of U. S. A. Immigration Act of 1924, passed on 6th July, 1932, however, permits a treaty-merchant to introduce "his wife and his unmarried children under twenty-one years of age." This provision will give relief to but few Indian merchants, but India cannot afford to despise even trifling advantages.

To sum up. In the trade relations between India and U. S. A., India suffers from an unfair discrimination, though there is reason to believe that it was due to a historical accident and not due to any deliberate policy on the part of U. S. A. The merchants of U. S. A., have a unilateral advantage in India, and Indian merchants enjoy no reciprocal facilities in U. S. A. Indian merchants are denied rights in the U. S. A., which merchants from China, Japan and Siam enjoy. U. S. A., has trade treaties with Borneo, Liberia and Ethiopia with which she has hardly any trade but not with India with which she had a volume of trade which is not negligible and which is increasing, and which she may well cultivate.

The fact that India is a subject country and her Government is a subordinate administration under the British Government need not stand in the way of a trade treaty between India and U. S. A. For recently a trade treaty was concluded between India and Japan, though, for diplomatic reasons, the treaty was signed in London between Great Britain and Japan.

New York.
26th January 1936.

P. KODANDA RAO.

SCOUTING.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Prof. Sundaram of Annamalai University would have us accept—if the *Hindu* report of the 2nd instant is correct—that "Scouting is of very recent growth in the country." On the other hand, tradition, social institutions, literature and history all teem with proof to the contrary indicating in unmistakable traces that the scout idea is quite indigenous to the genius of the Hindu race. This vision in perspective is such as to tempt one to jump up to join issue with the learned professor and challenge his suggestion.

Referring to Ramayana, the earliest epic—one of Sir John Lubbock's 100 Books—there are two characters among a host, Hanuman and Lakshmana, who stand perhaps for the last word and probably for all time to the attitude of life corresponding to the scout idea of the present day. The immortal story of Hanuman's quest of the missing Sita and of his thrilling exploits and resourcefulness in bringing mount Sanjeevi with its life-giving herbs to save the dying Lakshmana on the battle field, with the dynamic combination of his selfless zeal, daring and loyalty, interspersed with fun and frolic investing it with endless thrills of perennial interest to the young and old alike, is transcendental; perhaps designed to be such by that creative artist, Valmiki. There is a significance in the chapter narrating Sita's quest in Ramayana being called 'Sundara Kandam' which means "Canto the Beautiful"—and when our ancestors prescribed it out of all others for religious reading with the emphasis that merit would accumulate with repetition, they must have meant to make the scout spirit soak into the very life-blood of the race in its entirety.

As between Hanuman and Lakshmana it is really hard to choose. The latter's devotion to his brother and his consort during their exile of 14 years, spending sleepless nights, protecting them from the dangers of forest life and sharing their joys and sorrows, always in cheerful spirit apart, the story of the way and the quickness of decision with which he dared to face his end is such as to afford supreme illustration of the height of sacrifice which should characterise a scout's outlook of life. I recount the episode below in brief.

With the killing of the demon Ravana Rama's mission in life came to an end. Just about then, so the story goes, a sage visitor appeared at the gates of the royal residence and asked Lakshmana, the gentleman in waiting, to announce his arrival to the Emperor, within which he did. Rama rose, advanced to the Rishi receiving him with all honours due to the sage, when the latter stipulated that they should confer in private and that the king should undertake to behead any one—rather a drastic injunction—that might happen to intrude while they were thus engaged. Rama readily agreed warning Lakshmana at the doorway at the peril of his life not to let in any one. When they were closeted together the sage announced that he had a message for him, from the God of Death and that he came to invite him to his final abode leaving him the option to continue on earth if it pleased him. Before the interview ended the irate Rishi, Durvasa, notorious for his temper, so the story goes, rushed up to Lakshmana at the doorway wanting him to announce his arrival forthwith to the king inside, when he was told that the king was engaged with another and that the time was not opportune for his seeking him. This Durvasa took it as a personal slight, flew into an uncontrollable rage as was his nature, threatening to curse with extinction the entire dynasty of Raghu if he delayed announcing him another minute.



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Lakshmana, ideal scout as he was, having had to decide quickly in the twinkling of an eye thrust himself into the king's apartment risking his life choosing his own death as a lesser evil than the dreadful and immediate prospect of race extinction. With such a tradition who could dare to say that the scout idea was foreign to Hindu culture and civilization?

Garuda is yet another character answering to the most modern scout ideal the very first to appear in the arena of Mahabharata. When he grew out of his childhood, the very first thing, so the story continues, which puzzled him, was to find his mother Vinata, a serf to her rival, his step-mother Kadruva. He enquired the reason why and was told at the end by the slave-holder that she was prepared to free the serf if he would secure for her ambrosia from Indra Loka for ransom. Quick was the decision of Garuda and he set about the task without a moment's hesitation, secured the prize and liberated his parent in trouble. This achievement should be of an inspiring character to our young scouts of the day, with many of whom to shout 'Bharat Mataji Jai' once is 99 p. o. patriotism.

Coming further down in the story of Mahabharata as found narrated in Aranya, Virata and Udyoga parvans and particularly during the 'Agnatha Vasa'—period of exile incognito—the scout suggestion is simply marvellous and catching. The resourcefulness which each of the five Pandavas commanded to find an honest living during the trying interval of one year, with work ranging from story telling to cattle tending is such as to be an object lesson to our unemployed young men of the day in despair.

If we come to the stories in Bhagavata there is rarely any exploit attributed to the hero Krishna which does not savour of scout spirit at its best. The incident of Gajendra Moksham, of Krishna's lifting up mount Govardhana to afford shelter against rain to Gopies, of his killing the serpent Kaliya and myriad others, point in the same direction.

How the scout idea persisted even as late as the commencement of Vizayanagar Era about the beginning of the fourteenth century with twin Gods of Garuda and Hanuman—even now you come across their statues at many a corner of Rayalaseema—to inspire life was remarkable. When sage Vidyaranya met the brothers Harihara and Bukka, who afterwards became the first emperors of Vizayanagar, the picture that history presents of them is that of a couple of scouts in the most complete sense of the term dedicated solely to rescue Hindu Dharma from the Mohammadan inroads of the day; while that of Veeraballala laying down his life in the struggle reflected the same scout idea at its highest. The history of Vizayanagar of those times recording the exploits of the heroes like Kumara Kampana and Gopana is not disfigured by conquest or domination for self-aggrandizement but stands adorned for all time in true scout spirit by a righteous resistance to harm threatened to the Hindu Dharma.

If subordinating self in daily life for the welfare of a community with unflinching loyalty to a leader and a feeling of fellowship and harmony *inter se* from the discipline that is required to make one a real scout then our Joint Hindu Family system in its ideal has been for ages an unparalleled training ground in every household for the creation and fostering of this scout virtue.

There is the word 'Kynkaryam' in Sanskrit vocabulary which is the noun form originating from the phrase 'Kim Karomi' (which means "what can I do?")—not in despair but in quest of service, for an attitude of life. There again is in a nutshell the

potential idea. With a majority of our young men scouting is largely associated with periodical spectacular externals and ceremonials with little response to the heart of the movement. It is for the Temples of Learning and culture, like our Indian Universities, to instil into the scout movements of the day a new orientation revivifying national life on lines chalked out by our wise ancestors of old.

Penukonda. } T. SIVASANKARAM.
(Anantapur Dist.) }

MARIE STOPES ON BIRTH CONTROL.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Sir,

You give great space to Mr. Gandhi's objections to scientific birth control and since 1930 when I reviewed him very fully he has somewhat shifted and improved his position, but still it betrays a very grievous misunderstanding of the fundamental position of sex union in human life.

To deal adequately with Mr. Gandhi would require columns, so that I can only pick out a few of the more important points briefly. It is with no personal hostility that I may trenchantly criticize some points in the attitude taken by Mr. Gandhi; but in a small space devoted to an important matter nothing less than the truth will avail, and the truth when simply stated must appear hostile because it demolishes his main arguments.

Mr. Gandhi touches on a very fundamental principle when he urges married people to regulate, so far as it is humanly possible, the number of their progeny by moral restraint, and on totally another when they do so in spite of sexual indulgence. The false facts, and consequently false deductions, contained in this paragraph lie in the words "sexual indulgence." What right has Mr. Gandhi to talk of sexual "indulgence" when he really means the use of coitus in marriage? He is jumping to a scientifically false conclusion and balancing himself on the presumptuous pinnacle of "moral superiority" which is a creation of his and other ascetic minds, but which is essentially untrue and an insult to the Creator who made human beings, male and female, in the natural need for union with each other. When this need is satisfied with love-union in marriage it is physiologically correct living, it is not sexual indulgence, and it is an act of pharisaical impropriety to malign it. Again, as Mr. Gandhi's position is largely built upon this scientifically false and morally arrogant statement, his whole logical argument falls to the ground.

He considers continence the highest state. The mistaken idea about humanity is propagated by some of the ascetic-minded of many religions and in many countries of the world; and one may point out, as a parallel, that it is no argument to multiply the statements that the world is flat in order to disprove the fact that the world is round.

Gandhi's ill-considered arrogance can scarcely go further than his statement; "Union is a crime when the desire for progeny is absent." Surely it is a serious thing for a country when one of its most prominent leaders can gain a hearing with such a preposterous mis-statement of fact. The sex union of human beings is the result of a mutual need and a mutual fulfilment on three planes—physical, mental and spiritual—and the human pair is mutually enriched by true union. To the animals who unite, no knowledge even of the fact that progeny will result is vouchsafed, and the cow and bull who mate as a result of their own need and who benefit from the mating, have not the very faintest desire



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for progeny, nor can it possibly be correlated with their idea that months after a calf will result from their union.

In humanity, higher in organization and much more evolved and with bodily, mental and spiritual results from union in coitus greater than in any animal, the results are more far-reaching. The act of coitus is not a mere fertilization of the woman, but, as has been proved by physiological science, it is the placing within the woman's body of the active spermatozoa in millions (where one only is required for fertilization) together with the secretions of several glands which have no bearing whatever on fertilization and the production of progeny, but which are absorbed by the woman and benefit her system. Similarly, I have presented the scientific deduction, accumulated from a large number of cases (which although not absolutely proved is almost proved, and, therefore, a very sound hypothesis) that the man also absorbs and benefits from the woman when coitus is performed in the proper way, which, I may say, it far too seldom is by ignorant human beings.

The use of sound, scientific methods of birth control does incalculable good in making motherhood more precious, in enhancing the health and happiness of children and making it possible for parents to have the God-given need for mutual coitus satisfied wholesomely and properly. To-day in the clear and joyous light given by science, a young man and woman may marry and live in faithful love all their lives, satisfying their own physical and mutual needs (and thus being happier and consequently better members of the community) and love their children before they are born, because they themselves will their parenthood at times when they have the health and strength to bear the burden and do their best for the young life entrusted to them.

Between this happy state of affairs and the Indian people who would benefit, stands Gandhi and other ascetics calling upon them to lead unnatural lives of deprivation and consequent deterioration. I trust that science and not superstition will soon hold sway in India as elsewhere.

Full information can be obtained from the Headquarters of the movement for Constructive Birth Control Clinics, 108, Whitfield Street, London, W. 1, England.

108, Whitfield Street,
London, W. 1.
26th February 1936. }
MARIE C. STOPES,
President,
Society for Constructive Birth Control & Racial Progress.

Congregational Divine Service for Hindus:—D. B. Raja Narendra Nath, Goswami Ganesh Dutt, Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das, Diwan Bahadur Kishen Kishore, R. B. Lala Binda Saran and other Hindu leaders have issued the following appeal to the Hindus of the Punjab and the N. W. F. P.:—"To provide the Hindus of all shades of opinion with an opportunity to assemble at one place and unite their hearts in prayer to Almighty, it is most essential that congregational Divine services be conducted with great éclat and enthusiasm in all localities and important cities of the Panjab and the N. W. F. Provinces, at least once a month, presumably on the 3rd Sunday at any convenient time according to the requirement of the season. We appreciate sincerely the movement of holding congregational prayers set on foot by the Young Men's Hindu Association, Lahore, and we have great pleasure in bringing it to the notice of the Hindus of the province, with the hope that they will put their shoulder to the wheel in this noble task of bringing about solidarity and fellowship between all the sections of the Hindu community. We hope the congregational Divine Service of the Hindus of Lahore to be held on Sunday, March 15, at the D. A. V. College, will be a great success.

MUSLIM—KADIANI CONTRETEMPS.

The Kadianis, of whom there are hardly forty families in Bombay, are said to belong to a comparatively recently formed reformist section of the Muslim community. They claim to be Sunni Muslims, but the Sunni Muslim leaders of Bombay City refuse to recognise them as such. These differences in religious denominations came to a head last week, when the body of a Kadiani child of fifteen months, named Bashir Ahmed, was taken by the parents and relatives of the child to the Sonapur Muslim cemetery for burial.

The manager of the cemetery did not raise any objection, but some Sunni Muslims, it is said, at the cemetery are alleged to have refused to allow the dead body into the cemetery. They said that Kadianis were 'Kafirs,' and were, therefore, not entitled to use the Muslim cemetery. They were even prepared to resist the burial by force, if necessary. Thereupon, the parents of Bashir complained to the Princess Street police. In a short time, a number of police officers endeavoured to effect a peaceful compromise between the parties. The alleged fanatical element, however, would not hear of any compromise.

Eventually, the dead body was taken charge of by the police, and the Commissioner of Police was duly informed of the situation.

Later the Commissioner sent for the trustees of the cemetery, the Head Kazi and other Muslim leaders in the City to discuss the matter. The leaders were not prepared to assert categorically that Kadianis were not Muslims, but they maintained that this sect like other Muslim sects should have their own separate burial ground.

The Muslim leaders would not yield. The Police Commissioner later consulted the Municipal Commissioner and the Health Officer. It is understood that the Kadianis have been allotted a separate burial ground in the Haines Road cemetery. The body of the child, which is lying in the morgue, will now be buried at the Haines Road cemetery.

CATHOLICS IN THE THIRD REICH.*

The first round in the Catholic-Nazi struggle was won by the Nazis with the dissolution of the Catholic Center party on July 4, 1933. Although the political influence of the Church was exercised through the Center party, the Vatican—apparently considering it expedient to establish a *modus vivendi* with the new Nazi state—consented to a Concordat with the Reich. This document was virtually completed on July 3, 1933—the day before the demise of the Center party but was not signed until July 20 and did not go into force until September 10. The Concordat sanctioned dissolution of the Center party by forbidding Catholic churchmen to speak or act politically and conceding the right of the State to destroy all Catholic organizations having even a semi-political program. The Hitler government, for its part, pledged itself to establish uniform educational laws throughout the Reich and to permit confessional schools even in districts where they had been forbidden. The Vatican, moreover, secured direct control of university theological professorships, although the state was given the right to question future appointments to episcopal sees. Catholic organizations having a religious objective were recognized as legitimate.

Despite the Concordat, many Catholics were victims of the Nazi terror during the summer of 1933, and as time went on the struggle between the state and the Evangelical church brought out the fundamental issues at stake for all organized religions.

* Foreign Policy Report, January 29, 1936.



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Catholic realization of this fact was strongly shown in 1933 by the Advent sermons of Cardinal Faulhaber of Munich, which attracted wide attention both in Germany and abroad. The Cardinal—a recognized authority on the Old Testament—demonstrated that the Church is unalterably committed to acknowledging the Old Testament as a revelation, and that Christianity is not conceivable apart from Judaism.

Meanwhile, despite the Concordat, the recognized Catholic organizations, especially the youth groups, were experiencing grave difficulties and Catholic publications were censored and suppressed by the Nazis. With the incorporation of the Evangelical youth organisations in the *Hitler Jugend* at the end of 1938, moreover, the Catholic youth organizations were the only ones outside that official association. Members of the Catholic groups were constantly molested by the *Hitler Jugend*, and their activities were curtailed; priests criticizing the Hitler Youth were jailed. By July 1935 Catholic Youth organizations were officially forbidden to engage in sport, social or educational activities. The Hitler Youth, moreover, had become more outspokenly anti-Christian, and reports concerning ancient pagan rites at their convocations had become more frequent.

Even before the July outburst against the Catholics the Nazis had begun prosecution of priests, nuns and monks on charges of smuggling foreign exchange out of the Reich. These trials, accompanied by wide publicity, have since continued; and it is estimated that the total fines imposed on Catholic charitable and monastic orders for such smuggling amount to about 5,000,000 marks. The Nazis have made use of the trials to discredit Catholicism and prove to the German people that Catholic priests and leaders are enemies of the Third Reich.

Thus the Hitler government seems determined to do all in its power to undermine the influence of the Catholic church in Germany. Its determination to abolish Catholic youth, sport and working men's societies is at present hampered by the Concordat. Double membership in the Hitler youth and Catholic societies, however, is forbidden. This conflict over control of youth organizations will doubtless be further sharpened by plans announced on January 4, 1936 for conscription of all German boys and girls between 10 and 18 in a Reich Young League under the leadership of Baldur von Schirach. Civil servants are already virtually forced to enroll their children in the Hitler Youth; workers must belong to the Labour Front in order to secure or keep their jobs, while Catholic workmen's groups are denied membership in the Labor Front.

The church, for its part, is fighting to retain control of the education of Catholic youth through confessional schools and the youth organizations; for the right of the clergy to discuss questions of collective ethical import, such as sterilization; and, finally, for immunity of the clergy in the pulpit. The Catholics are absolutely opposed to Nazi sterilization and race laws; the prosecution for the alleged violation of foreign exchange decrees, moreover, virtually constitutes state warfare against the Catholic orders in Germany. And the neo-pagan influence on the Hitler Youth, the difficulties of Catholic schools in Bavaria, besides the virtual suppression of Catholic youth organisations, are regarded not only as a violation of the Concordat but as a dangerous threat to the church.

Social Reform in Kumbha Mela :—Pandit Dhananath Sidhantankar, Organising Secretary, Bihar Provincial Vidhava Vivah Sahayak Sabha of Sir Gangaram Trust, Lahore, was specially deputed to Allahabad to work in the Kumbha Mela. He has just returned from there after working for 11 days. Leaflets on this subject were distributed in abundance in Hindi, Bengali and Urdu languages.

THE BISHOPS' CONFERENCE AT FULDA.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT)

Under the Presidency of Dr. Bertram, the Cardinal of Breslau, the Catholic Bishops of Germany assembled at Fulda in the first half of January. As the traditional gathering at Fulda usually takes place in September of each year a special reason was attributed to the unexpected convention. The news spread with astonishing rapidity in both ecclesiastic and political circles while at first neither the newspapers nor the Church published any information on the matter.

It is reliably stated that the coming Reich Youth reforms strengthened the desire of the Episcopate to re-open discussions with the Government on the Youth question and certain lines of actions are said to have been decided upon at the Conference.

Officially nothing has been heard of the outcome. However, the Reich Minister for Church Affairs is to be informed of the views exchanged at Fulda. The Bishops, Count von Preysing (Berlin) and Dr. Berning (Osnabruck) were chosen as spokesmen for the German Episcopate in negotiating with Government quarters. It remains to be seen whether this preliminary contacting will in due course form a basis for more concrete arrangements. From what can be learned the Fulda gathering seems fundamentally willing.

The men who have been chosen as representatives permit the hope that the Church is seriously prepared to settle the Catholic Church situation. If this were not the case the meeting would hardly have been convened at this unusual time. The Bishop of Osnabruck is a member of the Prussian State Council and is known to be favourably disposed toward the political regime. Count von Preysing is also well endowed for the roll of intermediary possessing the necessary diplomacy and intelligence. The new Bishop of Berlin seems to enjoy an excellent standing both in the Vatican and as a promising member of the German Episcopate.

Outwardly, in keeping with the traditions of the Catholic Church, the Episcopate naturally represent a united whole but there is no doubt as to the existence of conflicting opinions in regard to the Church—political situation of Catholicism in Germany. The attitude of Cardinal Dr. Schulte of Cologne, the youngest in rank of the three Cardinals in Germany, presumably played a special part at the recent session. The New Year's wishes are called to mind which this latter prelate exchanged with Germany's Head at the turn of the year. As neither Cardinal Dr. Bertram, Head of the Episcopate, nor Cardinal Faulhaber (Munich) extended this courtesy there were all manner of conjectures as to the different trends with the Church. The meeting which took place between the Cardinal of Cologne and Dr. Goebbels in December of last year also attracted attention.

It is widely thought that the present Bishops' Conference is largely due to the influence of Dr. Schulte. Obviously another attempt is to be made to arrange for a settlement with the State. The details to the regulations governing the Concordat of 1933 are still outstanding.

Accordingly, it would seem as though the Church was now prepared so to revise the Catholic Youth organisations as to divest them of their centralist character while retaining them as purely youthful sections of the local parishes thereby eliminating all chances of conflict with the State and the Hitler Youth. A conciliatory programme has been drawn up after it was ascertained in an interview with the Minister for Church Affairs that official readiness for a settlement existed. Thus it has every appearance that the more pacific elements led by Dr. Schulte have succeeded in gaining the upper hand in the Episcopate.

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realpatidar A EUROPEAN'S VIEW OF CASTE.

The Varn Vyavastha (caste system) conference opened here on the Gurukul grounds at Hardwar in the main pandal this afternoon amidst a huge gathering of audiences. Dr. Mees could not be present, his presidential address was read out by Mrs. Coomaraswamy, wife of Mr. Anand Coomaraswamy of America.

In a lengthy address Dr. Mees had submitted that it was his belief that there was nothing of such importance, of such psychological as well as sociological significance, both to cultured and to the less cultured Indians, as an unprejudiced and scientific study of caste and class. He held that the ancient theory of Varna (caste) was not a theory applying to Hindu society. The ancient Hindu sages were far wiser than we now imagined. His critical study showed that we must regard the theory of Chaturvarnya as a universal social theory. In various ages theories of class had been evolved. Most of the theories of class propounded the existence of four basic classes of human society. Directly related to four Varnas were without doubt the four classes of the Iranians: Athravan, corresponding to Brahmins, Rathestar (Kshatriya,) Vastya (Vaish), Huiti (Sudra). Not only the Iranians but also Plato compared the state to the human soul and Aristotle more appropriately compared the State with the human body. The great Abul Fazal, perhaps inspired by Hindu teachings, perhaps by Plato or Aristotle, also divided society into four classes. Today the labourer and the capitalist were struggling with each other for supremacy. But neither was in the natural course of things meant to rule. Not the mass but the group with the ability to rule, were meant to rule. Only the true Brahmin, in every country, was a leader of the society, leader of public opinion, education of the social mind, influencer of practical politics. In India he appealed to every man and woman to propagate and broadcast the ancient theory of the ideal of Varna in order that the evils of the present caste system should vanish.

It was a wrong way to try to directly change the outer forms of any institution. They must try to change the conceptions about the institution first. The modern man seemed to be very impatient and wanted to do things before their time. Were they going to make the people more religious or to change the rituals of their religion? A change from within would change the outer form. A leader of men must not commit the mistake of projecting his own psychology into the collective psychology. The masses had their limitations and they were stupid and slow; they were also very dangerous. The only direct way to bring about social reform was to steadily influence the collective mind.

GEORGE SANTAYANA.*

George Santayana, distinguished philosopher and poet who abandoned a brilliant academic career at Harvard in 1912, is now 72. From the hotel room, in Rome where he has lived obscurely since 1923, George Santayana has looked back to Harvard and New England for his fable. Born in Madrid, December 16, 1863, he was 9 when he was taken to Boston, where his half-brother and half-sisters were members of the famed Sturgis family of New England. A strange set of circumstances lay behind this migration. "None of us," Santayana once wrote, "ever changed his country, his class, or his religion." Santayana's Spanish-born parents met in the Philippine Islands. His mother's first marriage was to George Sturgis, Boston merchant with offices in Manila, to whom she had borne

five children at the time of his death. When she married Agustin Ruiz de Santayana, retired Spanish civil servant, it was with the understanding that the Sturgis children were to be brought up in Boston, as she had promised their father before he died. The family was thus separated, George Santayana remaining with his father in Spain, his mother and her older children moving to Boston on an arrangement that was "friendly, if not altogether pleasant to either party." After unsuccessful attempts to live in both countries, George was left with his mother, while his father returned to Spain to live in retirement.

Educated at the Boston Latin School, at Harvard, at Berlin, Santayana became an instructor of philosophy at Harvard at 26, moved freely in academic circles without being intimately known in any. Impersonal, self-contained he lived modestly in Stoughton Hall, became a member of the brilliant group of Harvard philosophers that included Josiah Royce, William James, George H. Palmer, Hugo Munsterberg. Three times each week he walked to Brookline to visit his mother, who continued to speak Spanish and who was entirely unknown to his Cambridge acquaintances. Occasionally he invited his more promising students to tea, was lionized by Cambridge hostesses as a handsome and mysterious foreigner, could be found most frequently, outside his working hours, at the athletic fields, watching the training for football and track.

While he remained a familiar mystery on the campus, his fame soon reached beyond Harvard. His first poems were published when he was 31. In the next eleven years he had produced *The Sense of Beauty*, which Munsterberg called the best book on esthetics ever written in the U. S., two more volumes of verse a series of interpretations of poetry and religion, the five volumes of his urbane, skeptical statement of naturalism, *The Life of Reason*. Although Santayana himself had declared that he was no poet, comparing himself to Don Quixote; the Spanish-American War aroused him to "the Dionysiac frenzy and impassioned tenderness" that he considered essential for true poetry. When the Spanish Fleet at Santiago was destroyed; Admiral Sampson made the "boorish jest" of calling the victory a Fourth of July present to the U. S. people. Santayana wrote *Spain in America* as an answer. The poem is a lament for Spain's "sadness and dishonour," a moving and eloquent cry for a marriage of the two cultures, the spirits of the North and South.

When Santayana's second philosophical work was published in 1900, William James wrote of it: "What a perfection of rottenness in a philosophy. I don't think I ever knew the anti-realistic view to be propounded with so impudently superior an air... Although I absolutely reject the Platonism of it, I have literally squealed with delight at the imperturbable perfection with which the position is laid down, page after page." When *The Life of Reason* appeared in 1903, James had changed his opinion: "Santayana's book is a great one, if the inclusion of opposites is a measure of greatness. I think it will probably be reckoned great by posterity. It has no rational foundation, being merely one man's way of viewing things; so much of experience admitted and no more..." Other professors of philosophy gave less qualified praise, saluted Santayana's scholarship, the fascination of his style, suggested that no such exquisite philosophical literature had ever been composed.

A popular lecturer, Santayana's courses became famed. His students included T. S. Eliot, Conrad Aiken, Walter Lippmann, Bronson Cutting, Felix Frankfurter. Robert Benohley attended his classes,

* The Times, February 8, 1933.



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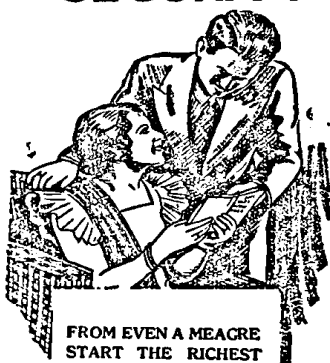
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said that he could not understand the words but that the music fascinated him. Continuing to live in isolation, Santayana was commonly considered snobbish. Disliking Boston society, he called it "a Harvard faculty meeting without any business." Although he enjoyed teaching, described it as "a delightful paternal art," he admitted disliking "the taste of academic straw," was ironically amused when President Lowell declared that he was not interested in the degree of intelligence in Santayana's students, merely wanted to know how many of them there were.

In 1912 Santayana received an inheritance, immediately resigned from Harvard, settled in Oxford. Repelled by German culture, at home in England, he was pro-Ally during the War, wrote *Egotism in German Philosophy* during the War years.

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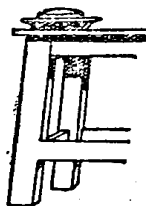
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Mohenjo Daro Inscriptions:—The theory of an Aryan invasion of India from the Northwest has been challenged and, though it has not altogether disappeared, it is no longer asserted with the assurance that it used to be. The discoveries at Mohenjo Daro near Larkana in Sind have opened up new vistas of pre-historic India. The Rev. Father Heras in his lecture last week on the Indus Civilization at the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, declared that the civilization revealed by the inscriptions unearthed at Mohenjo Daro was the oldest civilization of Asia and that it was the parent of the subsequent Sumerian, Babylonian, Assyrian and even Chinese civilizations. We print a summary of his lecture on another page. If colonies from the Indus valley went out to Central Asia it does not seem probable that colonies from Central Asia entered India at the same or a later time. It rather goes to confirm the theory that if there was a migration it was from India and not into India. Father Heras seems, however, to cling to the belief that there were two distinct peoples known as Aryans and Dravidians in India. The Mohenjo Daro civilization, he says, if not pre-Aryan is non-Aryan. Even in the sketchy summary before us, there are evidences to show that the Indus civilization was the source and parent of the later Indian civilization and there was a remarkable continuity between them. Father Heras himself says that the totemic signs of ancient Indian tribes are recorded in ancient Sanskrit literature. The seven countries mentioned in one of the seals found in the excavations, passed on to Sanskrit literature. Father Heras' observations on the astronomical information gathered from the inscriptions are of special interest. The publication of the paper in the next number of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society's journal is awaited with great interest.

Franco-German Deadlock:—The difficulty which had arisen over the sending of troops by Herr Hitler in to the demilitarized zone in Rhineland continues to be acute. Britain which first proposed neutral zones on both banks to be policed internationally pending negotiations, dropped the proposal so far as it related to the French side and asked Germany to accept it for her side alone. A more maladroit proposal it is impossible to imagine. The methods which succeeded at the Indian Round Table Conference were totally out of place in dealing with "a man of iron" as Herr Hitler described himself in one of his election speeches this week. The British proposal met with indignant rejection. Germany refused to negotiate with France except on an equal footing. There can be no doubt that Germany will have her way. "They have rights who dare maintain them". One thing which one appreciates in Herr Hitler is that there is no doubt about his meaning. British statesmen seem to have lost the gift, if they ever possessed it. Their course is becoming increasingly beset with difficulties just because there is always a gulf between their profession and practice. The reasons which guide their action are not the ones which they publicly profess they are. A French publicist writing in the current number of the *Round Table* points out how a serious misconception in France might have been avoided if Britain had stated "honestly" that she sent her Home Fleet to the Mediterranean before the Italo-Abyssinian war began, because Italy had threatened Egypt by her preparations for massing troops on the Lybian frontier. "But the Frenchman knew nothing of this," he writes. "And how should he have known, when Great Britain herself, instead of explaining what was happening, went on denying that she had any sort of personal grievance against Italy, and reiterated that the only conflict at issue was that between Italy and Abyssinia." British statesmen will be able to do more for the peace of the world as well for that of their own minds as also for good understanding between Britain and her component units, if they cultivate precision instead of the vagueness which they so much to affect in their speeches and despatches. For example, they need not insist on dubbing as democracy a scheme of government which is conspicuous by its violence to every principle which constitutes the essence of democracy.



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Pandit Malaviya in Nasik—In commenting on the visit of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya to Nasik last week, we doubted the authenticity of the report that an attempt was made to assault him by a group of orthodox Hindus who resented his work for the depressed classes. The Nasik correspondent of the *Mahratta* contradicts the report. "The reports of assault on Shree Shankaracharya and insult to Pandit Malaviya are utterly false," he writes. "They were openly contradicted by both the leaders in the open meeting on the very same day. The truth of the matter is as follows: the Reception Committee had sent invitations to various Shastris and Pandits throughout Maharashtra; and Pandit Gandale, of Pandharpur and others had come to Nasik under the impression that Malaviyaji had invited them for personal discussion. On coming to Nasik when they and other Sanatanists at Nasik found that Malaviyaji was not giving any heed to them, and that he was engaged in embracing untouchables, they made a row on one occasion and complained that the meeting with untouchables is preferred to that with Sanatanists. But there was no assault on anybody. Malaviyaji at once accepted their demand for discussion. For two days these discussions continued but unfortunately no agreement could be reached."

The Deeksha—The method adopted by the Pandit to admit the depressed classes to the caste Hindu fold, was carefully devised so as not to infringe traditional beliefs. The study of the Vedas is forbidden to castes other than the twice-born. All religious reformers respected this rule. But they also found that the Shastras themselves had provided other ways by which all classes, men and women alike, could attain salvation equally, if not more effectively, than by the rites prescribed by the Vedas. The great reformer who composed the Bhagavad Gita expressly declared that the path of salvation which he indicated was a surer and easier one than that prescribed by the Vedas. To one who followed his precepts, the Vedas, he said, were as little useful as water to one swimming in a flood. The Pandit following in the line of this tradition administered a simple vow to the depressed classes. The Nasik correspondent of the *Mahratta* describes the scene. He writes: "Deeksha means taking a vow that in the name of God I shall remain pure and shall be one with Him." This is the practical solution Malaviyaji has found out from Shastras for the removal of untouchability. On the 17th Tuesday, he gave the Deeksha to nearly a hundred Harijans, who had come from villages specially for this purpose. Mr. Rajbhoj worked with tireless energy for the Deeksha ceremony. Completely for two hours in the hot sun of March, Malaviyaji stood bareheaded on the bank of the Godavari, managing every item of Deeksha. At the end of Deeksha, when each Harijan asked for his blessings and when his frail hand lovingly touched each of them, tears glided from the eyes

of all that had gathered there. The picture recalls another enacted centuries ago on the banks of the Jordan, the Deeksha on that occasion being not dissimilar, "all flesh shall see the salvation of God."

King George's Memorial—With reference to the appeal for subscriptions towards a Memorial for the late King issued by His Excellency the Governor, we should like to suggest that the idea of combining some utilitarian object with it, should be dropped altogether. It is the duty of the State and Society to provide for their sick, destitute and infirm. To seek to succour these under cover of a Memorial, blurs the sense of public responsibility besides sacrificing the real purpose of the Memorial, which is to create something by which a great and good King would be best remembered. The large Fund raised to commemorate the Jubilee last year, has been absorbed by three or four institutions entirely unconnected with the King or his reign. The memory of the Jubilee is not kept alive by this means. The death of King George evoked public appreciation in this country to such an extent as to surprise outside observers by its depth and sincerity. This feeling should find adequate expression in the contemplated Memorial, undiluted by any other sentiment, however desirable or praiseworthy in itself. A statue of His late Majesty will, of course, be an item. We deprecate bringing any other consideration except that it should be a faithful representation and a worthy work of Art in deciding on its execution. But a statue by itself will only become, as other statues are in Bombay, a perching place for crows and pigeons. The statue should be the central feature of a scheme every part of which is carefully designed so as to bring out one or other of the outstanding events of His Majesty's reign mostly, but not necessarily exclusively, related to India.

Mr. Subhas Bose's case—The public had formed the impression that, in view of the improved political situation and the desirability of ensuring a favourable atmosphere for the new constitution, the Government of India would, as in the case of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, make no difficulty about Mr. Subhas Bose being restored his liberty. Mr. Bose recently paid a visit to the Irish Free State and was on the point of embarking for India when he received an intimation from the British diplomatic representative in Vienna, where he had made his head quarters, that if he landed in India he was liable to be placed in confinement. To a question in the House of Commons why the Government of India had kept him under control for four years without putting him on trial for a definite offence, the Under Secretary of State for India, asked for notice. The India Office will probably press the Government of India either to prosecute Mr. Bose on a definite charge or to restore him his freedom, as the late Lord Morley did in the case of the late Lala Lajpat Rai. Meanwhile the Congress party in the Legislative Assembly carried a



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motion for adjournment to call attention to the action of the Government in holding the threat of detention over Mr. Bose's head should he return to his native land. The position is curious. Mr. Bose is not prevented from coming to India. But he is told that if he returns, he may not retain his liberty. In the debate in the Assembly, Government narrated a long series of incidents purporting to show that Mr. Bose was a member or was associated indirectly with the party of revolutionary violence. If they really thought that the evidence in their possession was reliable, they should surely prosecute Mr. Bose before a judicial tribunal instead of confining him under a century old Regulation. The Law Member of Government, Sir N. N. Sarkar, said that Mr. Bose was confined under the Regulation and not prosecuted under the Criminal Law because Government wished to provide a liberal allowance to his family as a State prisoner! Did Mr. Bose ask for it or was it done out of pure generosity by the Government of India? Government have seldom shown such tender consideration for the families of political prisoners. The Law Member's statement is not consistent with the reasons given by his colleagues of the Home Department in the debate for the detention of Mr. Bose. It is not known whether Mr. Bose proposes to come to India in spite of the warning conveyed to him.

Education in 1933-1934:—The progress of education, as set forth in the Government of India publication 'Education in India 1933-34', has not been as rapid as is necessary to liquidate the huge mass of illiteracy in this country. The author of the report is fully conscious of the fact when he compares the present progress with the state of education 20 years ago. If he had not been so complacent, he would have taken stock of what other countries have achieved in the same But as things are, it is considered a matter for congratulation when less than 5% of our population is receiving instruction. Even this much progress has placed the Government on its guard, for the report says: "The need for caution in the quantitative expansion of mass education has been fully recognised and consolidation and concentration are being attempted in most provinces," with the result that there is a large decrease in the number of institutions in most of the major provinces. With the increase in the number of pupils under instruction, the decrease in the institutions is all the more glaring. The number of institutions, both recognised and unrecognised, in the Bombay Presidency, decreased by 141, whereas the number of pupils registered an increase of 42,209. The increase in the University enrolment has perturbed the Education Department which has devoted some two pages on remarks about the unemployment among the University products, though the report recognises that dealing with this problem does not fall within its scope. Taking the cue, evidently from Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru's Committee on Unemployment in the United Provinces, the

report recommends restriction of the number of those seeking University education by the raising of the standard and by increase in fees. No one will object to the former course if it is adopted in the interests of education and not to keep down the numbers entering universities, without having recourse to the drastic method of increasing the fees which are already much too high. It is wrong to argue that a young man hailing from a family occupied in manual employment should not strive for intellectual attainments. There are ways and means of dealing with the problem of unemployment by the Government, which it has so far neglected, if it sets itself to do so.

Girls and Depressed Class Education:—The report is not without its redeeming features. The increase in the number of institutions and in the rate of progress in most of the provinces in the education of girls, as well as the phenomenal increase in the number of enrolment in the various institutions of the depressed classes, make cheerful reading. Specially noteworthy is the progress made in Muslim girls' education in all stages in the country. If the progress is kept up, Muslim girls bid fair to outstrip their brethren in education. As it is, in the Punjab there has been a decline in the figures of Muslim boy scholars which, we are told, was mainly due to agricultural depression. But the depression has not prevented the rise in the number of Muslim girl scholars in the province for the same period, and the depression could not have affected the boys alone. If anything, the tendency at times of depression would be to withhold girls rather than boys from school. The propaganda carried on for the education of the depressed classes and the facilities afforded them by the Government, have resulted in reducing illiteracy among them to a large extent. In Madras Presidency in which untouchability exists at its worst, it is encouraging to know that roughly 1/3 of the depressed class children were under instruction. Education is a great leveller; the insistence and the increased recognition on the part of the public to admit the depressed class children in ordinary schools will go a long way in the eradication of untouchability. Another noteworthy feature of the report is the absence of prejudice against co-education in the primary stage. In fact, in some places there were larger attendance of girls in co-educational institutions than in those specified for girls.

Marriage Extravagance and the Press:—Lady Nilkant in her letter which we publish to-day makes pointed reference to the part played by the Press in aggravating the evil of extravagant marriage expenditure. We had intended to refer to this ourselves but she has anticipated us. The Indian Press as a whole shows some sense of responsibility in such matters. The Anglo-Indian section is the worst offender. Not only has this section ceased to exercise the wholesome influence it once did in moral and social problems of the day, but it has actually become a serious stumbling-block in the way of healthy progress.



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GERRYMANDERING IN MADRAS.

In noticing the Draft Orders in Council on "Excluded Areas", since adopted by Parliament, we showed that, while the strong protest of the Government of Madras against the inclusion of certain proposed areas in the schedule, prevailed with the Government of India, a similar protest with much greater reason, though in less strident language, by the Bombay Government was dismissed summarily. The same thing has happened in regard to the recommendations of the Hammond Delimitation Committee. That Committee had recommended the creation of multi-member constituencies for Bombay and Madras. The Bombay Government strongly advocated this arrangement and the Hammond Committee accepted it. "We hesitate," they observed, "to submit a recommendation markedly in opposition to the general desires and opinions of an ancient and historic province, more particularly when, in supporting that recommendation, the local Government are in a position to advance cogent arguments based on the peculiar position of the Presidency and on the experience of fifteen years." The Madras Government, however, insisted on having single-member constituencies, except where they were necessitated by the reservation of seats for the scheduled castes. This was the view taken by the majority of the Provincial Delimitation Committee. But a minority of that Committee had dissented and had strongly urged the continuance of multiple constituencies which were created in 1920 when a large proportion of reserved seats was provided in the interests of safeguarding the non-Brahmin community. It was, however, found in practice from the first that the fears of the non-Brahmin community were baseless and that it could—and did—obtain a majority of seats in open competition and that the reservation of seats was entirely superfluous. The Madras Government, dominated by the Justice Party, are now strongly opposed to the safeguard that may be afforded by multi-member constituencies to minorities in the Hindu community and are irrevocably in favour of single member constituencies. The Hammond Committee felt obliged in spite of their strong opposition, to recommend that, in the conditions prevailing in Madras, multi-member constituencies were needed to afford protection to minorities in the Hindu community. "Caste feeling, as is well known" they observed, "has at all times been a marked feature in Madras, and the advocates of multi-member constituencies urge that organised political parties on the British model do not as yet exist in this country, and we cannot now visualise the course of events in regard to their evolution. But at the present time communal strife and communal feeling are so great, not only among the main castes, but also among the sub-castes that they

can not be ignored. This undesirable state of things would be further emphasised by the creation of single-member constituencies...Single member constituencies would perpetuate the domination of the main caste or sub-caste in each electoral area, and the minority opinion will never have a chance of being represented in the Legislature." The Committee also found that an important section of the Legislative Council and an influential section of the Press strongly supported multi-member constituencies. The Committee had a conference with the Madras Government. "They remained of their previous opinion" the Hammond Committee observed, "and we found that a consideration of dominating importance with them was the production of a strong party government, and that they regarded it as of more importance to produce a majority of such a character as to guarantee a stable government, and to avoid changes of government which could not but enure to the disadvantage of the harmonious working of the new constitution in its earlier years, than to produce a scheme which would ensure beyond dispute that every minority, however small, should have some hope of securing representation. The local Government was not satisfied, apart from this, that there was any case for affording special protection to minorities within Hinduism. In their view all that was necessary in the way of protection for minorities was that afforded by those provisions of the Government of India Act which reserved seats for women, for the scheduled castes, for the representatives of the backward areas, for tribes and for labour."

The Hammond Committee were not satisfied that they would be discharging their duty by accepting the views of the local Government. "We are of the opinion" they observed, "that given the intensity, the bitterness and the importance of inter-caste strife in Madras, there is, at any rate, under present conditions, a strong case for taking steps to remove it. We are satisfied apart from this, that, despite the opposition of the Government and of the majority of the Madras Delimitation Committee, the current of public opinion in the Presidency which demands multi-member constituencies is too strong lightly to be ignored. On a consideration of the problem as a whole, and with the fullest appreciation of the objections to rejecting the considered opinion of a local Government on a matter such as this, we have, therefore, decided to recommend the creation of a certain number of multi-member constituencies in Madras in addition to those proposed to us by the local Government and those necessitated by the reservation of seats for the scheduled castes." This considered decision of the Hammond Committee has been upset by His Majesty's Government in the Draft Order on the Report. The Madras Government, states the Explanatory Memorandum accompanying the Draft, very strongly represented that the Committee's plan was unacceptable to them and their objections had the support of the Govern-



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ment of India. "They urge that the arrangements proposed by the Committee will tend to perpetuate and intensify religious and caste antagonisms among numerous castes and sub-castes of the Hindu community which are to be found in that province and by tending to encourage the formation of small groups will be inimical to the development of party government which, during the past fifteen years, has shown a strong tendency to emerge in that province more than in any other...In these circumstances, His Majesty's Government have not seen their way to force upon the Madras Government" multi-member constituencies as recommended by the Hammond Committee. In contrast to this subservience, His Majesty's Government has rejected out of hand a small, almost trivial, request of the Bombay Government to be allowed to allot to Poona a Muslim seat recommended by the Committee to be given to Surat and Rander. The danger of perpetuating and intensifying existing prejudices would be real if the Committee had recommended the creation of caste electorates on the lines of communal electorates which are so lavishly created by the new constitution. The multi-member constituencies by giving a chance to minority castes to return their candidates, would not only minimise asperity but tend actually to promote the habit of collaboration in public affairs and thus to pave the way to mutual understanding and goodwill. It is an extraordinary doctrine of the Madras Government that to allow minorities a means of representation, not through separate water-tight electorates but through plural constituencies, would intensify differences. The scheme adopted on their recommendation is virtually one for suppressing minorities a parallel to which must be sought in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany. But there is every prospect of the Justice Party which, no doubt, hopes to escape the fate which befell it at the last elections to the Legislative Assembly by this gerrymandering of electorates, being hoist with its own petard. During the fifteen years that it has been in office, it has done nothing, absolutely nothing, to promote the grandiose social programme to the achievement of which it professed to seek political power as a means. On the contrary, caste asperities have been fomented and intensified. The significance of Mr. Srinivasa Sastry's advice that all parties should vote for Congress candidates as the only organised party with a national outlook, seems to have been lost on His Majesty's Government.

Darwin Centenary Stamps:—Postage stamps commemorating the centenary of the visit of Charles Darwin to the Galapagos Islands in September, 1835, have been made by a London firm for the Government of Ecuador. These stamps (says the "Christian Science Monitor") will also serve to let the world know that the Enchanted Isles, as they were formerly called, are Ecuadorian property, and to honour the Darwin Memorial Expedition. Stamps of six denominations form the series, and bear a map of the islands.

MARIE STOPES ON MARRIAGE.

We published in last week's *Reformer* a letter from Mrs. Marie Stopes criticising some of Gandhiji's views on the Birth-Control movement with which she is so prominently identified. The reason she wrote to the *Reformer* and not to Gandhiji himself, is that the *Reformer*, she says, gave much space to his objections to "scientific birth control." It is the long-established policy of this journal to give, as far as its limits permit, its readers the material to form their own judgment on a consideration of all sides of questions with which it deals, while expressing its own view of them. Gandhiji is one of the men in India or elsewhere, who has thought about the great issues of human life and not only thought, but tested his conclusions on the touchstone of his own personal experience, and has placed before the public the results as truthfully as is possible to human beings. If he errs on the side of over-emphasis somewhere and under-statement elsewhere, it is plainly not due to conscious intention. It is in the same spirit and from a similar consideration that we published Mrs. Marie Stopes' letter. She is one of the outstanding figures who has stirred the social thought of our time and has earned the right to be heard respectfully when she writes or speaks, whether one agrees or not with her opinions.

It is not our purpose here to defend Gandhiji's opinions against Mrs. Marie Stopes' criticisms. There is no need to do so. What we shall do here is to examine the main propositions laid down by Mrs. Marie Stopes in her letter. A brief reference to the history of the birth control movement on whose behalf she writes, is necessary as a background to the subject. Malthus's essay on Population which started the discussion of which the birth control movement is an off-shoot, recommended self-restraint as a check on the tendency for population to grow faster than the production of food necessary for its sustenance. The neo-Malthusians carried the question one stage further. They thought self-restraint was not enough and applied themselves to invent chemical and mechanical devices which would dispense with the need of self-restraint and at the same time prevent the sexual act from leading to conception. The neo-Malthusians, be it noted, were still, like Malthus, chiefly aiming at the avoidance of over-population. Later, the movement got mixed up with the movement for the rights of women. Husbands were represented as tyrants bent on inflicting motherhood on reluctant wives. Among the rights of women to be fought for, was the right to decide whether and when they should bear children. The obvious answer that a woman who did not wish to have children was free to remain unmarried, did not occur to these champions of women's rights. Men on their part did not care to defend themselves at the expense of their wives against the charge of tyranny. Even today when women have gained all or most of their rights in marriage, 250 British women within a few miles of Mrs. Marie Stopes' headquarters have applied in answer to a call from an anonymous British soldier in Mauritius for a wife to bear him children! (*Reformer* March 21.)

Mrs. Marie Stopes' letter carries the question another stage. She maintains that marriage, unless deprived of its incident of childbirth by the expert use of contraceptives, can not yield the highest happiness to husband or wife. Let us quote her exact words: "The act of coitus is not a mere fertilization of the woman, but as has been proved by physiological science, it is the placing within the woman's body of the active spermatozoa in millions (where only one is required for fertilization) together with the secretions of several glands at which



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have no bearing whatever on fertilization and the production of progeny, but which are absorbed by the woman and benefit her system." When and where did "physiological science" prove that one germ or cell was enough to fertilize and all the other attendant millions benefit the woman's system even if that one is absent or destroyed by a suitable trap or poison? Or that the trap or poison which prevents or kills the one cell does not obstruct or kill the others also? As for the supposed benefits to the woman's system, how is the fact to be explained that mortality of women at the childbearing ages is always greater among wives than among widows? And if the millions of supernumerary cells which are said to benefit the woman's system, do really benefit it, prostitutes should be the most healthy instead of being the most diseased section of the female population. An enquiry some years ago revealed that the average active life of inmates of Bombay brothels, is less than five years.

Mrs. Stopes goes further and makes out that continence is a crime and asceticism a vice. Her idea of morality is, whatever conduces to the fullest sexual enjoyment without fear of children resulting therefrom. She pictures Gandhiji and others of his way of thinking as standing between the Indian people and the millennium which the institution at 108, Whitfield Street, London, is ready and eager to confer upon them. There are one or two observations which strike us in reference to Mrs. Stopes' gospel of sexual beatitude. When there is a mechanical way and a moral way of effecting the same object, a considerable number of people would prefer the mechanical to the moral, and the latter will eventually die of disuse. The introduction of mechanical contraceptives will most certainly weaken the moral restraints which actuate a great number of husbands, *pace* the Stopes's and Sangers, from regarding their wives as women whose only function is to minister to their sexual appetite. While, prevention of childbearing can and should be prevented where childbearing is likely to be harmful to the mother, a propaganda on the lines of Mrs. Marie Stopes' letter can only have the effect of undermining the moral basis of marriage. There is another thing. Christianity by its dogma of Immaculate Conception condemned motherhood through sexual union as unworthy and unclean. The Indian religions, on the other hand, exalt the married state not only for humans—but for gods also. The assumption that husbands compel unwilling wives to bear children is obviously untenable in a land where fatherhood has been sought to be enforced by the terrible 'sanction' of a special hell after death for childless men. Mrs. Margaret Sanger, Mrs. Marie Stopes and others, whose good intentions we readily acknowledge, should understand the Indian background before they seek to help us by their ministrations. They will find that while in some respects they are carrying coals to Newcastle—the sex question was studied in India centuries ago with the express purpose of ensuring marital happiness—that in others the conditions here are totally different from those in Europe.

Mrs. Stopes and her School hold that unhappy marriages are mostly due to what, for want of a better word, may be called sexual misfit, arising from want of knowledge of the right technique. Coitus in the proper way, she says, is far too seldom performed by ignorant human beings. We have unfortunately very few candid accounts of the causes of marital unhappiness by persons who have gone through the bitter experience. But there is one remarkable book which deals with this matter with utter frankness. It is the autobiography of Countess Tolstoy, From the accounts of himself which Tolstoy published

and from self-revelations in his books, notably in the *Kreutzer Sonata*, as also from the reminiscences of the Countess and the number of their children, it is clear that the unhappiness of their married life was not due to defective sexual functioning on either side. The Countess says that their disagreements began as early as twelve months after their marriage and that the cause of it, from her point of view, was that Tolstoy would not take her into the sanctuary of his intellectual and spiritual life. This is the true cause of many disagreements among married couples. Marriage begins, as Westermarck says, where the sexual relation ends. Husband and wife are not always thinking of each other, as the Stopes' School seem to imagine, in terms of sex. They most generally envisage their mutual relationship as derived from their common offspring. This is the case in India.

EDUCATION, A PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY.

(By CYRIL MODAK.)

It is a notorious custom among law students to attend classes by proxy. A friend can usually be persuaded to answer the roll call and another to lend his notes. This custom among students of law is innocent enough to evoke laughter. But it becomes pathetic rather than humorous when we find the habit growing among our educated classes of discharging public responsibility by proxy. Perhaps a representative form of government lends itself to civic tepidity. We have returned our representative to whatever body it be, and hence we are no longer responsible. In fact, even the election of the representative is more his business and the business of his party than ours. If the candidate sends a car to take us we may feel disposed to go to give our votes. But having expended that much of our time and energy for public welfare, we feel we owe it to ourselves to lean back in a comfortable easy chair and think of our own more pressing problems. It is likely also that the joint-family system helps to develop our sense of irresponsibility. During the father's lifetime we hold him responsible and the eldest brother after him for everything save the choice of our own amusements, friends and luxuries. Of course it is the business of the head of the family to supply our financial needs.

But, whether it suits our convenience or not, as citizens we have our individual public responsibilities just as we have domestic obligations as members of a family. Education is such a public responsibility. As parents or members of a family, as civilized beings or members of a social unit, as citizens or members of a national group, it is the solemn obligation of each one of us to further and not to hinder the sacred cause of education. And in recent times educational questions have inspired so much eloquent speaking and scholarly writing that it seems we are approaching the new constitutional reforms with a keener civic-consciousness than we ourselves expected. That is a happy accident. It is as it should be. The constitutional changes to be brought about in a year are designed to be a test of the ability of the whole nation to cope with the problem of education. Whether the India Act has our assent or disapproval, whether it succeeds or fails, the greatness of the Indian nation will depend not so much on political acumen or communal amity as on the enlightened reaction of the public. As individuals how are we going to meet our civic obligations? As individuals how are we going to ensure that the reaction of the public is enlightened? No responsibility is discharged by proxy or in a burst of vituperation. Criticism is frequently necessary. A



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critical appraisal of a system is required if that system is to be improved. The official system of education like a foster-mother has attracted a large measure of criticism. That should not become an end in itself. Criticism must be a prelude to reconstruction. It is the duty of critics to offer a scheme of constructive possibilities. And it is because the quiver has been well-high emptied at the official system of education that it becomes a duty to outline a scheme of supplementary activity. This we propose to do, however deficiently. And in doing so, we shall, perhaps, become unpopular. But there is no alternative. Having had the advantage of looking at this, our country, from across the seven seas what remains imperceptible at close quarters has become evident. You may feel the perspective unfamiliar. There is no intention to cast aspersions at anybody. But the intention is to be honest. We do not wish to press sugar-coated pills of studied flattery against our palates. We are in earnest.

Those whose onerous privilege it is to be Headmasters will recall the somewhat common occurrence of a father or guardian coming to the office to complain that his son or ward has not passed although he has been attending school all the year. Those who have ever ventured to discuss the probable causes of the boy's failure, and dared to suggest lack of parental supervision as one cause, would have been met with an infuriated assertion "I put the boy in a school. What more could I do? The school should do the rest. It is the teacher's fault that my son failed." It was startling to find this attitude once in a college professor. As parents, are we not to some extent responsible for the child's education? Does the home have no contribution to make in educating the growing boy or girl? Of the twenty-four hours of a student's daily life at best seven are spent in the atmosphere of the school. Who is responsible for the atmosphere of the remaining seventeen hours of each day? Sleep takes care of seven hours. There are still ten hours of each day 3, 6 5 0 hours, or 152 days in each year for which the home and society must be held responsible. The vast majority of our schools and colleges being non-residential, are compelled to depend on the co-operation of the home and of society for the continuation and completion of the student's educative process. It would be such a tremendous inspiration for so many schools if we, as parents, were to demand Parent-Teacher Associations to provide a means of intelligent and effective co-operation between ourselves and the school. As parents, do we not want to keep in touch with what our children are doing at school? Do we not desire to know what the school is doing for them? Have we no interest in the ideals, habits, and skills that the school teaches our children? It is only when we have occasional peeps into the ordinary life of our children at school that we can endeavour, during the hours that our children are with us, to supplement the activity of the school. Every school should organise a Parent-Teacher-Association. Every parent and every teacher should religiously attend the meetings and put forth his utmost energy to bring about that community of ideals and that co-ordination of activity which are best calculated to further the full, desirable, and requisite development, mental and physical, of every student. What greater satisfaction, what dearer joy can parents have than the thought that we have had our share in the cultural and practical education of our children, who will think of us when they remember their school and their teachers with affectionate regard?

As members of a social group we are expected to provide an environment for encouraging and directing the student to form such a scheme of values as

society requires for the advancement of its purposes and interests and the preservation of its integrity. It is our business to set our faces against iniquitous social injustices and inequalities, disreputable social abuses, mischievous social customs that claim age as their only right to be. It is our duty to realize that a clear vision and tenacious drive for high ideals cannot be built on a static, inhibitory basis of experience and hence the social environment of the student ought to encourage the process of creative experimentation and the expansion of values. What have we done to save our students from the cramping influences, the stultifying prejudices, the misleading errors of our static social system? Professional life, artistic achievement, social leadership, learning and craftsmanship of any kind, can grow as we identify our growing aims with newly realized standards of achievement. Year after year, decade after decade, generation after generation have we not allowed ourselves to perpetuate the incongruities of the past and positively hinder the education of the younger generation? It is not entirely the fault of the system of education that our educated young men and women give such meagre evidence of dynamic growth and dynamic purpose, of being drawn by an evergrowing outlook and an ever-widening horizon to fearless, dynamic living. It is definitely the fault also of the social system in which our schools and colleges function that we have produced hundreds of thousands of spineless creatures. What can the nation hope to achieve when the vast majority of the population is deprived of the mental and moral stamina that comes with the right sort of education, when the vast majority of the population has acquired the habit of accepting responsibilities with mental reservation? We are loud enough in insisting upon the punctilious observance of social rites, the strict obedience to social taboos, the fastidious adherence to the ways of our forefathers. We groan at the growing incompatibility between the older and the younger generations. But how do we actually try to effect a better adjustment? How do we seriously try to help the student community to steer clear of the traditionalism which like an iceberg causes countless shipwrecks? How do we earnestly try to ensure that the rich and varied complexity of associated living evolves a process of directly shared experience, to the end that the original raw but susceptible endowment of human nature, in the rising generation, be so conditioned as to result in socially desired, socially creative, socially significant behaviour? It is the business of the home, of society, and of the school to correlate their energies so as to make sure that all the imaginative, explorative, self-assertive tendencies of the child are nurtured not dwarfed; that his interests are aroused and directed not killed that all the latent potentialities of the personality are developed not crushed. Only thus shall we too have many more creative thinkers, progressive reformers, and victorious leaders. The strait-jacket that is put on our children at birth is not removed in most instances until the cremating fire loosens its hold. Everything has to be adapted to this strait-jacket mentality. What are we doing to help change the old order of things?

Indian Hockey Team for Germany :-

The members of the Indian hockey team to represent India at the Olympic Games were entertained to tea at the Calcutta German club. Mr. C. R. Rasmuss, in a brief speech, said that the record and standing of Indian hockey was so high that he had no doubt that the present team would return to India with the highest honours. Dhyani Chand was practically a little god in Germany and the Indian team could be assured of a wonderful welcome there.



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THE CAMA HOSPITAL GOLDEN JUBILEE.

Plans are now being formed for the celebration of the Cama Hospital Golden Jubilee which falls due this year.

Under the chairmanship of Lady Beaumont a General Committee has been formed of keen women, enthusiastic at the service of others. This General Committee has been at work for some months organising and planning the raising of a Fund of approximately Rupees five lakhs with which to extend the buildings and improve the equipment of the Hospital, the first of its kind in the presidency to be staffed entirely by women for the relief of women of all classes and creeds.

Various Sub-Committees have also been formed chief of which are the *Appeal Sub-Committee* under the chairmanship of Lady Beaumont, the *Women's day Committee* of which Mrs. D'Monte is in charge, an *Entertainment Sub-Committee* under the guidance of Mrs. Blackwell and a committee under the leadership of Lady Cowasji Jehangir which is arranging for a *public meeting* on April 2nd 1936 at which His Excellency the Governor of Bombay will preside.

During the week of the celebrations from March 26th onwards, various courses for Nurses and Graduate Medical Women will be organized and a dinner in connection with the Women's Medical Association will also be held. On April 5th and 6th, a Fete will be held in the Hospital grounds and on the 8th the entertainment arranged by Mrs. Blackwell will be given in Sir Cowasji Jahangir Hall under the patronage and in the presence of Their Excellencies the Governor and Lady Brabourne.

All those desirous of helping this excellent cause should communicate with the Honorary Secretary, Cama Hospital Jubilee Fund Committee, Cama Hospital, or with the Honorary Treasurer, Miss. R. H. Coyaji, 13 Hughes Road, Bombay.

MARRIAGE LEGISLATION IN INDIA. *

(MR. S. S. PATKAR.)

It would be appropriate on this occasion to trace the history of the legislation relating to the marriage reform up to the present times, and to indicate the lines on which it has proceeded in the past, and the directions in which it is desirable that it should proceed in future. Sir Henry Maine drafted a bill in 1868 which was a Civil Marriage Bill for all Indians except Christians, as Lord Lawrence who was a great admirer of Mr. Keshab Chandra Sen pledged his word to give adequate relief to Brahmos who found that the Hindu religious observances at the time of marriage were opposed to their altered religious views and progressive ideas. The bill of 1868 was circulated for opinion but was unanimously condemned, and it was considered that the Bill should be confined to members of the Brahmo Samaj. Sir James Stephens recast the bill, and it was called the Brahmo Marriage Bill. The new bill also met with opposition from a party of the Brahmos called the Adi Samaj. A third bill was introduced by Sir James Stephens and was passed by the Legislature as Act III of 1872. The object of the Act was to provide a form of marriage for persons who did not profess any one of the eight religions in India *vis*, Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Mahomedan, Parsi, Buddhist, Sikh or Jain religion and to legalise certain marriages, the validity of which was doubtful. The principal features of the Special Marriage Act III of 1872 were (1) the insistence on the principle of monogamy, (2) the requisition of the consent of the father or guardian in the event of either party not having

completed the age of 21 years, (3) the necessity of the parties not being related to each other in any degree of consanguinity or affinity which would render the marriage illegal, (4) registration in substitution or addition to any religious observances at the time of marriage, (5) a declaration by the parties to the marriage of formal renunciation of any of the eight religions prevalent in India, and (6) the application of the Indian Divorce Act to the marriages contracted under the Act. The insistence of the declarations amounting to the formal apostasy required by the Special Marriage Act III of 1872 was an undesirable feature in as much as many of the persons contracting marriage under Act III of 1872 lived as followers of the religions to which they belonged in spite of their formal renunciation.

In order to obviate the necessity of making such a declaration of formal renunciation of religion by a party to the marriage which was against his conscience and opposed to his conviction, Mr. Basu's Bill to amend the Special Marriage Act was brought on the legislative anvil in the year 1911/12. The Presidency Social Reform Association carried on a vigorous propaganda in favour of Mr. Basu's Bill which aimed at facilitating inter-marriage between different sub-sections of the same caste and also between members of different castes. It was urged on the other side that there were very few persons who were deterred from resorting to the form of Civil Marriage sanctioned by Act III of 1872 owing to scruples of conscience in connection with the requisite declaration described as a "negation of faith in all the religious system of India," and that legislation should not be undertaken unless absolutely necessary, or unless there was a demand for it on the part of a considerable portion of the public, or unless it was necessary to put down crime or any cruel practices sanctioned by custom. Mr. Basu's bill was eventually thrown out.

Mr. V. J. Patel introduced his bill "Hindu Marriages Validity Bill" in the year 1918. The mover of the bill relied in favour of the bill on the following circumstances, (1) that the bill was permissive and only sought to remedy a wrong, (2) that it obviated the necessity of the declaration required by the Special Marriage Act III of 1872 and (3) that the interpretation of the law was not correct and caused hardship to individuals and retarded the progress of the country. The bill was intended to validate not only marriages between parties belonging to different sub-divisions of the same caste even though they were opposed to long established usage, but also between persons belonging to different castes of Hindus including Pratiloma marriage. Mr. Patel's bill met with a fate similar to that of Mr. Basu's bill.

In 1923 Dr. Gour introduced his "Civil Marriage Amendment Bill" which was piloted in the face of considerable opposition and an attempt was made to meet all reasonable objections. It was claimed that the bill was in accordance with the sentiments of the orthodox Hindu community, and at the same time asserted the liberty of the conscience of the individual. The bill was referred to a Select Committee who recommended that the Christian, Mahomedan, Jewish and Parsi communities should be excluded from the scope of the Bill, and that the rights of the Brahmos to whom the Act applied since 1872 should not be interfered with, that the bill should be permissive and the marriage should be strictly monogamous as provided by Act III of 1872, that the effect of the marriage should bring about separation of the party marrying from the joint family, that the provisions of the Indian Succession Act should apply to the succession of the

*Speech delivered at a public meeting on the anniversary of the passing of the Special Marriage Act, 1872.



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property of the person marrying under the bill and of the issue of such marriage, and that the parties to such marriages should have no rights of adoption. The principal feature of the bill was not only to preserve the declaration of renunciation of any of the eight religions for those who wished to make such a declaration, but also to permit a declaration that either party professed one of the four religions *viz.* the Hindu, Buddhist, Sikh or Jain religions. The bill was passed. The other provisions of Act III of 1872 were operative and sections 22 to 26 were added to the old Act giving effect to the recommendations of the Select Committee *viz.* (1) that the marriage effected a severance from the joint family, (2) the person belonging to one of the above-mentioned four religions and marrying under the Act should have the same rights and be subject to the same disabilities in regard to succession to any property as person to whom the Caste Disabilities Removal Act 1850 applied, except the right to any religious office or service or management of any religious or charitable trust, (3) that the succession to the property of such person and to the property of the issue of such marriage shall be regulated by the provisions of the Indian Succession Act, (4) that such a person shall have no right of adoption, and (5) that the father of such a person, if he has no other son living, shall have the right to adopt a son. It is anomalous that the succession to the property of a person making a declaration that he professes the Hindu religion and marrying under the provisions of the Act is governed by the Indian Succession Act, whereas the succession to the property of the person making a declaration of formal renunciation of the Hindu religion is governed by Hindu Law.

In 1935 a bill has been introduced by Mr. Bhagvandas which is on the same lines as Mr. Patel's bill and which aims at securing validity of marriages between different castes of the Hindus and seeks to provide that no marriage among Hindus shall be invalid by reason that the parties thereto do not belong to the same caste, notwithstanding any custom or interpretation of Hindu law to the contrary. The bill does away with the necessity of registration and preserves the performance of the Hindu religious observances at the time of the marriage so as to invest it with the sacramental character. According to the interpretation of Hindu law in the Bombay Presidency an Annuloma marriage *i. e.* a marriage of a man belonging to a higher Varna or caste with a woman belonging to the lower Varna is valid but a Pratiloma marriage *i. e.* a marriage of a man belonging to a lower Varna or caste with a woman belonging to a higher Varna is invalid. The bill validates marriages between different castes of Hindus including Pratiloma and Annuloma marriages. It is however necessary that there should be a provision enforcing strict monogamy. It is a matter of common knowledge that even educated men contract second marriages even though they have previously married wives and issues of such marriages. In order to avoid the provisions of the Special Marriage Act III of 1872, they seek change of religion, and become Sikhs and marry under the Anand form of marriage under Act VII of 1909. It is regrettable that a change of religion is resorted to or advocated as a matter of convenience, or to secure a temporal advantage. The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association attaches the highest importance to monogamy as the basis of a stable family and social life, and has approached the Government of India for an amendment of the Anand Marriage Act VII of 1909 so as to make it applicable to those who are born Sikhs and are inherently entitled by virtue of

their birth and up-bringing to observe the custom of marriage by Anand form, and in case of converts only to those who have no husband or wife living by a subsisting marriage.

One of the cogent reasons for celebrating the anniversary of the Special Marriage Act III of 1872 is its insistence on monogamy. It lays down as one of the essential conditions that neither party must at the time of marriage have a husband or wife living. Another reason is the recognition of the rights of women by the provision made for divorce and the application of the Indian Divorce Act. The rights of succession of the widow and the issue of the marriages under the Act including the daughters are secured by the application of the Indian Succession Act. The Act secures the liberty of the conscience of the individual and free and unrestricted choice of partners in life. The undesirable feature of the necessity of a formal renunciation of any of the eight religions in India is done away with, and an option of a declaration of professing any one of the four religions referred to above is provided by the Gour's Act of 1923.

I would suggest that Mr. Bhagvandas should give due effect to the remarks quoted above, insist on monogamy and provide for the rights of succession of the widow and issue of the marriage including the daughters.

PHILIPPINE FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS.

DR. WALTER BROOKS FOLEY.

For several years the writer has been interested in a world movement called the "World Fellowship of Faiths" which has been mentioned in the pages of the *Reformer* on numerous occasions. He was privileged to speak several times in New York at meetings of the Fellowship. The last occasion was at the farewell given for Sir Francis Young-husband on the s.s. *Aquitania* on the night that Sir Francis sailed for England after a trip through the United States in preparation for the second World Conference of the Fellowship which is to be held next July in London and Oxford.

Recently the writer came to the Philippine Islands and found here two other members of the Fellowship from the United States. We were able to form a small organising committee and have succeeded in interesting a number of residents of Manila in the idea.

On March 3rd the first public meeting of the Fellowship in the Philippines was held with fifty present and was addressed by the American High Commissioner, the Honorable Frank Murphy, who is a member of the National Committee of World Fellowship in the United States.

When Mr. Murphy was Mayor of the city of Detroit, he spoke at a very large gathering of the Fellowship in that city and was very deeply interested in the movement. In the Manila meeting he expressed himself as being exceedingly anxious to promote the movement here and called upon all those present to do everything in their power to forward the aims of the organization.

In addressing the group, Mr. Murphy spoke particularly of the underlying and abiding relationship between Jews, Roman Catholics, and Protestants, saying that the Catholics and Protestants had a common background in the Jewish faith, that Protestants quite frequently did not realize how much they were missing when they did not look back at the 15 centuries when the Christian faith was promoted by the Catholic Church, and that the Protestants had contributed a skeptical attitude



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towards spiritual values unless those values were based on practical experience.

His appeal was for a recognition on the part of each group to recognise the benefits derived from other groups instead of constantly discussing and emphasising differences.

It seems to the writer that one of the outstanding challenges today to men of all faiths, creeds, colors, and religions, is to have a very clear understanding of the values in human development in all sections of the world coupled with a ready acceptance of the truth gained through experience everywhere.

We need a united check upon the forces of aggressive evil that are abroad in order to make it possible for moral and ethical principles to live and for the higher human values to be advanced.

The recent trends in India, represented to some degree by the statements of Mr. Ambedkar, will indicate that human values must in the future be placed above any historical, social system even though such a system has accomplished beneficial results in the past.

The resentment on the part of the rural sections in Japan against the militarist regime in that country is largely based on the lack of opportunity of millions of Japanese to find their way into a larger expression of the personalities of the people involved.

Any support that any of us can lend to movements such as the World Fellowship of Faiths will serve to off-set in some degree at least, the forces that are tending to tear down and destroy the human structure that we call "civilization."

PORTUGUESE AND MALABAR CHRISTIANS

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In his interesting article published in the *Reformer* dated the 14th instant, the writer says: "In the 16th century Portuguese *adventurers* came with their guns and strategy to the West Coast of India to acquire wealth and promote the domains of the Church of Rome. Their methods met with success in the case of the *helpless Syrian Christians of Malabar* and so it is we find today a majority of them in obedience to the Pope of Rome." Italics mine.

It is ungracious to designate the Portuguese missionaries, many of them Jesuit Fathers, as "adventurers." Their admiration for and desire to help the Syrian Christians of Malabar animated all their activities. In his letter dated the 14th January 1936, St. Francis Xavier wrote to St. Ignatius Loyola as follows: "There is a town called Cranganore where Fra Vincenzo, a true friend of our Society, has founded a really fine seminary where quite as many as a hundred native students are maintained and are formed in piety and learning. Fra Vincenzo has asked me again and again to provide a priest of the Society who may teach grammar to the students. There are a great many Christians living in sixty villages in the neighbourhood, descended from those whom St. Thomas made Christians. The students of this seminary are of the highest nobility." P. 15 "Christianity in Travancore", by G.T. Mackenzie, British Resident.

The Europeans usually consider as worthless or evil those Indian usages which are beyond their understanding, and the early Jesuit Fathers were no exception to this. They believed erroneously that St. Thomas Christians were steeped in Nestorian heresy and, in urging "reforms", they had recourse to the resources of their secular government; but

they were imbued with the purest motives in all their doings on the Malabar Coast. Their help and guidance have brought the greatest blessings upon the Romo-Syrians who are the richest, the most progressive and the best disciplined Christian community in India.

The printing press the Portuguese Jesuit Fathers set up at Vaipicotta in 1577, was the first in South India, if not in the whole of India. Even the most scholarly Syrian Christian has not so far written a book in Malayalam comparable in style and substance to the several acceptable books written in that language for the benefit of the ancient Christians by the European Fathers, at immense personal sacrifice to themselves.

The fact that the Syrian Christians successfully resisted at the Synod of Diamper on the 20th June 1599, attempts by the Portuguese to abandon their Syrian Liturgy in favour of Latin; that they still retain and use the Eastern picturesque Liturgy in their churches and that they have their own Bishops and clergy, shows that they were not a "helpless" people. Their submission to Rome involved no change of their faith. Until the Catholic Church made her abject surrender to Mussolini, she has been the most orderly and the best organised institution in the world. In recognising this, the Syrian Christians were no more "helpless" than the great English Cardinals, Newman, Wiseman and Manning who followed their example two hundred and fifty years afterwards.

Sylvan, Coonoor. }
19th March 1936. }

Yours, etc.,
M. G. JOSEPH.

MARRIAGE EXTRAVAGANCE.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

In your issue of 21st March 1936 you have indeed given a good warning to those who incur great expenses at marriage festivities. It is really the rich, as you suggest, who should lead others in having simple weddings so that others might follow without being criticised. The rivalry and competitions in making demonstrations of one's wealth seem hideous in other people's eyes. But unfortunately great publicity is given by papers to these by gorgeous and picturesque descriptions of such occasions. For instance, the presents given by the brides' party to the bridegrooms or *vice versa* carried by large parties along in such a way that all passersby might view them and with big tom-toms so that people inside the houses might come out and see, are nothing but a parade of one's financial superiority. Under the circumstances, rich people vie with one another in making great shows, big dinner parties, expensive lights and so forth. The poor and middle class through foolish vainglory try to imitate these, and parents of large families use their life's earnings at times like these and in many cases incur debts. Marriage in a family may no doubt be a festive occasion but there are limits to exhibitions of wealth. In a poor country like ours those who have superfluous wealth can spend it in a thousand good causes rather than a few days tamasha. But the truth of the matter is that on such occasions overjoy unbalances the minds of most people and a mentality is created where vanity takes the place of sanity.

VIDYAGURI RAMANBHAI NILKANTH.

Ahmedabad,
23rd March 1936. }

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KING GEORGE V MEMORIAL FUND.

A public Meeting of the citizens of Bombay was called by the Sheriff on Tuesday, February the 11th, 1936, for the purpose of expressing their deep sense of grief at the death of His Majesty King George V, Emperor of India. It was resolved, at that meeting, that a Fund should be started to commemorate, in a fitting manner, the beloved memory of His late Majesty.

The poignant grief that was manifest all over India made it abundantly clear that His Majesty's death has left a void in the hearts of the Public. The deep impression made by His Majesty, during his two visits to this country, by his earnestness to take all possible measures for the welfare of his Indian subjects, and the interest he continued to show in their well-being throughout his reign of over 25 years have, I am convinced, left an indelible mark on the minds of the citizens of Bombay, and I feel confident that they will be second to none in giving a tangible expression to their sentiment by raising a fitting Memorial to the memory of their late King-Emperor.

A Committee of the citizens of Bombay has been appointed to collect Funds for an object which was dear to the heart of His Majesty and which will benefit the public of Bombay in a direction where the need is the greatest.

While fully realising the numerous calls that have been made, in recent times, on the public-spirited citizens of Bombay, I am now appealing to you for funds for a Public Memorial to our late beloved King-Emperor. A small part of these funds will be used to erect a Statue of His late Majesty on a suitable site, and the bulk of them will be used for the benefit of the sick and suffering of Bombay City. The scheme under consideration at present is for the erection, equipment and endowment of an Infirmary to take chronic patients who are now occupying beds in the City hospitals. Should this scheme not prove to be practicable, the amount available, together with the balances remaining in the Silver Jubilee Fund, will be used to benefit the hospitals in such ways as to render them more efficient to carry out their great task. It is not the intention of the Committee to erect any new buildings unless they are in a position to endow them fully for the future.

I am confident that the public of Bombay will respond to my appeal with their usual generosity.

23rd March 1936.

BRABOURNE,
Governor of Bombay.

INDUS CIVILIZATION.

'The so-called Indus civilisation, which was the civilization of the whole of pre-Aryan India, is the most ancient civilization of Asia, the originator of the Sumerian civilization which afterwards developed into Babylonian and Assyrian, and the cause of the civilization of China that afterwards spread to Corea and Japan.' This was one of the conclusions arrived at by the Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Professor of Indian history and archaeology, St. Xavier's College, Bombay at a lecture on the Mohenjo-Daro script given before the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on Wednesday, March 18. Fr. Heras first surveyed the work done by other scholars in connection with the script of Mohenjo-Daro, who seemed at times to have been influenced by pre-conceived ideas due to the spread of Aryan civilization in India and its amalgamation with pre-Aryan culture. Perhaps on account of this script of Mohenjo Daro has not been deciphered. The civilisation of Mohenjo-Daro is evidently pre-Aryan. This has been so

successfully proved after the study of the remains of those ancient sites that if any day scholars were forced to put the Aryan invasion earlier than the date assigned to these cities, even then we would be compelled to declare that the Mohenjo-Daro civilization if not pre-Aryan is evidently non-Aryan. After explaining the modern theories about the origin of the so-called Dravidian people, the lecturer gave an account of his comparative studies of the Mohenjo-Daro script with other sixteen ancient scripts including Iberian, Etruscan, Minoan, Egyptian, Sumerian, Proto-Chinese, South and North Indian Brahmi, Easter Island, Pre-historic marks of Southern India and marks on the Purana coins. After this he studied the inscriptions themselves drawing the following conclusion.

The inscriptions are on steatite seals, on small copper plaques and on a few broken pieces of pottery. The majority of the seals and plaques bear besides the inscription the figure of animals sculptured with great skill. Several sorts of animals are represented on these seals—the Unicorn, the Buffalo, the Bull, the Alligator, the he-goat, the Elephant, etc.—They are the totemic signs of the ancient Indian tribes whose names are still recorded in ancient Sanskrit literature, as the Mahishih, the Nagas, the Garudas, the Vanars, the Matsyas, etc. Other seals have different figures, probably of a religious meaning.

Religious inscriptions are not as many as some of the previous scholars who tried to decipher them once supposed. Yet when the whole bulk of inscriptions will be deciphered, they must probably will give a fairly good survey of the pre-Aryan religious thought. According to those inscriptions hitherto deciphered, one sees that the worship of trees was very common. There is, moreover, a deity whose eyes are called 'fish eyes', just the pre-Aryan denomination of 'Minakshi', the title given to Parvati in Madura. Yet, one of the seals bearing this denomination seems to refer it to Siva, for three eyes are mentioned in it.

The inscriptions referring to social life disclose that there existed arable lands belonging to the city, i. e., to the community of citizens, a custom which prevailed in many parts in ancient India and which is still now subsisting in Portuguese territory of Goa. Finally, the castes or ancient tribes of the Paravas and of the Maravas who exist to the present day in Southern India, and others, are also referred to in some of these inscriptions.

The south of India is twice mentioned in the geographical inscriptions. One of these historical inscriptions record that two canals were constructed in the month of *hulam* (Aquarius) and *mina* (Pisces) in the woodpecker country. Another informs us of the building of another canal which apparently was much larger than the others, for 13 months were spent in its construction. It is, indeed, interesting to realize that irrigation was much developed by those ancient people. Another seal mentions the seven countries or kingdoms, a phrase which latter on passed to Sanskrit literature.

By far the most interesting seals are those that supply astronomical data of great importance, practically always in connection with the signs of the Zodiac. The pre-Aryan people of India reckoned the time by the solar months. Hitherto it was always said that the Zodiac was invented by the Chaldeans. But the so-called Dravidian people of India had already recorded their astronomical observations based on the Zodiac on these seals thousands of years before the Chaldeans had learnt the Zodiac from them. One of the inscriptions mentions the fact that the Zodiacal sign of Aries (the Ram) goes faster than the others. This could only happen when



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this constellation was in or very near, the winter solstice. At present this constellation corresponds to April and May, but owing to the movement of precession of the ecliptic, Aries was in, or very near, the winter solstice about 6,502 B. C. In any case it must be said that as we begin the solar year in the spring equinox, these people commenced it in the winter solstice. Several seals confirm the same calculation. There are also some inscriptions referring to lunar observations.

The most difficult problem in connection with the decipherment of these seals is the language. There is no written record of the language spoken in India during that early age. This language must be different from all the Dravidian languages spoken now-a-days, but it must also be related to all of them. That language should be called proto-Dravidian language.

The Sumerian tradition points to the south as the place from where their civilization came. Buddhist tradition recorded in the *Jatakas* shows the Indian arriving at Mesopotamia for the first time; and the seals with inscriptions similar to those of Mohenjo-Daro, discovered in Ur, Kish, Susa and other ancient cities of those countries confirm the truthfulness of those traditions. The Indian script of Mohenjo-Daro is the parent of the Sumerian script and, therefore, of the cuneiform script that succeeded the Sumerian. With this script the so-called Dravidian civilization was propagated through Sumer, Babylon and Assyria, as the Zodiac proves.

In a similar way according to Chinese tradition, kept in the earliest historical chronicles of the nation, people who came from India across the mountains spread many inventions throughout China during the 3rd millennium B. C. one of these inventions was the script. In the proto-Chinese inscriptions of the Shang Dynasty we come across many signs which are very similar, if not equal, to the signs of the Mohenjo-Daro seals.

PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU.

(By MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA, BAR-AT-LAW.)

Jawaharlal—who was born at Allahabad, in November, 1889—is the only son of his distinguished father, the late Pandit Motilal Nehru. Young Jawaharlal was given the best education his father could give. When, forty years back, I first met him in November, 1896, in his father's house at Allahabad he was only seven. It is something to have had the privilege of having been introduced at that age to one who was to be a twice-elected President of the Congress. At that time his father was anxious more for the health of young Jawaharlal than for his intellectual development; and so in 1897, he took him with the rest of his family to Kashmir. I was one of the members of that personally-conducted tour by Pandit Motilal, and have vivid recollections of Jawaharlal's antics in Kashmir.

In 1905—at the age of fifteen—Jawaharlal left India for education in England, and took his admittance into the famous public school at Harrow, from which he went later to the Trinity College at Cambridge. He also joined in London, the Inns of Court, and was called to the Bar, by the Hon'ble Society of the Inner Temple, in 1912. He returned to India in the same year after taking second class honours in Natural Science, at Cambridge. Later, the degree of Master of Arts was conferred on him by his University. It is to be noted with gratification that in spite of work in other and wholly different spheres, he has not lost touch with his first love—science—as is evidenced by the publication, in 1929, of his *Letters from a Father to his Daughter*, which is an excellent, illus-

trated outline, in remarkably simple English, for children. It is not only interesting but instructive, and merits a wide circulation amongst those for whom it is intended.

During his stay in England, Jawaharlal took great interest in Indian affairs. He was deeply stirred, in 1907, on receiving the news of the deportation of Lajpat Rai, and was greatly interested in the then new upheaval in Indian politics due to the activities of "Bal, Pal and Lal"—as Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Bipin Chandra Pal and Lajpat Rai were, in common parlance, called in those days. These three eminent Indian leaders, and Mrs. Besant, were to him then the outstanding personalities in the Indian political world, and their views influenced him substantially. But though his youthful views were affected largely by them, he had not evidently then any settled political convictions. From 1913 to 1920 he practised in the Allahabad High Court, but evidently his heart was not in the work and he does not seem to have striven after, or aspired to professional success. He formally renounced practice on the inauguration of the non-co-operation movement in September, 1920, and is not likely to resume it. So his professional career may be taken to have ended at that time. Shortly after his return to India, Jawaharlal attended (as but a 'visitor') the session of the Congress held at Patna, in 1912. But even while practicing, Jawaharlal was deeply interested in public activities. In 1914 when Gokhale issued an appeal for funds, for public purposes, Jawaharlal collected about Rs. 40,000. In 1917, he took a prominent part in Mrs. Besant's Home Rule agitation of that year, and was appointed Secretary of the Home Rule League. In 1919 when his father started at Allahabad an English daily (called the *Independent*), Jawaharlal was one of the directors of the concern, and also one of the principal literary contributors to that paper. If it died after only a short life, its death must be attributed to others than Jawaharlal. In the same year he went to the Punjab, immediately after the martial law period, and took part in the Congress enquiry there. Later, in that year, he took a prominent part in the agrarian agitation in Oudh, which resulted, it is believed, in a substantial change in the tenancy law in favour of the tenantry. In 1920, he was externed by Government from Mussoorie on his refusal to give any undertaking that he would not meet the Afghan delegates, who had come there for the Peace Conference. His refusal was on 'principle' and was withdrawn after a few days.

Since the inauguration of non-co-operation in September, 1920, (at the special session of the Congress held in Calcutta, under the presidentship of Lajpat Rai) Jawaharlal has been, of course, very prominently connected with that movement, and in December, 1921, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Released after three months, he was re-arrested after some weeks, and was, on a second conviction, sentenced to a term of one year and nine months. Discharged after nine months he was again arrested in the latter half of 1923, in the Nabha State (where he had gone to see to the treatment accorded to the Akali Sikhs) and was sentenced, for disobedience of order to leave the State, to six months, and also to two years for an alleged conspiracy. Both the sentences were apparently indefinitely suspended, and he was discharged almost immediately. Later, in 1934, he was convicted (by the Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta) for sedition and sentenced to imprisonment for two years, but was released last year before the expiry of the term, owing to the illness of his late lamented wife, Srimati Kamla Nehru who was then in Europe.

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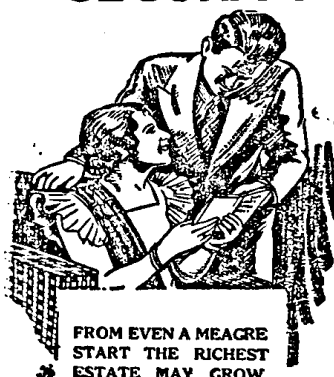
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Since 1923 when he was elected General Secretary of the Congress, Jawaharlal has been intimately associated with that political organization the fortunes of which he directed, for the first time, as its President, in 1929. In the course of his strenuous public activities, he spent the greater part of 1926-27 in Europe, where he brought to the fore, on platform and in the press of the several countries, the problem of India's economic and political freedom. He was at Moscow in November, 1927, on the occasion of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Republic. In 1928 he issued an informative book on some aspects of Soviet Russia, and presented in it an interesting account of the then political and economic conditions in that Bolshevik State. Evidently influenced by his travels in Russia, he went to the Madras session of the Congress, in 1928, and brought up there his resolution urging India's claim to 'Independence', but failed to get it adopted.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Two New Provinces:—On the 1st April two new Provinces have been called into existence under the Government of India Act. Orissa was divided among three larger provinces and there was good ground for the complaint that the interests, material and cultural, of the people, suffered thereby. The constitution of Orissa into a province by itself, is, therefore, justifiable on sound administrative principles. The separation of Sind from Bombay is on a different footing. It is undeniable that, during the eighty years of her connection with Bombay, Sind has made notable strides in all directions. There are Sindhis who profess to think that their province has suffered from being dominated by Bombay, but they do not seriously mean it. The fact remains that every year Bombay had to subsidise Sind to the extent of two crores of rupees. The separation of Sind, were she able to support herself, would have been a matter for congratulation. Bombay may feel that she has helped Sind to set up house for herself. But this is not the case. Sind passes from the kindly guardianship of Bombay to the casual charity of the Government of India shortly to be transformed into a ramshackle Federation. The Governor of Bombay, with a finer sensibility than his Finance Minister, has issued a graceful farewell message on the eve of the separation. Recent researches are bringing to light the ancient greatness of Sind which archaeologists are beginning to regard as the cradle of civilisation. For both the new provinces, we wish a prosperous and happy future.

India and the League of Nations:—Mr. A. Felt Director of the Information Bureau of the League of Nations who is now travelling in India, has in more than one place admonished Indians that they are happy in not having to concern themselves with international politics and that they would best devote attention to the

social side of the activities of the League. He repeated this in Madras. It is incorrect to say that because we have no voice in international affairs, we have no concern in them. This is really our misfortune. If war breaks out tomorrow between France and Germany, Indian troops will be the first to be called out, as in the last war, to protect Paris in fulfilment of the obligations of Great Britain to France. India bore the full brunt of the last war as much as any other country except France and Belgium, without having the satisfaction, such as it is, of having in the least degree contributed to the outbreak by any deliberate or impulsive act of hers. Mr. Felt is right in so far that Indians are not called upon to deliberate whether they will or not take part in a quarrel. All the same when the fight is on they have to bear their share and more than their share of it.

New Orientation of Christian Missions:—We publish today the prospectus of "A Movement for World Christianity". It is the direct outcome of the Laymen's Committee's famous Report, "Rethinking Missions". The Movement is based on a conception of Missions which faithfully represents Jesus and his Gospel; which recognising every aspect of human need, lays a demand upon the Church to meet these needs in the light of new world conditions and changing forms of thought; and which makes for increased co-operation among religious and social groups, free from ecclesiastical and doctrinal divisiveness and from all sense of national and racial superiority. Christianity, since the Reformation, has gradually surrendered extensive spheres to secular control until it has shrunk to a formal creed divorced from practically the whole of an individual's and a nation's life. The new Movement seeks to retrieve the position so lost. It recognises the responsibility of the Church for Christianizing the whole range of influences—economic, cultural as well as religious—both within Christendom and in the impact of those influences upon non-Christian peoples. The Movement postulates a new attitude to non-Christian peoples; one of appreciation instead of one of denunciation as has been too often the case. On one point of great interest and importance, we have not been able to find any definite indication of the Movement's view in the papers sent to us. What is the attitude of the Movement to proselytisation? It follows



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from the leading principles of the Movement that it can not be the same as at present. We should much wish to know what else it is.

For Record :—In the *Reformer* of January 25, in an editorial note on "Women Under Fascism" we called attention to the allegation of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst in the *Hibbert Journal* that the Catholic Church may, and actually does, authorise a religious marriage, carrying no civil rights, between persons one or the other of whom is already married to some one else. As no contradiction was forthcoming in the two leading Indian Catholic journals which are among our exchanges, we again called attention to the statement in the *Reformer* of March 14 in the course of an editorial on the attitude of the Catholic Church to Ethiopia. Both the Catholic journals comment on the editorial. The *Catholic Leader* writes at some length but avoids referring to Miss Pankhurst's statement. The *Catholic Examiner* is more intrepid. It observes : "Catholics hold that divorce is not merely wrong but is strictly speaking impossible, i. e., that where there is a valid marriage no human power can possibly break it. Consequently "civil divorce" and power to "remarry" during the lifetime of the true partner in reality only mean that the State will not prosecute these people if they choose to live in public concubinage. That, of course, is not the legal view, but it is God's view—it is the truth. Hence the absurdity of saying with Miss Pankhurst and the *Indian Social Reformer* that 'the Church in Italy may, and actually does, authorize a religious marriage...between persons, one or other of whom is already married to some one else.' The Church could not possibly do anything of the kind. But what is true is that not every union which the State calls "marriage" is either recognized by the Church, or is in fact a true marriage." If we understand the *Examiner* aright, it virtually says that the Church regards civil marriage as no better than legalised concubinage and, therefore, allows a person living in such concubinage to receive its sacrament of marriage, regarding that state as no impediment. And, be it noted that it is not only man but also woman who is allowed this latitude. From the secular point of view it would seem that not only polygamy but also polyandry may find sanction under this conflict of civil and religious marriages. Does the *Examiner's* argument apply only to Catholics in Italy?

Concert of Muslim States :—It was recently announced that treaties of alliance have been entered into between Turkey, Iraq, Iran, and Afghanistan. Egypt and Saudi Arabia are the two large Muslim States which remain out of this concert. Turkey naturally takes the lead and the political alliance is a symbol of the great influence which the example of Turkey is having on the social and religious life of Western Asia. An incident which excited comment in this country is the closing of the Persian frontier to Muslim pilgrims from

India during Mohurram. A Press note issued last week states that information is available from Meshed that the Iran Government have now admitted that they refused visas to Indian Muslims proceeding to Meshed in connection with Mohurram. The actual number of pilgrims thus held up on the Persian border is not known. Two possible explanations are given. "Firstly, that there is a certain amount of fanaticism at present in Iran and it will be inadvisable to allow Muslims to go there lest they should be subjected to inconvenience. The second reason is connected with the nation-wide attempt, following Turkey, to unveil the women of Iran, and therefore, the fear of introducing unnecessary complications by allowing Muslims from India." The obvious inference from this statement is that the movement to abolish the purdah in Persia is encountering opposition from the priestly classes who are dominant in Kerbela and other important pilgrim centres in Iran; and that it is considered undesirable by the Government of Iran to admit foreigners who may complicate the situation by taking sides in a pre-eminently social controversy. The offerings of the pilgrims will add to the resources of the priestly opposition. Evidently, too, Indian Muslims are not regarded in Iran as a progressive element in social matters.

Mr. Subhas Bose :—It was stated in a Reuter's message on Tuesday that Mr. Subhas Bose had left Vienna to catch an Italian boat which is due to arrive at Colombo on the 10th April. The Conte Verde does not apparently stop at Aden where Mr. Bose would come under British jurisdiction. When he went to the Irish Free State some time back, a question was asked in the House of Commons as to the eligibility of one who was not permitted to land in England to visit the Free State. The answer was that it was a matter within the sole competence of the Government of that Dominion. Ceylon is not a Dominion. The intimation given to Mr. Bose by the British representative at Vienna, however, was that he should not expect to enjoy his freedom if he landed in India. He will, therefore, be allowed to come to India. Whatever action the Government of India contemplate will be initiated when he sets foot on his native soil. Meanwhile an interesting situation has arisen as the result of the discussion in the Legislative Assembly where a motion of adjournment was carried to call attention to the published intention of Government to make him a State prisoner under the old Bengal Regulation if he came back to India. The speeches made from the Government bench in justification of the decision, contained allegations against Mr. Bose of a serious character which have not been subjected to judicial scrutiny. According to the recent ruling of the President of the Legislative Assembly, speeches made in the Assembly are privileged only in the Assembly and newspapers publishing them are liable to be called to account under the ordinary law. The speeches of Government members about



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Mr. Bose were widely published in the newspapers. It will, we think, be open to Mr. Bose to take action against any of the papers and they will have to withdraw and apologise, if Government do not make available for their defence the evidence on which the Home Member and the Law Member based their allegations against Mr. Bose. The President's ruling may be right or wrong but, so long as it stands, Mr. Subhas Bose is as much entitled to take action under it as Government in the case of the *Abhyudhaya* for publishing Mr. Krishna Kant Malaviya's speech in the Assembly on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill.

The Ottawa Pact :—The Legislative Assembly by a decisive majority carried the resolution moved by Mr. M. A. Jinnah to end the Ottawa Pact. Mr. Jinnah's resolution recommended that bi-lateral treaties should be made between India and other countries including Britain for regulating trade between them. The second part is merely recommendatory. The Government of India have pledged themselves to abide by the vote of the Assembly on the Pact and we have no doubt they will abide by their pledge. We more than suspect that His Majesty's Government will not be much concerned about India's decision to denounce the Pact. They had themselves had a bitter experience at Ottawa, and they are not likely to invite its repetition in a hurry. Speaking two months after the Ottawa Conference in the House of Commons, Mr. Baldwin said: "What have we got out of this? What does it mean in trade? I answer quite frankly—I do not know." Viscount Snowden in his Autobiography writes: "Mr. Neville Chamberlain gave us a sidelight upon the harmony of the proceedings at Ottawa when he said that he had found the bonds of Empire had worn very thin. The 'harmonious' proceedings at the Conference were on the point of breaking up at two o'clock in the morning of the day when the British Delegation was due to leave Ottawa. A complete breakdown was only averted by further concessions made by the British Delegation. All the Dominion delegates were obsessed by the idea of economic nationalism, and they threatened that, if the British Delegation would not agree to their demands, they would make arrangements with foreign countries." For all the bullying they had to submit to at the hands of the Dominion delegations, the British Delegation sought and found amends from the Indian Delegation. This was quite understood in this country although details of the proceedings were lacking. We are well rid of this incubus. As for other countries not being in a hurry to enter into independent agreements with India, neither are we in a hurry to have them. Foreign trade has bulked too largely in the eyes of those who happen to have in their hands the shaping for the time being of India's economic destiny. What is far more important is the development of trade and industries in the

country so as to make it self-sufficient in respect of all the necessities and amenities of life. The interests of the people of India have been too long sacrificed to the fetish of being able to borrow at 3 per cent in London. The so-called balance of trade, in a country so favourably situated as India to produce all that she wants, is of minor importance. Let us use up our raw materials ourselves, in our own industries, and if industries can not be developed with sufficient rapidity, let us produce just as much as is needed for our own consumption. The role of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the world, has become galling and cannot be borne.

Men in Women's Constituencies :—Referring to the participation of men in the special electorates which they proposed for the election of women to the seats reserved for them in Provincial Assemblies, the Hammond Committee observed: "We have been strongly urged to restrict the electorate for the Mahomedan women's seat in Sind to women. One lady of influential position declared that from the Mahomedan woman's point of view it was "disgusting" that she should be expected to solicit votes from men. We had to inform the ladies who represented this case to us that this question was disposed of by the Act, and so falls outside the scope of our enquiry." The Draft Orders placed before Parliament to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee, in contravention of the Act, oust men from Muslim constituencies for electing to the women's reserved seats not only in Sind but also in the Punjab. Does the Act give power to His Majesty's Government to extend its provisions in a way which was felt to be outside their scope by the Hammond Committee?

As Astonishing Blunder :—We wonder how an experience journalist like the editor of the *Hindustan Times* passed for publication the circumstantial story about Lord Halifax having written to Gandhiji requesting him to meet the new Viceroy and have a frank talk with him, and of the suggestion having been made with the knowledge of the Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin. On the face of it, this message has emanated from a source which is apprehensive of a change of policy on the part of the new Viceroy and is determined to prevent it by any means. Assuming that Gandhiji had received a letter from Lord Halifax—which he has categorically denied, denouncing the whole thing as a fabrication—he would certainly be the last man to send it out for publication. The Secretary of State has officially contradicted the allegations made with an appearance of authority. We do not hear nowadays of any one personage being able to "deliver the goods." If it was ever anything more than a mere phrase, it is quite obvious that it has ceased to have any significance now. We trust that Lord Linlithgow will not feel embarrassed in pursuing a conciliatory policy by this blatant attempt to prevent it.



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avatar, and that he was favoured by God by the word of His mouth. Of Guru Nanak, he says that he completely refuted the doctrine which holds that there is to be no revelation nor any signs of God after the Vedas. We have already said that there is no such doctrine in Hinduism. Nanak, says Hazrat, was the last avatar of the Hindus. He was obviously ill-informed. The followers of Chaitanya claim him as an avatar, neo-Vedantists claim that Sri Ramakrishna was an avatar, and Pandit Jawharlal Nehru quite recently felt constrained to deprecate the belief that Gandhiji is an avatar. Every great thought, wrote George Eliot, is an inspiration. In the same sense, every good man may be said to be an avatar.

Hazrat makes what may be called a sporting offer. "If", he writes "in order to have perfect peace, the Hindus and the Arya Samajists are prepared to accept our holy Prophet (peace and the blessings of God upon him!) as a true prophet of God, and if they are prepared to give up denying and defaming him, I would be the first man to sign an agreement that we, the followers of the Ahmadiyya movement, will always believe in the Vedas and will speak respectfully of the Vedas and the Rishis. We will bind ourselves to pay the Hindus a penalty of Rs. 3,00,000, in case we fail to fulfil the agreement. If Hindus cordially wish for peace, they also should sign a similar agreement in some such terms." Millions of Hindus have no occasion at all to speak of the Prophet of Islam, and those who have occasion to do so, always speak of him in terms of reverence similar to those which educated men use of other great Teachers and Prophets. The reward of three lakhs of rupees which Hazrat offers is, therefore, unnecessary. But as he says of himself that he can not guarantee that other Muslims will endorse his offer, no Hindu leader can undertake a similar obligation. There may be some Hindus who in direct contravention of the precepts of their religion, speak slightly of other Prophets. But surely, this is against the age long tradition of India. Hazrat desired that the agreement such as he proposed should be signed by at least ten thousand sensible men on each side. This can be easily done. Hazrat denies that the differences between Hindus and Muslims are mainly political. They are religious though politics may aggravate them somewhat. Since it is not possible that all Hindus should become Muslims or all Muslims Hindus, he suggests that an agreement to respect each others' religious Teachers and Prophets, is the next best thing calculated to allay animosities. Real unity can only come from sincere respect for each others' religious Teachers. "You may join hands with each other for some time like hypocrites" warns Hazrat his Muslim co-religionists "but real peace and tranquility can only be attained if, from the bottom of your hearts, you accept the Vedas and the Rishis as from God, and your Hindu brethren likewise expel all malice from their hearts, and



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EDUCATION, A PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY.

(BY CYRIL MODAK.)

(Concluded from the last issue.)

Public institutions come into being as instruments for the expression of social values. It is only right to expect that these public institutions collaborate with educational agencies for the promulgation of knowledge. Good libraries with trained, efficient and courteous librarians can bring ample advantages within the reach of many. Different types of library can be made to serve different purposes. Good reading material for varying age-levels is a public need. Orphanage and widows' homes ought to become educational centres giving special attention to vocational courses. So many inmates of widows' homes have talent, have ambition, have energy, who, if trained, can be of definite service in village schools and educational work among women, but who are allowed to fill their idle hours with rebellion. Organizations of a communal type, or with a political bias, ought to turn their attention to the educational needs of the people they wish to serve. As members of society, as sponsors of some one or other of these public institutions, can we not join the great campaign against illiteracy? Have we lent our support to the over-whelming task of educating the masses of our nation? Or do we wait in expectancy for a miracle?

Society evolves certain agencies of administration for the application of its standards, for the maintenance of peace and order, for the organization of its varied activities. In India these agencies are grouped under "Reserved Subjects" and "Transferred Subjects". With the first we have nothing to do. We are concerned with the local self-governing department of "Transferred Subjects". As members of these local self-governing bodies, of Local Boards, of District Councils, of Municipalities how do we plan and work for the liquidation of illiteracy in this vast sub-continent? We squander so much of our energy on puerile wrangling, so much of our time on plots and counter-plots and petty tactics. Our term is over, perhaps, while we are still in hot pursuit of our opponent. Meanwhile the teeming villages of India wait to be instructed, and thousands and tens of thousands in towns and cities take to obnoxious diversions for the want of educational facilities. The construction of village roads is important, the upkeep and the supervision of cattle-pounds is necessary. But far more important is the construction of the highways of knowledge and literacy for our rural masses; and far more necessary is the maintenance and supervision of pounds for ignorance and illiteracy and prejudice which stealthily ravage the minds and lives of our people infinitely more than cattle spoil their fields.

Why wait to run-up respectable school-buildings for primary schools in the villages? It would be a foolish doctor who, in a serious case demanding immediate treatment waited for some silver-papered tablets handsomely packed, and waited while the patient suffered, and may be, died. The case of illiteracy demands concentrated effort, demands all the philanthropy, all the self-sacrifice, all the talent, all the experimentation that the nation is capable of, that the country can offer. As gallant members of Local Boards and District Councils what are we doing to fight this dragon? Let us hold open-air classes. Let us prevail on malguzars to lend a building. Let us collect funds. Let us go and teach and canvas volunteers. Let us appeal to our electorates for help. Let us do something to obliterate the blot of growing illiteracy among our brethren.

In the same way Municipal Commissioners will tell you of how many lanes have been paved, what excellent sanitation work has been done, how many free dispensaries have been opened, during their term of office. All this is good. It deserves to be appreciated. But what, I ask you, what is the use of sporadic superficial efforts for public sanitation and hygiene when comparatively very little is being done for the sanitation and hygiene of minds? Darkened minds untouched by the sunlight of knowledge, these diseased minds untouched by the salutary influence of high morals cry, to you to plan and work out, at any cost an educational programme suited to their needs. So much waits to be accomplished for adult education. So many experiments can be tried for subsidiary-vocational training in classes attached to mills, factories, and the like. Such a great deal must be done for the education of women. Child-welfare centres have been a splendid boon. But welfare centres for the education of women are an equally crying need. It is by no means enough to have an annual increase in the total enrolment of primary schools. It is the duty of municipalities to make it practically useful for students to have primary school instruction, to try the experiment of diversion for vocational training after the primary stage. The veneer of a verbal literacy will do no one any good. It will always lead to "wastage" and "leakage", two official problems of the year. What India needs, what India demands of you, of every citizen, is a purposeful scheme of progressive education enabling the masses not merely to read and write after a fashion, but to take an intelligent interest and an active and worthy part in the festival of life.

Your savage deserts howling near,
Your wastes of ignorance, vice and shame;
Is there no room for victories here,
No place for deeds of fame?

Education is a co-operative public enterprise. Have we co-operated to the best of our ability? An official critic once replied to the writer that education is a transferred subject in the portfolio of an Indian minister. What right had we to blame foreigners and the officials of the education department for the continuation of a defective system? This remark, though irrelevant to the issue raised, brought home the urgent necessity of our realizing that education is a *public responsibility*. For the investment of a few thousand rupees we put ourselves to inconvenience and trouble and make sure that our investment is safe and profitable. Is it not incredible that we are willing to invest our substance, our hopes and ambitions, our best wealth, our children in schools and colleges with suave indifference?

It is strange that we never think of exerting ourselves for a co-operative and persistent venture to



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Public institutions come into being as instruments for the expression of social values. It is only right to expect that these public institutions collaborate with educational agencies for the promulgation of knowledge. Good libraries with trained, efficient and courteous librarians can bring ample advantages within the reach of many. Different types of library can be made to serve different purposes. Good reading material for varying age-levels is a public need. Orphanage and widows' homes ought to become educational centres giving special attention to vocational courses. So many inmates of widows' homes have talent, have ambition, have energy, who, if trained, can be of definite service in village schools and educational work among women, but who are allowed to fill their idle hours with rebellion. Organizations of a communal type, or with a political bias, ought to turn their attention to the educational needs of the people they wish to serve. As members of society, as sponsors of some one or other of these public institutions, can we not join the great campaign against illiteracy? Have we lent our support to the over-whelming task of educating the masses of our nation? Or do we wait in expectancy for a miracle?

Society evolves certain agencies of administration for the application of its standards, for the maintenance of peace and order, for the organization of its varied activities. In India these agencies are grouped under "Reserved Subjects" and "Transferred Subjects". With the first we have nothing to do. We are concerned with the local self-governing department of "Transferred Subjects". As members of these local self-governing bodies, of Local Boards, of District Councils, of Municipalities how do we plan and work for the liquidation of illiteracy in this vast sub-continent? We squander so much of our energy on puerile wrangling, so much of our time on plots and counter-plots and petty tactics. Our term is over, perhaps, while we are still in hot pursuit of our opponent. Meanwhile the teeming villages of India wait to be instructed, and thousands and tens of thousands in towns and cities take to obnoxious diversions for the want of educational facilities. The construction of village roads is important, the upkeep and the supervision of cattle-pounds is necessary. But far more important is the construction of the highways of knowledge and literacy for our rural masses; and far more necessary is the maintenance and supervision of pounds for ignorance and illiteracy and prejudice which stealthily ravage the minds and lives of our people infinitely more than cattle spoil their fields.

Why wait to run up respectable school-buildings for primary schools in the villages? It would be a foolish doctor who, in a serious case demanding immediate treatment waited for some silver-papery tablets handsomely packed, and waited while the patient suffered, and may be, died. The case of illiteracy demands concentrated effort, demands all the philanthropy, all the self-sacrifice, all the talent, all the experimentation that the nation is capable of, that the country can offer. As gallant members of Local Boards and District Councils what are we doing to fight this dragon? Let us hold open-air classes. Let us prevail on malguzars to lend a building. Let us collect funds. Let us go and teach and canvas volunteers. Let us appeal to our electorates for help. Let us do something to obliterate the blot of growing illiteracy among our brethren.

In the same way Municipal Commissioners will tell you of how many lanes have been paved, what excellent sanitation work has been done, how many free dispensaries have been opened, during their term of office. All this is good. It deserves to be appreciated. But what, I ask you, what is the use of sporadic superficial efforts for public sanitation and hygiene when comparatively very little is being done for the sanitation and hygiene of minds? Darkened minds untouched by the sunlight of knowledge, these diseased minds untouched by the salutary influence of high morals cry, to you to plan and work out at any cost an educational programme suited to their needs. So much waits to be accomplished for adult education. So many experiments can be tried for subsidiary-vocational training in classes attached to mills, factories, and the like. Such a great deal must be done for the education of women. Child-welfare centres have been a splendid boon. But welfare centres for the education of women are an equally crying need. It is by no means enough to have an annual increase in the total enrolment of primary schools. It is the duty of municipalities to make it practically useful for students to have primary school instruction, to try the experiment of diversion for vocational training after the primary stage. The veneer of a verbal literacy will do no one any good. It will always lead to "wastage" and "leakage", two official problems of the year. What India needs, what India demands of you, of every citizen, is a purposeful scheme of progressive education enabling the masses not merely to read and write after a fashion, but to take an intelligent interest and an active and worthy part in the festival of life.

Your savage deserts howling near,
Your wastes of ignorance, vice and shame;
Is there no room for victories here,
No place for deeds of fame?

Education is a co-operative public enterprise. Have we co-operated to the best of our ability? An official critic once replied to the writer that education is a transferred subject in the portfolio of an Indian minister. What right had we to blame foreigners and the officials of the education department for the continuation of a defective system? This remark, though irrelevant to the issue raised, brought home the urgent necessity of our realizing that education is a *public responsibility*. For the investment of a few thousand rupees we put ourselves to inconvenience and trouble and make sure that our investment is safe and profitable. Is it not incredible that we are willing to invest our substance, our hopes and ambitions, our best wealth, our children in schools and colleges with suave indifference?

It is strange that we never think of exerting ourselves for a co-operative and persistent venture to



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liquidate illiteracy among our own people. It is only when we as parents, as members of society, as citizens of a state, as sponsors of public institutions, as representatives in legislatures and local self-governing bodies, are like-minded and throw our whole weight to further the cause of education that we can hope for a brighter, better, happier day in our chequered history. The mental and moral thralldom of countless thousands of our fellow-countrymen is far more calamitous than any form of foreign domination. Political liberty, glorious and desirable as it is, demands intellectual and spiritual emancipation as its herald.

Arise and conquer while ye can
The foe that in your midst resides
And build within the mind of man
The Empire that abides.

A story is told of a king who was rather perplexed and tired of the lethargy, physical, mental and moral, of his subjects. So he had a large stone set in the middle of one of the main streets of his metropolis. Citizens, soldiers, officials, senators, merchants, professional men all went by the stone each abusing the government for not removing such a public obstacle. A week passed by. A month had passed. The stone remained where it had been placed. Then the king called an assembly of all his subjects round about that historic stone and in their wondering, muttering presence removed it with his own hands. Under it was a flat iron casket and in the casket was a bag of gold coins. On it was inscribed "For him who removes the stone." The king showed it to his subjects and went his way. India waits for us to remove the huge obstacle of illiteracy from the path of her children. Have we not endeavoured to shift our responsibilities, wishing vainly that others would do what falls to our lot? Let us then pledge ourselves to sincere and unflinching, concentrated and sustained effort in the interests of the helpless masses who need education. They call us to determine to carry all before us in our undaunted march, bearing on our triumphant banner the motto "*He who excuseth himself accuseth himself*".

ASPIRATIONS AFTER THE UNKNOWNABLE. (BY A VAGABOND.)

The search after Truth : a very fascinating phrase indeed ! So search after God ; a time-worn mania. Eternity, Almighty, Soul, God, Truth these are only a few of the words which are common in the phraseology of the learned as well as the unlearned, the religious-minded and the irreligious minded, scholars, philosophers, devotional mystics, philosopher-mystics. These terms are used as a matter of course. Are they not ? The common people by which the writer means those who living according to routine, tradition, custom, habit, be they rich or poor, intelligent or dunces, assume the traditional notions about these terms ; rather they have no notion at all about these terms in terms of a logical proposition. They regard these as fixed ideas each without its context, only a hazy something indefinable, but easily taken for granted. When discussion starts, it is the common people who very seriously engage themselves in discussing such very very vital matters, vital according to their own light. So long as the discussion is between themselves, there is general agreement, a consensus of opinion congratulatory to either side. But sometimes it happens that they are confronted with another having an enquiring mind which does not accept things taken or granted, for a serious discussion, then comes the rub. Such a one is put down as irreligious, ignorant, degraded, a dunce who requires an initiation—initiation into the mysteries, and if he is not put

down as a renegade, he is not seldom referred to a reverend teacher, skilful in the art of convincing argument. Needless to state if such an obstinate person is an honest inquirer, a sincere inquirer, he relies upon his own research work, more than the authority of quibbles and obstinate egotists. The simple fact is, argument is a matter which is so rare among even the learned, if it is an argument based on rational thinking.

A revered friend suggested to the writer that the writer's experiences in this spiritual subject may afford some interesting psychological study. And yet an honest inquirer even if he is an egotist will think twice before penning his experiences, however they may have been valuable to himself. For there has been such a mass of literature on this subject that an individual's experiences, whatever may be their worth, will scarcely fall outside any of the experiences recorded in books and periodicals. There should certainly be nothing new at any rate, so much has this spirit of inquiry been taking hold of the imagination of the intellectuals in these days. Well then, what can I say on these questions which are generally regarded as momentous by the generality of the public among whom we have to live, whether we like it or not ? For instance, what could be said about Eternity, God, Soul, Truth or such other items which grip the mind of a thinking sort of fellow when he begins his life from his childhood ? Really nothing. For in itself each term does not connote anything final or definable for having a correct notion about the same. For, is not Eternity a sort of nothingness, is not Truth also a sort of nothingness, and is not the very term God a sort of nothingness, when opposed to something which is definite, for example, a duration, something false or wrong, something which is called Godlike. For, similarly, when we say of duration we have a fixed notion, when we say of anything false we also have a definite reality and when we say ungodlike or godlike we have to reduce the jargon into definable human virtues or otherwise, in other words, attributes associated with a human personality, good or bad. In itself therefore, Truth also similarly becomes nothing but a discrimination of qualities which a human personality manifests to the detriment or otherwise of himself and his fellows. For do we not know that an idea considered as truth in one generation was put down by another preceding generation as falsehood ? Examples in the astronomical advance made by Galileo, Copernicus and others are very striking examples of the erring sense of their predecessors and contemporaries however, exalted such predecessors were in their own days. If by the way, the term Truth were used in the sense of the astronomical discoveries or mathematical propositions or physical sciences, truth would simply amount to laws understandable by sense and this is simply impersonal which does not enter into the life of an individual. For this really no one bothers himself, not the common people nor the uncommon also. Truth when used by these good people is something higher, something, when some say God is Truth or Truth is God, or God is Love and so on, that affords grounds for discussion, where only the mystic makes progress; only a mystic can do that and at the same time consider himself quite rational, sane and normal in his senses. But an obstinate inquirer who wants to get at this Truth—idea or God—idea has either to bury himself or leave the matter solely to mystics. The writer cannot help writing in this strain if he has to be honest with regard to himself or with regard to his friends even with regard to the memory of priceless personalities, whose career or part of career has



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influenced his judgment and delineation of his mind. It often happens that not one living personality alone creates an impression upon you; a number of personalities living or dead, exalted or humble influence you; let alone some of the masters who lived centuries ago. It is the mass of accumulating thought that becomes ultimately one's own, a part of one's own humble personality, which thought becomes more sacred in the secular sense than in a religious sense. It is the expression of this accumulating thought which gathers its increasing vitality from the experiences and inquiry that becomes unequivocal with regard to the conduct of the individual, and its expression must therefore be effected without any equivocation. It is not therefore, the conception of the writer about God, or Truth or eternity or such other term that is valuable so much as the stage reached by him from the very number of years he has left behind that might become valuable or at least intelligible to any lone traveller in the pursuit of ideas which matter most for him for some time and which do not matter anything for him at other times.

Therefore, even a vagabond, can depict his impressions relying on the memory of the years which have gone before him. These will be mere random jottings, mere peregrinations in the explored regions which have yielded probably a better material to people better constituted than the writer himself.

DRAFT RESOLUTIONS FOR LUCKNOW CONGRESS.

The Secretary of the All-India Congress Committee has released the following resolutions which were adopted by the Congress Working Committee at its meeting held at Delhi on March 21 and subsequent days to be placed before the Subjects Committee at Lucknow.

CONSTITUTION COMMITTEE.

The Congress is of opinion that it is desirable to develop closer association between the masses and the Congress organization so that they may take their full share in the shaping of Congress policy and in its activities, and the organization might become even more responsive to their needs and desires. With a view to this, and further to bring about closer co-operation with her organizations of peasants, workers and others which aim at the freedom of the Indian people and to make the Congress a joint front of all the anti-Imperialist elements in the country, this Congress appoints a committee to suggest a revision of the constitution. The Committee shall report to the A. I. C. C. by the end of June 1936 and its report shall be then circulated to Provincial and District Committees for opinion. The final recommendations of the A. I. C. C. on this report shall be placed before the next session of the Congress.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

The Congress authorises and directs the Working Committee to organize a foreign department of the A. I. C. C. office to work under the general superintendence of the Working General Secretary and with such special staff as may be necessary, with a view to create and maintain contacts with Indians overseas, and with international, national, labour and other organizations abroad with whom co-operation is possible and is likely to help in the cause of Indian freedom.

GREETING TO PRISONERS, EXILES, ETC.

The Congress sends its greeting to the thousands of Indians whom British Imperialism keeps in prison, in detention and in exile, and who suffer in silence and with brave endurance in the cause of India's

freedom. In particular, the Congress sends affectionate greetings to Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, a member of the Working Committee, and to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, whom the British Government vindictively prevents from returning to his people and his home land. The Congress also offers its earnest sympathy to the brave people of the North-West Frontier Province, as well as to the people of Midnapore District and some other parts of Bengal.

WAR DANGER.

The Congress, at its sessions held in Madras in 1927, drew the attention of the country to the danger of Imperialist war and the possibility of India being made a tool in such a conflict for Imperialist purposes, and declared the right of the Indian people to refuse to participate in any such war without their express permission. That danger has become more evident and urgent since then with the growth of Fascist dictatorships, the Italian attack on Abyssinia, the continuing Japanese aggression in North China and Mongolia, the rivalries and conflicts of the great Imperialist powers, and the feverish growth of armaments, and vast and terrible war threatens the world. In such a war an attempt will inevitably be made to drag in and exploit India to her manifest disadvantage and for the benefit of British Imperialism. The Congress, therefore, reiterates its old resolve and warns the people of the country against this danger, and declares its opposition to the participation of India in any Imperialist war.

SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES.

The Congress draws public attention again to the wide-spread and intensive suppression of civil and, in many instances, personal liberties in India by the British Government, with the object of crushing the national and labour and peasant movements; in particular to the banning of hundreds of Congress and other national organisations, and labour and peasants unions, and political and other groups, seizure and continued possession by the Government of many Ashrams and other educational institutions; the continuation of the Ordinance regime by the certification and passage of the Criminal Law Amendment Act even after its rejection twice by the Assembly, and the enactment of similar provincial Acts; the proscriptions and banning of books and periodicals; the numerous Press Laws and censorship resulting in the suppression of 348 newspapers in recent years and the forfeiture of large sums deposited as securities; the detention of large numbers of people for indefinite periods without charge or trial, the numerous special and additional disabilities under which the people of the Frontier Province have to suffer; the many encroachments on personal liberty in parts of Bengal; the restriction by externment, internment and otherwise to the free movement of persons within the country, thus preventing them from carrying on their usual occupations and business, and even obstructing humanitarian and relief work; indiscriminate and wide-spread searches of houses; the difficulties placed in the ways of Indians going abroad; and the barriers to return home of many Indians in foreign countries who have thus to live in exile far from their own people and their motherland. The Congress notes that at no period since the great Revolt of 1857 has the suppression of civil and personal liberties and the repression of the Indian people, which is the normal feature of British administration in India to-day, been so great as it is now. While recognising that this extraordinary suppression and repression are the measure of the strength and success of India's struggle for freedom, the Congress desires to point out that such is the background to the new Consti-



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tution Act in spite of the statements made by representatives of the British Government that constitutional progress is being made in India.

CONDITIONS IN STATES

Further the Congress deeply regrets that in the Indian States there is a similar suppression of civil and personal liberties and in many of them, conditions in this respect are even worse than in the rest of India and almost every kind of liberty is non-existent; that in some States even the Congress had been banned and normal peaceful work of organisation prevented, and insult offered to the National Flag. The Congress realises that the effective power behind the State is that of the British Government and many of the States are under the direct control of British officers. Howsoever the responsibility for this deplorable state of affairs might be shared between the British Government and the Rulers of the States, the Congress declares that it can recognise no differentiation in personal, civil and democratic liberties as between the States, and the rest of India.

The Congress expresses the determination of the Indian people that, notwithstanding this attempt to paralyse national growth and activity, they will continue to face the situation with courage and fortitude and will carry on the struggle for freedom till independence is achieved.

MITAKSHARA JOINT HINDU FAMILY.

(By K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.)

A joint Hindu family consists of persons descended from a common ancestor and related to each other through the male line and who have not effected a division of the family property. Thus, a father, sons, and grandsons, through sons and great grandsons, if any, through such grandsons form a joint Hindu family. When the father in such family dies, the sons and all grandsons and great grandsons would continue to form a joint family. If any of such sons were to die the remaining sons (who are brothers among themselves) and the descendants of all the sons would constitute the joint family. Thus a joint family may consist of a common ancestor and his descendants or it may consist merely of the descendants of a common ancestor such as brothers or uncles or nephews, together with their descendants, if any.

The existence of a large volume of law known as the joint Hindu family law is a feature peculiar to Hindu law and it has no prototype in any other system of law. The Hindu law is based on the ancient shastras of the Hindus, *vis.* Shrutis and Smritis which governed Hindu society in ancient days. In those days the family was the unit of the society and the individual only played a subordinate part therein. Joint living and joint holding of property by the members of the family was then the normal condition. When the British Government took upon themselves the task of administering justice in the land, they decided to apply the personal law of the people to them with the result that Hindu law came to be applied to Hindus. So the joint family law came to be perpetuated in the land. The consequence is that an ancient law picked up from the shastras propounded by pandits and administered by Courts from the commencement of the British Government, has become crystallized and rigid and in that from it now governs the Hindu society.

The Hindu society has itself changed considerably in its features and in its modes of life and thought

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under the stress of modern economic and other world forces. The Hindu temperament no longer displays any special predilection for maintaining the solidarity of the joint family in matters temporal. A material outlook on life, an individual desire for self-advancement and a spirit of indifference to the welfare of others—which are some of the contributions of the present day culture—have sufficiently killed the spirit of family feeling, which once pervaded the Hindu society in all its aspects and have brought almost the disintegration of the family, socially and economically. The individual has become the unit of society and the family has ceased to be so. In the words of Sir Henry Maine even Hindu society has changed from “status” to “contract”.

The basic principle of the undivided family is that an undivided family is ordinarily joint not only in estate but in food and worship. In the modern society the family is hardly joint in food. One member of the family is an I.C.S., another is a doctor, a third is a mere clerk and so on. They hardly meet even once in five years. Can this family be said to be joint in the true sense of the term? The test of jointness in worship is almost gone as no member of the family practically cares for worship at all. The only jointness, if at all there is any, is in ‘ancestral estate’ though every member fully accumulates his own property. The joint family system is an anachronism in the twentieth century and must be abolished. The Hindu law that is based on the archaic form of society hardly suits the present age. There are many disadvantages. The immediate result of the existence of the joint family law and the right of sons by birth in ancestral property, is to make it difficult for persons to enter into legal transactions with a Hindu. Searching inquiries have to be made on various points, which would be irrelevant in the case of a non-Hindu, questions such as, whether the person is a member of the joint family, whether the property to be purchased from him is his separate property or family property and if it is family property then, whether the vendor is a manager of the family, whether the intending sale is for necessary purposes—all these points will have to be considered and decided before a transaction is entered into. So also in lending money to a Hindu similar points have to be considered and decided. One can easily ascertain the property or worth of a Muhammadan or a Christian without inquiring into his family history or family surrounding and relations. So also when you make a contract or enter into any legal transaction with a non-Hindu any inquiry about his family relationship would be absolutely uncalled for. But in the case of a Hindu the matter bristles with innumerable difficulties. In the case of a purchase of property from, or a loan to, a non-Hindu the only point which the buyer or the lender has to consider will be whether the vendor owns the property to be sold or is rich enough to repay the loan and whether the contract is fair or otherwise valid. But when the vendor or borrower happens to be a Hindu this alone will not suffice. Thus the Hindu law as it now exists is an obstacle to the free and easy development of commercial or other contractual relations with a Hindu. Further, the difficulty of arriving at definite conclusions on bare questions of fact, which result from the application of the principles of Hindu law, is the cause of much litigation in our Courts. Having regard to the discordance between the archaic nature of law and the present state of society, one might wish that the legislature may by a bold stroke of the pen completely abolish the family law, or if such a course is considered undesirable, at least the rules and restrictions of the family law should be made so clear and definite that, the actual state of things,



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about any property or family may be easily ascertained.

The above brief discussion will convince the reader that there is no utility of the joint Hindu family system as it exists today. Though it must be admitted that it had valuable advantages in ancient times, yet it should now be discontinued by legislation.

It may well be argued that the Mitakshara does not compel a man to live in a joint family. As soon as the man becomes major, he should express his intention to separate but actual separation some times brings the cessation of co-operation between brothers. Man is after all an emotional being and he finds it very hard to express his intention of separation from his family, howsoever he may wish it. Again the joint family cannot so easily be destroyed. As soon as a son is born to a man who has got himself partitioned from his brothers a new joint family automatically starts up again. So my suggestion is that the father and sons alone should be regarded as members of the joint family. This was exactly the idea expressed in the Smiriti text: सप्तमः जीवनीः पित्रोः सखासो विधीयते। In fact the old Dharmashastra literature never contemplates the joint family as it exists today. Gautama expressly says that the sons should get their shares partitioned after the death of the father (28/2, 3, 4). Apastamba even goes further and enjoins the father to make a partition among his sons even in his lifetime (2, 6, 14, 1).

There should not be joint family between grandfather, uncle, cousins, nephews and so on. As soon as the father dies, by law the sons should be regarded as separate from one another, and if they continue to live jointly they should be regarded as tenants-in-common.

Attempts are already being made to put an end to the basic principles of joint family law. The Gains of Learning Act passed recently by which the property acquired by learning, art and similar means, by a coparcener although living in a joint family will be considered his self-acquired property, is a direct inroad on the joint family law. The recent Privy Council decision on adoption by which a widow is allowed to take a son in adoption without the consent of coparceners, is another instance of the same type. Bills are again introduced to recognize the wife of a coparcener to be a coparcener after his death. All these things show that there is a marked tendency to abolish the joint family system.

If the joint family system is not going to be abolished wholesale from the Hindu law, the whole of India must adopt the Dayabhaga joint family law of Jimutavahana. That system certainly combines the benefits of union with the advantages of self-determination. In that system not only is the father absolute owner, unhampered by his sons, but the coparceners themselves are unhampered by each other. For, in a Dayabhaga joint family, any coparcener is absolutely at liberty to alienate his share by sale, mortgage or gift during the continuance of the coparcenery. Women are as much coparceners as men. They are not dependent. When their husbands die they are still coparceners in their own rights and can claim actual partition from their husbands' brothers. There is no right of survivorship available in the brothers after the death of one of them. In this system, the son gets the share in the joint family by the death of the father and not by his own birth; obviously the son is not at liberty to demand partition from his father whenever he may wish it. The shares of coparceners are not, therefore, liable to fluctuation either by the death or birth of any coparcener in the family; for the shares are only to be determined after the death of

the father. However, when the father is alive the sons are entitled to proper maintenance and education from the family fund. Thus the concept of the joint family under the Dayabhaga is far superior to that of the Mitakshara in important particulars.

HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH.

"The great Hindu community has yet to realise the peril to Hinduism if untouchability lingers long. It will be the duty of the Harijan Sevak Sangh to help to introduce this great change in the Hindu social system before it is too late" says Mr. A. V. Thakkar, General Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangh, in his third annual report. Continuing he says, "The year has been one of steady and satisfactory progress. But none can be more aware than the members of the Central Board of the great strides that must be made before the final object is achieved. The next year is likely to bring its own crop of problems which may necessitate a more energetic policy of the Sangh."

According to the report the total welfare expenditure from October, 1934, to September, 1935, was Rs. 8,37,055 compared with Rs. 2,04,826 in the previous year. The Sangh's activities have increased considerably. The educational expenditure for 1933-34 was Rs. 1,63,954 while in 1934-35 it was Rs. 2,75,420. From the very beginning it has been the policy of the Sangh to encourage the Harijans going in for higher education. In 1934-35 117 higher education scholarships of an average value of Rs. 15 per month were awarded, as against 99 only last year. Preference was given to girl applicants and those going in for vocational courses. In addition to this, quite a large sum was spent by Provincial Boards on the collegiate scholarships especially in big cities like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Poona.

A beginning was made in tanning, and a central training tannery was started at Calcutta under the supervision of Mr. Satish Chandra Das-Gupta. A select batch of 21 pupils recruited from various provinces is undergoing a thorough training in chrome and bark tanning with a view to starting provincial tanneries on a cottage industry basis. It is probable that a few such tanneries will be started by the end of 1936. The policy of this Sangh has all along been to discourage separate schools and recruits Harijan children to common schools. Progress in villages is naturally slow, and the Sangh is obliged to open special schools, which are really preparatory schools meant to be feeders of other schools. In 1935 there were 1,298 such schools with 34,273 boys and 3,816 girls. The total expenditure incurred on these schools was Rs. 1,06,438. An attempt was also made to give some systematic training to teachers employed by the Sangh.

The very segregation and distance of the Harijan resident from the village proper necessitate the sinking of new wells, even where public wells exist. The Sangh must confess that the opening of about 16 public wells to Harijans during the year is not an achievement, of which the Sangh or the Hindu community can be proud. A little more was done by way of sinking new wells and 847 wells were either repaired or constructed.

The conflict between the Nattars and the Harijans in the three Taluks of Karaikudi sub-district in the extreme south of Madras for the last few years has been exercising the workers of the Sangh. Until March 1935, all attempts at relaxation of such customs and reconciliation between the parties failed. As a result of Nattar obduracy, nearly 350 families have turned Christians and more may follow.



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Recently a party, consisting of D. B. V. Bashyam Aiyangar, Dr. T. S. S. Rajan and R. B. M. C. Rajan, toured the area on behalf of the Sangh to get into touch with the parties and persons there. It is believed that since then the attitude of the Nattars has undergone a welcome change and in order to secure complete results, work of a permanent nature should be started in their midst.

At the present moment an important Bill—the Hindu Depressed Classes Civil Disabilities Removal Bill—of Rao Bahadur Rajah, is before the Assembly. The passing of that Bill into law and its speedy enforcement will go a great way in ameliorating the condition of Harijans. The Sangh and its various branches will try their best to mobilise public opinion in favour of the Bill and will approach the members of the Assembly to give it their warmest support.

A WINDFALL TO SHANTINIKETAN.

Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore has issued the following statement through the "United Press":—

"The financial position of Viswa-Bharati has been unsatisfactory for the last few years as a result of some of the annual grants having been unaccountably stopped and some of our investments failing to bring in proper return owing to economic distress in the country. We had run into debts to the extent of Rs. 60,000, and it was mainly this which drew me out of my seclusion to these distant parts with a begging bowl. The evening of my life was clouded with worries of this debt. A very dear friend of mine having learnt this came to my succour, and our united prayers have been answered by God in the form of the following letter:

Respected Sir,

Please find the enclosed draft for Rs. 60,000, which, we believe, is the deficit of the expenses on Shantiniketan to cover which you have been exhibiting your art from place to place. When we heard this, we felt humiliated. We believe that at your advanced age and in your weak state of health you should not undertake these arduous tours. We must confess that we know very little of the institution except that we have heard the name, but we have not been unaware of your great fame as the Poet of the age. You are not only the greatest poet of India, but you are the poet of humanity. Your poems remind one of the hymns of ancient Rishis. You have by your unrivalled gifts raised the status of our country, and we feel those whom God has blessed with means should relieve you of the burden of finding funds required for the conduct of the institution. Our contribution is a humble effort in that direction. For reasons which need not be stated, we prefer to remain anonymous. We hope that you will now cancel all the engagements taken for raising the sum above mentioned. Praying for your long life to continue the services you are rendering to the country,

We remain,

Your humble countrymen.

It has deeply touched my heart, for it comes as the spontaneous expression of love and appreciation of my cultural work from a few friends whose names I shall never have the good fortune to know, and to whom I can only express my gratitude through the agency of the Press.

Poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, in view of this letter received from some anonymous friends donating a sum of Rs. 60,000 for the conduct of *Viswa-Bharati*, will not in his failing health undertake the rest of his tour programme. He will, however, go to Meerut to receive an address arranged there.

THE AGA KHAN AT THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The report of the delegates (H. H. the Right Hon. the Aga Khan, Sir Denys Bray and Rao Bahadur S. M. Bapna) of India to the 16th (Ordinary) session of the Assembly of the League of Nations has been published.

In course of the general discussion, His Highness the Aga Khan said:—"On the one subject that is dominating the mind of this Assembly there is much that I could say. But I am a man of few words, and I shall be brief.

"In India criticism of the League of Nations is growing. India is troubled by the League's lack of universality, the incompleteness of its composition, and the tiny representation of Indians in its organisations. She is troubled by the great preponderance, as India sees it, of the energies of the League devoted to Europe and European interests. She is troubled by the magnitude of her own contribution to the League Budget—large in itself, for it is larger than the contribution of any non-permanent Member of the Council—disturbingly large when placed side by side with the poverty of so many of her many millions.

"She is troubled by the League's dramatic failures—troubled by the Disarmament Conference, long drawn-out, infructuous—and here I speak feelingly as a member of it from the beginning—whereas the re-armament of States Members is in full swing. She is troubled above all by the wars, declared or undeclared, that have been waged between its members. And now a fresh trouble, greater than any of these, has arisen. Should the worst come to the worst—which God forbid—who dare foretell the evils, world-spread, age-lasting, that might follow?

"India's criticism of the League is directed to its shortcomings, not to the ideals of which the League was the outcome and which inspire her being. On the contrary, the conception of collective security is appealing to Indian thought as the only alternative to international anarchy with ever growing force. The world is at the parting of the ways. Let wisdom guide her choice."

UNEMPLOYMENT IN GERMANY.

The three main groups of German Unemployed, are as follows: The centralisation of employment exchange in the Reich Labour Agency and Unemployment Insurance, the Central Bureau for combatting unemployment, has only been in operation for the past two months, but a reliable picture of the activities of individual agencies is already obtainable from the uniform system of registration. Of the 1.8 million unemployed who, according to Dr. Syrup, the President of the above Federal Exchange, will remain as an average for 1936, one third, approximately 600,000, is in every sense of the word unemployed, or better unemployable, that is, at present without work and without prospects of work, being unfitted for work either through age, incapacity or for some other reason. There has always been such a percentage even during German economic expansion prior as well as subsequent to the War, one that is found everywhere, at least to a relative degree, in any highly industrialised country.

The second group comprise people who have been unemployed for a long time, whose workmanship and dexterity has suffered in consequence. With the aid of the labour agencies or the special trade sections of the Labour Front they must be re-qualified for their former callings or new ones. In this respect, the systematic catalogue worked out by the Federal



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Exchange as to labour requirements in all branches of economic life is invaluable. The *third group* is largely composed of day labourers, jobbers and those not regularly engaged on full or half-time jobs and, therefore, figuring as unemployed. It has been found that quite a number in the second category have tied themselves up too hastily without serious reflection to a home of their own. This would seem to indicate that the housing and settlement policies of recent years are not always 100% in keeping with the labour policy, revealing unexpected demerits that do not, however, detract from the merits of the larger aims of National Socialism. They are, nevertheless, a warning against pursuing the two policies independently of each other. Both are phases of national economy, an integral whole based on the principle of totality.

CHINESE TRADE AND WORLD PEACE.

A brochure is published in German, entitled *Deutschlands Gegenwärtige Gelegenheiten in China* (Germany's Present Opportunities in China) by Judge Paul Linebarger, Legal Advisor to and Special Envoy of The National Government of China. It gives some illuminating information concerning not only the German, but also the general foreign opportunities for trade with China at the present time. The release, below, explains the nature of the brochure.

Judge Paul Linebarger, eighteen years the international legal advisor of Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the Chinese Republic, and now the legal advisor and special representative of the Chinese Government, declared that the Chinese markets could make the present struggle for colonies unnecessary. "Germany and other countries seeking colonies for trade expansion should realize that force defeats its own ends. The nations now without colonies are better off without them. Colonies are a burden. Chinese trade can bring prosperity to all nations seeking outlets," declared Judge Linebarger. "In a publication I have just published for circulation in Germany, entitled *Deutschlands Gegenwärtige Gelegenheiten in China*, I tried to explain that force was not only ineffective, but unprofitable, and that if the Germans wished to promote their national welfare they could raise the level of their prosperity by trade with China." (P. 9)

The brochure of which Judge Linebarger spoke gives a vivid picture of trading methods and opportunities in China. The Germans went ahead because they did not use the worn-out methods of British imperialism, and sought to deal with the Chinese quite equitably, learning the Chinese language and trying to understand the Chinese people. The Germans did not really need colonies in China because their trading methods were superior to those of the other countries dealing there. Any nation which can learn the German lesson today can also prosper, and if the Germans build up their trade with the Chinese population, one fourth of that of the whole globe, Germany need not acquire colonies, which are expensive and difficult to administer.

"The Chinese government," says Judge Linebarger "itself possesses the power in China. It is not subject to the pressures of unseen predatory power. There is no invisible government of greedy interests behind China's National Government. For this reason, the Chinese are easier to deal with; trade with them can be conducted on a more secure basis than it can in many of the nations of the world." The brochure cites interesting parallels between the Sun Yat-sen system of government in China, and the dual regimes of officialdom and special interests in the West.

Such leaders as Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei, Hu Han Min, Lin Shen, Sun Fo, H. H. Kung and T. V. Soon are anxious that China deal extensively with the rest of the world. They know that the vast latent purchasing power of the Chinese can be developed to the mutual advantage of the Chinese and the West. The pamphlet tells an interesting anecdote of the diplomacy and tact of Chiang Kai-shek, who even on the battle-field, sought to conciliate other leaders rather than antagonize and fight them. (pp. 29-31.)

The brochure recounts an interesting recollection of Judge Linebarger, which illustrates the necessity of having a close acquaintance and conformity with Chinese manners. It so occurred that Judge Linebarger disapproved of the drinking of tea during government office hours and he accordingly arranged that no tea should be served in the building at Nanking wherein his office was located. He was considerably embarrassed when a very dear old friend, a high Chinese official, called on him and was disconcerted by the lack of tea. Judge Linebarger immediately realized that he was confronted by a custom too old and too refined to be violated, and thereafter served tea in his Legal Advisor's office. In dealing with the Chinese, the Western traders must learn Chinese manners. If they secure a proper entrance into Chinese commercial life, they can bring prosperity to themselves and their countries.

The concluding section of the brochure gives an intimate sketch of Sun Yat-sen, with whom Judge Linebarger was closely associated for eighteen years, and describes the meaning of the doctrines that Sun Yat-sen taught, which are now the official philosophy of the Chinese government. Judge Linebarger recommends that the Western traders respect Sun Yat-sen and thereby encourage the Chinese to respect the Western traders in return.

THE NEW RUSSIAN PEASANT.*

(BY LEMENT HARRIS)

The slow-moving peasant of ancient Russia is being made over. For ten years after the revolution much happened to him, but since 1929 his life has changed completely. Once the State was in the hands of the Soviets, the problem in regard to agriculture was that of moving from feudalism to socialism. The backwardness of about 125,000,000 peasants made it difficult to the point of perplexity. They were illiterate, superstitious, cruel and, above all, suspicious of anything new. Had not every scheme in the past been only a new way of forcing work out of them. Always their deepest craving had been for land, since if they had land they could somehow raise a crop and had have grain for the winter. The Bolsheviks had given them land, and they expected to farm it quietly.

Thus, for ten years after the revolution, the old life went on. The man of the house beat his wife; she beat the children; the children beat the animals. There appeared in the villages little pamphlet selling for two kopecks entitled *Don't Beat Your Children*. With simple words and in large type, like that of a child's primer, the pamphlet described beating as the method of bloody Czar Nicholas, while the Soviet Government stood for friendly reasoning. More than a pamphlet, however was needed to end the old dark customs. There had to be a revolution, and a revolution on whose banner was inscribed a tractor.

When the Bolsheviks took the idea of the collective farm to the villages they at first met with a cold reception. A country school

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teacher told me how, as a member of the Communist party, he had argued for two years in the village before the peasants were willing to try the experiment of their first little collective, and even then they entered full of doubts, with the right to withdraw after the first season if they did not like it. I made it a practice last summer to ask peasants about their new life. Their answer was usually something like this: "Not bad. We have difficulties." This was high praise. The grumbling about the lack of supplies in the country store, which usually followed this comment, only proved that the answer was a genuine expression of peasant approval. Behind his answer, "Not bad," lies the impressive fact that the peasant's income is vastly higher than it has ever been before.

Today the Russian peasant is beginning to look a little different. As a first sign of advancing civilization, the beard is gone. A peasant manages to visit the new village barber shop about once in ten days, and so most of the time he looks like an autumn chestnut burr. He is wearing real shoes, and this is a big advance over the straw and cloth with which he used to bind his feet. Now a man has enough money in his pocket to buy real shoes. When they appear in the village store there is a great rush and a few hours later all shoes are sold. The village demand for manufactured goods is greater than even the expanded industries can yet supply. This causes considerable grumbling, especially from the older peasants, to whom grumbling has always been a recognized pastime. Plenty of them are not impressed by the arguments of local officials, who explain that the war danger has forced many factories to produce war materials rather than consumers' goods.

Thousands of peasants who cannot buy what they want in the villages go long distances to the cities to shop in the big stores. I found in Moscow's largest department store crowds of peasant men and women at the shoe counters banding over their money. These peasant shoppers were not discouraged because prices were higher in Moscow than in the country.

But with the change have come new difficulties—problems of living, labour supervision, technique and management. The shift from strip tillage with crude tools to modern, large scale farming from individual to collective farming, brought with it the need to train thousands of bookkeepers and mechanics, farm specialists and so forth. And there was no one for these tasks except the medieval peasant. Yesterday he used a walking plow; today he drives a caterpillar tractor. Yesterday he could neither read nor calculate; today he must understand cost accounting.

The past five years have also been marked by an immense increase in the production of all kinds of farm machinery. New tractor factories are now running full blast, turning out an excellent product. In January, 1936, there were 400,000 tractors on the Soviet farms. (This compares with 1,000,000 tractors on American farms in 1930). Improved labour methods within the plants have raised production considerably beyond schedule, and it is expected that in 1936 more than 200,000 more tractors will be available for the collectives.

Throughout the recent period of rapid industrialization there has been a great movement, totaling millions of peasants, to the industrial centres. You find peasants of yesterday at work as trade union members in all the factories. Here is a great steel mill named after Karl Liebknecht. While standing near one of the great electric furnaces, waiting to watch a pouring, I talked with a puddler who came in from the farms six months before. He told me how he started at 150 to 200 rubles a month and

now earns 300. "I go to school after work and study machinery." (I learned that 60 per cent of the workers in this plant were studying.) "But come over here, I want to show you something." He took me to the drinking fountain and told me to drink. The water was charged, like soda water, as a special service for those working in hot places.

At the same time that grain-harvesting machinery is being improved, important developments are taking place in wheat culture itself. In one of the experimental farms in Siberia perennial wheat is growing. The same stool will produce a crop year after year. It is a hybrid of a good drought-resisting variety of wheat and a mountain grass found in Central Asia. I saw this perennial wheat in a green house in one of the Ukrainian experimental stations and also in a little laboratory attached to a collective farm. If perennial wheat proves successful, the labour required for growing a crop will be reduced after the first planting to simply harvesting once a year. Harvesting this crop with the improved combines should reduce enormously the cost and labour of raising wheat. Perennial wheat would also solve the problem of wind erosion on the prairies, since the stools from which it grows have a wide root system.

Thus modern technique is closing in on the grain crop from three directions: First, the mass production of tractors and harvesting machinery; second, the development of improved machinery to operate over a greater area and handle a greater percentage of the crop, and, third, improved plant varieties which simplify the process of wheat production. How will all this affect the peasants? One combine can do in ten days the same work, with less loss of grain, that formerly required 200 peasants working for five weeks. This opens the way for shorter working hours on the farms, for an end to the tyranny of the soil.

More difficult than the mastering of technique has been the question of management. Where could presidents and brigade leaders be found who would be competent to plan farm operations? Book-keeping alone loomed as an insoluble problem. But to meet this a national call was issued for book-keepers who would volunteer for two years' service in the villages. Several thousand trained book-keepers responded and went from farm to farm, training peasants to keep accounts.

By 1935 the book-keepers had raised their craft to a higher level. They now have a special room for working on the accounts and proudly display to visitors the income and expenditure sheets. Everything is done with pen and ink, because a typewriter is still an unusual machine in a rural community. As large sheets of paper are not available, the book-keepers paste together a number of sheets for their exhibits.

Much of the success of a collective farm depends upon the wise choice of the president, who is elected by a mass meeting and confirmed by the local Soviet. Final power to appoint or remove lies with the mass meeting, but if the Soviet disapproves of the choice it can reopen the discussion and present its views.

I noticed that many of the presidents had formerly been "horseless peasants"; that is, the people who were too poor to own a horse and had to work primarily for a kulak or landlord. They were, of course, constantly in debt. After the revolution they received land, but lacking the money to buy equipment and livestock, they continued to work for the kulak by whom they were terribly exploited. When the collective farms were established, these poorest peasants joined immediately, because they saw the opportunity of earning some cash and living much better. They became the most solid and the staunchest supporters of collectivization.



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As the collectives developed, the kulaks saw that their days of prosperity were at an end. It was natural that they should do all they could to prevent the collectives from succeeding, and even in 1935 I encountered a case where some desperate kulaks had attempted to disorganize a collective by putting arsenic in the milk that was fed to the calves. But this battle with the kulak is nearly over. In most instances he has become a loyal member of the new society.

In 1935 important steps were taken to protect the personal security of every collective farmer. First, the title to the land used by the collective was guaranteed forever. Then every member was guaranteed a personal plot of land big enough for a garden potato patch and small orchard. In addition it became a national policy to "liquidate the cowless peasant." As a result I found that each peasant who did not own a cow was supplied with heifer at small expense by the collective farms.

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NOTES

A Sign of the Times :—The great mass meeting of Muslims last Sunday, which was presided over by Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri and addressed by Swami Visvananda among others, is a sign of the times. Journalists sense coming changes long before they become manifest to the public. Harmonious relations between our communities can only be ensured by mutual respect for one another's religion. There is a vast deal in the history of Islam as in that of Christianity and Buddhism of which every race and creed can well be proud. The story of sublime heroism sustained by faith in God, which the Mohurrum celebrates, belongs to this category. Both the Chairman and Swami Visvananda spoke with unaffected fervour of the memory of the heroic martyr of Kerbela and their tributes were greatly appreciated by the audience of over seven thousand Muslims.

Good News from the Punjab :—The Punjab which a few weeks ago presented a communal tangle out of which there seemed no early prospect of its extricating itself, has pulled itself together and is settling down to work provincial autonomy. Mr. Jinnah's visit has had a magical effect in removing the Shahid-gunge dispute from the arena of communal strife. Now comes the news that Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, who acted with much credit as Governor of the Punjab during the absence of Sir Herbert Emerson on leave, and whose presence in the province would most probably have averted the recent communal trouble, is resigning the Deputy Governorship of the Reserve Bank to resume his place in the public life of his province. The appointment of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan to the Deputy Governorship of the Reserve Bank, might have had some esoteric reason at the back of it, but it removed him from a sphere where his presence was a great public utility to an office in Calcutta with routine duties which can be performed

equally well if not better by a professional banker. Sir Sikandar enjoys the confidence of all communities in the Punjab and it is on their invitation that, according to the report in the *Tribune*, he is resigning his lucrative job to organise the province for autonomy. Sir Fazli Hussain who recently retired from Membership of the Government of India, has not been enjoying good health for some time and it is believed that he will be glad to hand over the leadership of his party to Sir Sikandar Khan. As regards Sir Fazli himself, whatever might have been his views in the past, his experience as a member of the Government of India has converted him into a broadminded statesman with a greatly attenuated belief in communal politics.

Study of English :—Addressing the Fergusson College students in February, Mr. Jayakar pleaded for the study of English not merely as a compulsory subject for examinations but as a valuable instrument of culture on account of its intrinsic merits. The exhortation is by no means superfluous. Owing to several causes there has been of late years a lowering of the standard of English in our schools and colleges. One of these is the attitude of the Government as expressed in an advertisement, which appeared some time back, inviting applications for a Reader in English for Elphinstone College on a salary of rupees one hundred a month, vacations excluded! What kind of a man did Government expect to secure on these terms? They might as well abolish the College as they abolished the Deccan College rather than subject it to slow starvation in this way. Students coached in English language and literature by one who is willing to accept a hundred rupees leaving out vacations not out of love for the college, is not likely to learn to appreciate the genius of the language as Mr. Jayakar, educated under a vastly different regime, can and wishes them to, do. Political prejudice, said Mr. Jayakar, should not affect the study of the English language by Indian students. English, unlike most other languages, is not associated with one nationality. Each of the British Dominions claims to be a separate nation. The United States is a great Power outside the British orbit of influence. China and Japan have English as a compulsory second language in their schools. In many countries of Europe, English has ousted French from the



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pre-eminence which it not long ago enjoyed as the medium of international intercourse. Unless there is something intrinsically valuable in it, it is impossible to account for the phenomenal diffusion of English in recent years. Why Indians like Raja Ram Mohan Roy acclaimed it with fervour, was that it was the language of civil freedom. It is still that, although the British seem no longer to love freedom as did their forefathers. Still, however, the genius of the language and history of their country, is felt at least to the extent that British officials, when they act as Oriental despots are supposed to act, are constrained to camouflage their conduct with the paint of freedom and democracy. If this is the case in England with a tradition of civil freedom extending back several centuries and enshrined in her institutions, language and history, it needs not much insight to guess what it will be in a country where it is an acquisition of hardly a whole century and where the tradition of unalloyed autocracy has struck deep roots in culture and society.

Well-Deserved Tribute :—The grand demonstration which was held in Patna last week to give expression to the high esteem in which Babu Rajendra Prasad is held by all sections of Biharees irrespective of their political sympathies, shows that, whatever might have been the case in Judea two thousand years ago, the saying that a prophet is not honoured in his own country, does not hold good of Bihar and India. Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, whom we congratulate on his appointment to the Vice-Chancellorship of Patna University, presided and paid a fervent tribute to the character and work of the retiring Congress President. The Government of Madras in their Administration Report for last year testified that Babu Rajendra Prasad's speeches during his tour of that province "were moderate in tone and confined to the constructive programme of the Congress." It is impossible to think of his being anything but moderate and constructive as only men with a clear purpose and a definite aim, not liable to be distracted by side issues, can be. When the Government of India unwisely banned his contemplated mission of relief to Quetta soon after the earthquake, Babu Rajendra Prasad had the opportunity of creating a first class sensation by journeying towards Quetta in the certainty of having to return from the railway station. The temptation to the average popular leader would have been irresistible. But Babu Rajendra Prasad merely said that, if he was not allowed to serve the sufferers in Quetta, he can equally well serve them all the same when they are removed to places outside the devastated city. That, to our mind, showed the strength of the man's character. Some people may be aptly described in Bismark's famous phrase as lath painted to look like iron. The converse is true of Babu Rajendra Prasad. He is iron painted to look like lath. Even under grave provocation such as the Bihar Publicity official's ill-mannered

diatribe against the administration of the Bihar Relief Fund, he preserved his composure and equipoise. We agree with Mr. Sinha that public men like Babu Rajendra Prasad are rare. The popular leader has of necessity to be a bit of a charlatan.

The crowd must have emphatic warrant,
The right arm's rod-sweep, the tongue's
imperial fiat.

Never dares the man put off the prophet.

It is to the credit of the Indian people that they could appreciate and honour a man without a trace of the charlatan in him like Babu Rajendra Prasad.

Congress and Office:—The Working Committee of the Congress has wisely decided to postpone consideration of the question whether Congress members of the Legislature should or should not accept office if they are returned to the Legislatures with a sufficient majority. The sweeping victories at the last election to the Legislative Assembly are not absolutely reliable as a forecast of the probable results of the elections to the Provincial Legislatures next year. The surprising defeat of Professor K. T. Shah in the by-election for the Bombay University seat in the Local Legislative Council, notwithstanding the strong support given to him by the Congress party and Press, by Dr. Vad who is comparatively little known outside his profession, can not be explained away as being due to Deccani-Gujarati partiality. At elections to the Senate Gujaratis have practically left Deccan far behind. There is among educated men a distinct cooling down of enthusiasm for the Congress and it is difficult to judge how far this feeling has spread. Then, again, in some provinces conditions are such that if the Congress declares against holding office, few of its candidates will have a chance of being elected. *New Orissa* has strongly deprecated dragging that province into controversial electioneering at the threshold of its career. In Madras Presidency, the electors will have no interest in returning Congressmen unless they undertake to supplant the present Ministers in office. Apart from their merits or demerits, the province is rather tired of them and is longing to give a swing to the pendulum. It may also be the case in some other provinces that a declaration in favour of holding office, may go against Congress candidates. All things considered, the Working Committee has wisely decided that it will be time to decide the question when the results of the elections can be more or less accurately estimated. As regards the other resolutions, their ideology is bourgeois though the phraseology may smack of Marxian. Congress leaders have a difficult task to reconcile the Socialists among them to a programme which would be supported by the older leader who do not believe in bringing in the millenium by a stroke of the pen. The *Congress Socialist* is satisfied that the wording of the Working Committee's resolutions closely follows the draft of its party; and the substance of them.



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not such as need cause alarm to conservative Congressmen.

A Hasty Decision:—We publish in another column the statement issued by Mr. Subhas Bose of the reasons which led him to decide to return to India after the warning conveyed to him that he might be detained as a political prisoner if he did so. To a large extent, the Government's action made it impossible for a man of Mr. Bose's temperament to adopt any other course. Nevertheless, we agree with the Indian and European friends whom he consulted and who advised him to ignore the Government challenge and remain in Europe. Over and above the reasons which prompted them to give the advice, there is also another which should have weighed with Mr. Bose. It is obvious from the replies given to questions asked in the House of Commons that the Secretary of State for India is not at all anxious to take upon himself the responsibility for detaining Mr. Bose without trial under an antiquated Regulation. Answering a question by Mr. Thurtle on Monday whether Lord Zetland would state whether it was intended to formulate a definite charge and bring Mr. Bose to trial the Under Secretary, Mr. Butler, said that his chief must be guided by the views of the authorities in India as regards the action to be taken. The Government of India may ignore the resolution of the Legislative Assembly but they can not ignore the House of Commons; and if Lord Zetland feels that the reasons given by them for detaining Mr. Bose under *lettres de cachet* procedure, are not such as a British Secretary of State can urge before a British House of Commons, they will have either to bring Mr. Bose to trial or release him. By deciding to return, Mr. Bose has relieved the Government of India of a very difficult task. Instead of having to give reasons for detaining a British subject without trial, which is repugnant to the spirit of the British constitution, they have now merely to say that Mr. Bose defied their warning and that such defiance if tolerated will have a dangerous effect on the Indian masses. Sir Henry Craik has good reason to thank heaven fervently that Mr. Bose decided to return. Since the above was in type, Mr. Bose landed in Bombay on Wednesday and was promptly placed under arrest under the century old Regulation.

The King and the Pandit:—We referred last week to the story that Lord Halifax, the ex-Viceroy who negotiated the Gandhi-Irwin Pact seven years ago, had written to Gandhiji to have a frank talk with Lord Linlithgow when the latter arrives in India to take over the viceroyalty from Lord Willingdon. It was repudiated both by Gandhiji and by Government. The New Delhi correspondent of the *Amrita Basar Patrika* of Calcutta reported on March 26: "*Riyasat*, a local weekly, has published a report in its issue that while Pandit Jawaharlal was in London, the King's Private Secretary wrote to Pandit Nehru extending an invitation

to meet the King. The paper says that this information was based on a letter received from an ex-Minister of Parliament. The paper mentions that the invitation had been extended on the advice of Lord Linlithgow for discussion of political issues relating to India. Jawaharlal declined the invitation on the ground that his meeting the King or Lord Linlithgow would lead to all sorts of speculations in political circles in India." The *Riyasat* is an Urdu paper which is not very well known outside the Punjab but the *Amrita Basar Patrika* has an all-India reputation and it is surprising that even after the reproduction of the story by it, it has remained practically unnoticed by the Indian Press. Pandit Jawaharlal has not contradicted the *Riyasat's* information. King Edward VIII during the short time since he succeeded his father, has given evidence of having a mind of his own. He has travelled all over the Empire and knows more of its men and affairs than most of his Ministers. There is no constitutional restriction on his seeing any of his subjects whom he wishes to see. There is nothing inherently improbable or improper in His Majesty desiring to meet an Indian leader who happened to be in London. Pandit Jawaharlal's alleged refusal to see the King and, even more, the reason given for the refusal, if the invitation was really given, can only be characterised as astonishing. To let go a golden opportunity of placing the cause of his country before the King who desired to know it first-hand from the President-elect of the National Congress, and to do that for fear that it might give rise to speculation in India, is hardly what one would expect of the Pandit.

The End of the Lindbergh Baby Case:—The execution of Bruno Richard Hauptmann in Trenton jail, New Jersey, on Saturday last marks the close of one of the most sensational cases in the annals of crime. The Lindbergh child was kidnapped and murdered on March 1st 1932. It took nearly four years for the final act in the tragedy to be performed. That the crime should have taken over three years to detect in a country so well equipped with the apparatus of detection in all its departments and where means of communication are the most complete, perhaps, in the whole world, is astonishing. But the cunning of criminals develops side by side with improvement in the means of detection. In this case, except a broken ladder left on the lawn near the house, there was absolutely no trace of the criminal available to the expert detectives who were put to unravel the mystery. A broken piece of wood would seem to be the last thing in the world to give a clue to a crime but in this case it proved to be the determining factor. A wood expert of the U. S. A. Forest Service was able, after prolonged investigation involving the examination of some 2,000 timber yards in the whole country, to identify the broken ladder as the plank which was found to be torn off the flooring in Hauptmann's residence.



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LORD WILLINGDON.

At a banquet given in his honour by the European Association of Calcutta, Lord Willingdon was reported to have said that his own natural preference was for the life of a country gentleman. He was more interested in breeding pigs than in dealing with people. But he married a wife—and there he was, Viceroy of India. The time is not distant when an ambitious wife will not have to seek the realisation of her ambition through a husband who does not share it but can achieve it in her own right. In the case of our retiring Viceroy, however, the diverse ambitions of husband and wife were harmonised in a unique manner. Lord Willingdon set himself to act the part of a statesman but followed his natural bent in the manner of his statesmanship. From the very first day of his connection with India, he had one main policy to which he has remained constant through the nearly twenty years for which it has lasted. That policy was to advance Indians to the higher posts which had been barred to them but to discountenance any large constitutional reforms. This was the fixed idea of British Liberals which Lord Willingdon brought with him. After several talks with Gokhale who “made no secret of his ultimate hope and design—India to be on the footing of a self-governing colony”—the phrase “Dominion Status” was not invented until many years later—Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto: “I half suspect that what they (Indian politicals) really want a million times beyond political reform, is access to the higher administrative posts of all sorts, though they are alive to the inseparable connection between the two.” To be quite fair, there was much in the nature of the reforms demanded by Indian leaders in the pre-war era to justify Lord Morley’s suspicion. Though they might have been alive to the inseparable connection between political reform and accession to high office, Indian leaders did not see clearly enough that Indianisation of the Services was likely to prove a great obstacle to political reform except it come as a consequence of political reform. Lord Willingdon came with this idea and he has never been able to shake himself free of it. When he wrote to the Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, in January 1916 of his “profound and certain belief in the necessity for a big and generous gesture in the way of legislation both in economic and administrative matters by the Home Government” towards India, he did not visualise any fundamental change in the system of Indian government. “Of course,” he explained “it is true that the advance of the Indian means the gradual disappearance of this great Civil Service out here, but that, if the Indians are given a real chance to progress, is inevitable.” It is not improbable that the prospect of the elimination of the Indian Civil Service foreshadowed

in this letter, inspired Mr. Lloyd George to declare in Parliament that nothing should be done to weaken the steel frame. However that may be, the fact remains that, during Lord Willingdon’s regime, Indians have been appointed to the higher posts which had been so far filled only by British officials, to a much larger extent than under any previous Viceroy. There can be no doubt that this is due in no small measure to the personal influence of His Excellency. Lord Willingdon also played with the idea of becoming the first Viceroy of India under a Dominion constitution. He expressed his earnest hopes in this direction in more than one of his public speeches before the National Government was established in England. But he did little else to advance the cause and, indeed, when his Government had the opportunity, they did not avail themselves of it to make a stand against the many vagaries of the Hoare scheme of constitutional reform.

But the outstanding feature of the Willingdon regime, is the Ordinances which he promulgated. These were intended to suppress the Civil Disobedience movement but they were so comprehensive and so drastic that they suppressed all political and much other activity. His predecessor, Lord Irwin, it is true, started the issue of Ordinances. But he fully realised that they were only a makeshift and no true remedy; and he made exceptions in the case of swadeshi and anti-liquor propaganda. He declared that it was no part of his policy to make a solitude and call it peace. Lord Willingdon had none of his predecessor’s scruples and he had no prevision. Much of the Ordinance material has since been enacted as part of the permanent law of the land. It is true that the Ordinance regime put an end to Civil Disobedience but it also put an end to the hope associated with Civil Disobedience of India being able to set an example to the world of carrying through a political revolution by entirely non-violent means. The policy of Indianisation of the higher offices undoubtedly helped the Viceroy in the application of his policy of ‘thorough’. The non-official Indian Opposition in the Legislature and outside was paralysed by the advocacy and defence of the repressive measures being entrusted to Indian officials. One of the Draft Resolutions of the Working Committee of the National Congress which we printed in the last issue, gives a long list of measures directed against civil liberties and avers that “at no period since the great revolt of 1857 has the suppression of civil and personal liberties and the repression of the Indian people, which is the normal feature of British Indian administration in India today, been so great as it is now.” There is some exaggeration in this, as in 1857 and the years which followed immediately after, many of the things which are catalogued in the resolution as having been suppressed such as the Congress, Labour Unions and Ashrams, did not exist. There was then really

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little to suppress. Nevertheless it is quite true that the reign of law which British rule introduced, has in large part been broken into by the Ordinances which substituted Executive instead of Judicial authority as arbiter in certain classes of offences, many of which are quite new and unknown to the Indian Penal Code comprehensive as it is supposed to be. Even the elementary maxim of jurisprudence that a man should be regarded as innocent unless he is proved to be guilty, has been inverted in the case of political and press offences. Outside politics, Lord Willingdon's Government has followed the policy of developing India as an estate and not as a State within the British Commonwealth. Its fiscal policy has been directed to balance its budget by unbalancing those of the Provinces and private concerns and individuals. Lord Willingdon's Viceroyalty may be described as a personal success to His Excellency but a public catastrophe for India. It can not be altogether a pleasing reflection to him in the evening of his life that his name will be associated in the memory of thousands of the Indian people with sufferings which they had done nothing to merit.

THE BUDDHA'S WAY. BHIKKU METTAYA.*

We were interested to read the leader you wrote on March 21st, under the title "The Two Ways" wherein speaking of the Lord Buddha you remark: "The point we wish to emphasise here, is that the Buddha while he did his best to relieve the patient did not offer to cure him. Buddha's method was to change the mental attitude of sufferers and not their material condition."

This remark, we feel, is a great injustice done to the great Teacher who, to use the striking language of Dr. Oldenberg, a non-Buddhist, stands forth as the most prominent of the world's physicians that traversed India in monastic garb. In history, we see no other Teacher who cured the world as Lord Buddha did nor one who improved its material condition so much as he did. Fa-Hian, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim who came to India in the early years of the 5th century of the Christian era, describes the happy state of the "Middle Kingdom (of the Brahmans)" then in the following words:

"It has a temperate climate, without frost or snow; and the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the King's land have to pay so much on the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop. The king in his administration uses no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the King's body-guard have all fixed salaries. Throughout the country no one kills any living things, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic; but chandalas are segregated. Chandala is their name for foul men (lepers).....In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers, shops or distilleries in their market-places"

(Dr. H. A. Giles' translation)

The noble Fa-Hian is accepted as a speaker of truth both by the East and the West and if we compare and contrast this picture of India then with

what it is to-day, we will know how wholly the Lord Buddha cured the world of its ills, and how, by treading the Golden Path shown by him, even the world to-day will free herself of all her misery. Asoka, the great disciple of the Lord Buddha, flourished hundreds of years before Fa-Hian. That great emperor, after his conversion, sheathed his sword never to draw it out again, and following the Lord of Compassion, became the father of all beings that breathe. At his request, the President of the Third Council sent missionaries, who were healers of the heart, to almost the whole of the then known world, and for healing ills of the flesh, the benevolent emperor established hospitals for man and beast not only in India, but even in the realm of Antiochos, the Greek King.

Every act the Lord Buddha did, He did it in compassion, and he taught his disciples also to renunciate self and to serve the World through compassion and love. The inscriptions of Asoka are but an echo of the sweet words of his master and of this emperor Mr. H. G. Wells, a non-Buddhist, and an historian of the greatest integrity says:

"For eight and twenty years Asoka worked sanely for the real needs of men. Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star. From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured. China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness. More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne." (Outline of History)

We have quoted disinterested scholars deliberately and what Mr. Wells said of Asoka as a king, any honest historian may say of the Lord Buddha as a World Teacher. History tells us that there was no other teacher who walked India curing the sick, *consoling the disconsolate, teaching the Truth and dispensing happiness* as the Lord Buddha did. He was now at Benares, now at Rajagaha, now at Vesali and now at Savatthi and this land, when he trod it in journeying, was fully happy. He gave the same love to all alike, to Brahmin and Chandala, to queen and courtesan, to saint and slave girl. In his presence none was high, none low. Those who, in the world, were highest, sat at his feet with the lowest. He gave unity to India and the world. What the Lord Buddha did was converting the world from greed to renunciation, from hatred to love, and from cruelty to compassion. In the noble Noble Eightfold Path taught by him, the second step is Right Mindedness. The disciple of the Lord Buddha sets his thoughts on Renunciation (*Nekkhamma*), Love (*Metta*) and compassion (*Ahimsa*). These are saving thoughts. After thinking we act—act that the world may benefit. Giving up acquisitiveness and putting away thoughts of self, we work for the good and happiness of others. In Buddhism, the man who comes forward to serve the world, monarch, minister or monk, must have renunciation as his mandate. And it was through this portal of renunciation that all great Buddhist kings entered the path of service. Was not Asoka reluctant to rule? He would not be the ruler, but the servant and the modest adviser. Buddhist Love is never limited. Nor is it inactive. The real lover of the World works ceaselessly for its welfare. And the Ahimsa that the Lord Buddha taught the world is not merely refraining from doing any harm to the world, but it is also removing the sufferings of the world. But without renouncing self, no one would either love the world or remove its sufferings. One may speak

* Of Maha Bodhi Society Calcutta.



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of doing so, and pretend to do so, but one will never do good to the world or remove its sufferings without sacrificing self. And unless one sees the sorrows immanent in life and the misery the world is subject to, one will not practise true renunciation. Hence the Lord Buddha taught suffering as the first Noble Truth. We never hate a patient, we never harm him—but we always wish him well and strive to cure him. The whole world is suffering. All life is one in that all are suffering, and all life is one as all wish for happiness. Hence Lord Buddha taught man by practice first and by precept next, to strive to make the whole world happy. To who ever that went to him, Lord Buddha gave happiness. They that followed him on the Aryan Path of Right View, Right Mindedness, Right Word, Right Action, Right Livelihood, Right Exertion, Right Recollectedness, and Right Concentration, won Peace and the Highest Happiness. Foremost among Indian monarchs that followed the Lord Buddha was Asoka and he made India and the world happy. Even to-day Asoka is the prototype for any monarch that wishes to rule the earth righteously and Lord Buddha is the True Teacher that any man must accept if he is to live a life of love, purity and service. If we are to recount incidents to show how the Lord Buddha helped the world both spiritually and materially, we shall have to write a very large book. But we may make mention of some instances.

There was a Brahman named Bharadvaja, who lost all his riches. His many daughters came home with their children also and the old man fell into debt. Early in the morning creditors would surround his house and demand the debts saying "Give our money!" "Give our money!" The poor man also lost his fourteen oxen six days ago.

And early in the morning, without any hope in the world, without a single friend in the world, he wandered into the woods. Seeing him, the Lord Buddha went in compassion to him, took the old man with him to King Kosala, and told the King the pathetic tale. The good king paid away all his debts, had his wife and daughters brought to the palace, gave the daughters in marriage, and keeping the old Brahminess in the royal residence, cherished her as his grandmother. He also offered the old monk robes and requisites, and became his lay brother. Thus Bharadvaja, the Brahman, who lost all, found, through the grace of the Lord Buddha, more than what he lost, for he won Eternal Peace and Happiness also.

One day when the Lord was about to preach, a poor man oppressed with pangs of hunger came to him and the Lord said to the people of the house "Feed this hungry brother." And the Lord kept the whole audience in waiting till that man finished his meal. When he had eaten his meal, he was physically relieved and his mind became tranquil. Then the Lord preached the Dhamma and the poor man was established in sanctity.

Every step the Lord took was for the benefit of the world, every word he uttered was sweet. He who could not look on even while an animal was suffering, how could he bear to look on when man was suffering? One day some children were hurting a rattle snake, and the Lord going to them, taught them to love the poor creature and leave it in peace. One day the Lord saw a man fishing, and repaired thither. The man, on seeing the Lord, threw away his fishing rod and stood still. And the Lord, in the friendliest manner, inquired "What, friend, is thy name?" "My name, O' Lord, is Ariya" said the man. And the Lord said to him. "Friend Ariyas never harm any living being." And Ariya thereafter never did any living being harm.

There is the story of Angulimala. He had a voice like vengeance and the beasts of the forest trembled when he roared "I am Angulimala." He already had killed nine-hundred and ninety-nine men, and that day he had raised his sword to kill his very mother, when lo! the Lord saved him and mother both. So tender did the heart of the murderer grow, he later could not bear to see the travail of a woman.

You had reproduced in your valuable journal the story of "How the Master Ministered the Sick," from the "Maha Bodhi." That is one instance. There are others also. And the Lord has said "He that nurseth the sick, he nurseth Me." Further, in the questions of Milinda we read "The Buddha esteems not the gifts offered to him, but only the alms that are shared with those in need." Through the grace of the Lord Buddha even bird and beast received the love of man. In Buddhist countries there still is the custom of giving "Dana" to dogs, crows and other animals. It is a joyful spectacle to see hundreds of dogs and crows eating to their hearts' content.

No one looked on this sick world with more love than he, and he washed this earth of all its stains even as He washed the red hand of Angulimala, and he made the heart of the world pure and happy in the highest. If there ever was one who gave life to the dead world it was the Lord Buddha. For, physical death is nothing in comparisons to the other death, which is of the spirit, because a man even if he is physically alive is as dead if he is dead in spirit and the dead corpse of the Spirit spreads disease and malodour throughout the world giving death to others also. Greed is Death, Hatred is Death, and Ignorance is Death. But Renunciation on the other hand is Life, Love is Life and Knowledge is Life. He whose greed grows is on the path of death. They in whom evils grow are also on the path of death. They go from Dark to Dark. He that hates, envies and steals his neighbour is on the path of Death. The nation that tramples down another is also on the path of death. Such a killing nation is verily committing suicide. As she tramples down the other nation with her foot, her very hand strangles her own neck.

The Lord Buddha gave Life to a dead world in that he brought love to where Hatred was, Renunciation to where Acquisitiveness was, Peace to where war was and Light to where Darkness was. He gave life to the dead spirit of the world. He, and He alone taught the world the whole art of living, living for the good of the world, each man a saviour of his fellowmen. Where his teachings on the art of living followed, and only when they were followed, every other art also reached its zenith. It was during Buddhist days that Indian art was at its highest. Lord Buddha taught the world the art of living, Asoka taught the world the art of ruling and Buddhist masters taught the world the art of painting. Sir John Marshall the late Director General of Archaeology, speaking of Buddhist Art says: "In the earliest caves you see Buddhist art almost at its zenith; you mark its graceful lines; its rich but restrained decoration, its transparent sincerity, and above all its peace and tranquillity....You have passed from the realm of Buddhism.....and you realize—with a start as it were—the vast gulf that separates the two. You can see forms obviously copied from the Buddhist; but their peacefulness is gone. *Bihos* (if I may use a Greek expression) has given way to *Pathos*. They have become the incarnation of all dead forces of nature, of passion and of lust, of suffering and death. And so you go from one to another of these halls, surrounded by sombre and relentless forms, peering from their dark recesses; you surrender yourself involuntarily to the prevailing gloom, but you do not

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"you cannot forget the lofty spiritual beauty of the earlier caves; and you wonder within yourself what came over the spirit or the character of the people when they forsook Buddhism."

Further, it is Lord Buddha, the Sun of Truth, that even to-day gives the silver-lining to the dark clouds in our sky. Even to-day, it is at Puri, of ancient Buddhist fame, that the children or mother India taste the bliss of unity even for one single moment. There all meet without any distinction of caste, sit together to one banquet of brotherhood and take to their homes as Food of Life the little that remains. In any Buddhist land, even to-day, this blessed unity is still found. In Ceylon, in Burma and in Siam all meet in ecstasy at the feet of the Lord Buddha. When will that blessed day come when the children of mother India, learning the lesson of Puri, again become strong in unity? And although Manu condemns the man who, having performed a rite, does not partake of the flesh to be born twenty times a beast, although the Maha Bharata bears testimony to the high value of flesh as an article of food, although Samkara defends the *jyotishkama* which involves the shedding of blood as an holy act, and although the Vedas and the Smritis authorise animal sacrifice, almost the whole of India is vegetarian to-day. Behold how the love of the Lord Buddha worked in the world, and how it still works, how it still serves. The great Asoka, himself giving up the chase and prohibiting the slaying of bird, beast or fish in the royal household, advised his people also, leaving intentional killing alone, not even to burn chaff with small insects. Harsha Siladitya also decreed that in his realm no living being should be killed, and the Indian people who had as rulers such benevolent men became full of love and kindness not only for men, but for all living beings. Hence even when animals were slain for religious sacrifices there was public indignation and we hear the author of the Nirnaya Sindhu saying:

"The slaughter of large bulls and large sheep for Brahmins versed in the Vedas, should not be effected being detested by the public. Further, the rule let a cow fit for offering to Mitra and Varuna, or a barren cow, or one that has ceased to bear after calving be sacrificed, is duly ordained, but such sacrifice, being opposed to public feeling, could not be performed." (For this and other information I am indebted to the late Prof. P. Laksmi Narasu. Vide "A study of Caste" by the same author.)

And although Krishna exhorts Arjuna to kill as a duty, although Jesus Christ said to his disciples "*he that hath no sword let him sell his garment and buy one,*" and although the Koran makes *Jihad*, or fighting the whole world in general a duty incumbent on the followers of Islam, the Lord Buddha said to his disciples "*even if highway robbers with a two-handed saw should take you and dismember you limb by limb, whose grew darkened in mind thereby would not be fulfilling my injunctions.*" It therefore is a 'cause for real joy that in the Land of the Lord's birth Ahimsa still reigns, and we are very grateful to Mahatma Gandhi who gave new life to that ancient Aryan Law.

These facts, I think, are enough to prove that the Lord Buddha cured the word of all its ills, that he served the world not in one way or in two ways, but in many ways and that he bestowed on it blessings both spiritual and material. During Buddhist days every country prospered, and every art flourished. The Golden Age of Ceylon was when she had true Buddhist kings. Even to-day, through the grace of the Lord Buddha, she is the happiest island. In China, when the great Buddhist Emperor Wu Ti reigned, there was prosperity and heavenly peace. Minden Min, the "Benevolent and Wise",

made Burma an ideal republic even so late as the last century. Cambodia reached the zenith of glory in the reign of the great Jayavarman. And Japan at no other time was happier than during the reign of Empress Niko who had as regent her noble son Shotoku. Prince Shotoku, taking Vimalakirti, a lay disciple of the Lord Buddha as his prototype, lived a very saintly, yet useful and active life. When his mother ascended the throne the country was divided. Father stood against son, wife against husband and parent against child. But through the grace of the Dhamma he gave the distracted land peace and he made the unhappy people full happy. Shotoku reformed the Government, made Buddhism the Imperial faith, and after taking holy orders, first practised, and then preached the new faith to relatives in the court and to the multitude in the market place and people "dazed with the splendour and soul stimulus of the new culture, thronged earnestly to hear him". (Vide "Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art" by Prof. Ernest F. Fenollosa.) Shotoku was one of the greatest of the creative sages of Asia and it was during his regency that the first school of Japanese art proper, of which he was the heart and soul, came into existence. It was he who gave Japan its Ajanta, the famous cathedral of Horiuji where we encounter the most beautiful statue of a Bodhi-Satta made in Japan, before whose sweet powerful smile says Professor Fenollosa, "no serious broad-minded Christian could quite free himself from the impulse to bow down." Buddhism gave new life to Japan and even to-day Buddhism is the hope and glory of that land. History has proved that it was the Lord Buddha who cured the world whole. It has also proved that it was the Lord Buddha who gave India and the East the many treasures of art. His disciples never have harmed any person, they have not shed one drop of blood for the spread of their religion, they have not trampled truth or plundered the property of other nations, but Buddhist emperors, following the Lord's exhortation to Siha and to Upali, have been protectors and liberal benefactors of other faiths. The moment one becomes a true disciple of the Lord Buddha, he devotes all his powers for the welfare of the whole world. When Lord Buddha was Teacher, India was heaven on earth. Home was then Brahmaloaka, the realm of Love and Light. Parents were honoured like Brahmas by the children. Husband and wife lived like god and goddess, and our Brahmins did not sin even in sleep, for hearts were pure.

Even to-day there is the cure brought by the Lord Buddha, and the salvation of Aryavarta and the whole world, we believe, is through him. If the West, ever thirsting for power, listens to the words of the Lord:

Not for his own sake, not for the sake of another, should a man desire a son or wealth or kingdom.

"He should not seek to gain success for himself by unjust means; so will he be upright, wise and righteous." (Dhammapada-translation by Prof. Burlingame.) Let the world listen to Him, let none wish to gain even kingdoms by evil means, and there will be peace and happiness. Let the world walk the Path to the Deathless He showed, walking which we reach the Immortal. The Immortal, we say, for there Greed kills not Charity, Hatred kills not Love and Selfishness Kills not Justice. There Truth is not trampled down. There renunciation is the rule. And there is Peace. "not peace that grows by Lethic," but

Peace whose names are also Rapture, Power, Clear sight and Love: for these are parts of peace.

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"SOVIET SIDELIGHTS."

In an attractive and well-got up brochure entitled "Soviet Sidelights", Mr. M. R. Masani has embodied his experiences and impressions of Soviet Russia which he visited last year. This was not his first visit to that country. He had already been there some nine years ago. Himself an ardent socialist and with the opportunities he has had, Mr. Masani was able to see for himself and test how far the theory of Karl Marx and Lenin has found practical application in the Soviet Union which has aimed and almost achieved the greatest good of the greatest number of its people. The net result of achievements during the eighteen years of Soviet Regime, the author sums up as follows:—"The approach to a Socialist Society in the U. S. S. R., is the biggest single advance in Social Justice since the days of the caveman. A few men may for a while consume more than their less useful brethren but no one can hire out land or buildings or machinery or hire the labour of another for his profit.

The advance is not only in social justice but also in social organization. In a world where every other country is burdened with a large community of unemployed, there are literally no unemployed in the U. S. S. R., and there is everywhere a demand for more workers. At a time when the standard of living of the masses in every country in Europe and America is going down, the people of the Soviet Union are experiencing prosperity such as they have never known before. It is no objection to say that the Russian worker is still not so well fed or clothed or housed as the British or the American worker. Of course he is not. But the fact remains that he is much better fed and clothed and housed than he was under the Tsar or even in 1927, before the first Five Year Plan. The hopes of one year become the achievement of the next and alone in the world the Soviet citizen looks forward to scaling new heights of achievement, attaining higher standards of life, year by year.

The progress is not however in the material sphere alone. The cultural progress made, has been perhaps even more wonderful. In 1913, the figure of literacy of the Russian Empire was 33 per cent. In 1923 the Soviet Union had already reached the figure of 58.4 per cent and in 1932, 90 per cent of the people had attained literacy. Has a movement dispelling on such a vast scale and in such a short period the darkness of ignorance, been known before in human history?

In 1913, 2.7 million newspapers were sold; in 1933, 36 millions. Every year now, 53,800 new books are printed in 90 languages, because like India, the Soviet Union is a country of many races and languages. Sidney Webb estimates that the issues of the press and literature generally are greater in the U. S. S. R., than in England, Germany and the U. S. A. put together. This, it will be remembered, in a country which was two-thirds illiterate only eighteen years ago!

With material and cultural advancement has come physical regeneration. Sports are encouraged. Parks of Culture and Rest are full. It was after seeing the wonderful Park in Moscow that Mr. H. G. Wells remarked that if he were to die and return to Earth once more he knew of no other place where he would rather be born than in the Moscow Park of Culture and Rest!

Along with men, women and children have come into their own. Woman has ceased to be a chattel and has attained all the rights of free humanity. The laws of marriage and divorce make that abundantly clear. The successful abolition of prostitution is one of the significant indications of

that change. The child has become the special responsibility of the State in the U. S. S. R. It is a criminal offence to strike a child, whether the offender be the parent or the teacher."

To have effected all these is by no means a mean achievement for the Soviet State. At the same time, the lack of individual and political liberty in the otherwise ideal Socialist state has made Mr. Masani furiously to think. Though he is inclined to believe that the dictatorship of the Soviet Union is of both Stalin and of the Communist Party, he cannot ignore the fact that the Party is denied the right to oppose the "great leader and teacher Stalin." The fate of Trotsky and others provides ample proof of it. But in this respect Soviet Russia is no worse than her German and Italian neighbours. So much for the political part of the book. The author's experience in a Soviet steamer, his descriptions of the cities of Leningrad and Moscow, his visit to Baku the capital of Azerbaijan republic; his interviews with a Commissar, the Registrar of marriages and divorce, and Comrade Judge, interspersed with wit and humour, furnish interesting reading and give a real insight into the Russia of today. "Soviet Sidelights" is a welcome addition to the literature on Soviet Russia and should be read by all on whom that country exerts a fascination.

As Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his Foreword to the booklet says, the Russian Experiment has passed that stage and has become an accomplished fact with vast achievement to its credit. In the New Russia risen from the ashes of the old, the life and personality of the Russian people have undergone a process of transformation as almost to amount, in the words of the Webbs, to a New Civilisation.

PLACE OF ENGLISH IN INDIAN EDUCATION

MR. M. R. JAYAKAR.

There is often a tendency to regard English Literature as being merely a vehicle of expression through the English language—a kind of facile way by which you convey, through the medium of that language, what you intend to say. In my opinion, that is rather a narrow view of English literature. As I view it, the study of English literature is something greater than merely a medium of expression, the perfection of your vocabulary, or the sharpening of your verbal weapons. It is even greater than the power of facile, elegant or refined expression. It has a far higher place in our scheme of education, though in the hurry of passing examinations and securing honours, we are apt to forget it.

Do not regard English literature as only a gift of expression; that is a small point, though largely exaggerated in India. It is a rare experience in India to hear an Indian speak English well. The very novelty of it is pleasant and secures praise. It is like a child beginning to speak. We forgive faults of expression, syntax and diction. The child speaks, and that is enough. You must therefore not attach too much importance to this. A gifted speaker, of course, like Mr. Sastri is a rare phenomenon, but it cannot be reproduced by mere imitative studies.

I want you to study English literature historically. The two characteristics of English literature, which are wellworth your study, are its simplicity and sweetness. It is as with Sanskrit—the bigger the author, the greater is the simplicity and sweetness of his diction. That is the modern genius of the English language. It is easy enough to read the poem, but what is not always clear—and that is where the Professor should come to your rescue—is

* Summarised from anniversary address to English Library Association, Fergusson College, Poona.



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the man and the motive behind the poem. A great poet depicts much of what are perpetual human sentiments. He is not a propagandist in a narrow sense. He is scarcely a theorist. His audience is the entire civilized world, and in proportion as he rises over the bounds and limitations of race, age or clime, does his work gain in excellence.

Simplicity of style, which is so essential in modern times, whether at the Bar or on the public platform comes from clearness of thinking. Do not imagine that the speaker who excels in speaking simple English, does nothing more than that. His ideas are clear, and therefore his words are clear. Clearness of diction arises from clearness of thinking. It may be a question of writing an essay, or it may be a question of writing a poem. Whatever it may be, try and acquire the habit of thinking clearly. Decide for yourself what you want to say, and then the words will shape themselves into literary moulds suited to your ideas.

Those who feel inclined to adopt a journalistic career, won't derive much help from the ancient models, for, when these were written, journalism was different from what it is now. Journalism is essentially the creation of the age to which it belongs. It is often born out of the conflicts of the times. Its features therefore are non-permanent and vary from time to time. The student of journalism will therefore have to plunge deep into the vortex of his times and evolve a style suited to his subject.

Coming now to the most fascinating of all professions, namely, that of the public man or the public speaker, to which I suppose the modern young student feels most drawn, you will have to make your choice from a different class of literary gifts. You may derive some benefit from the writings and speeches of the great Advocates of your times, who have been great public speakers. Burke and Brougham are now out of date, but you may derive great benefit from the speeches of great Advocates like Lord Reading.

A gift of expression cannot be cultivated in isolation from ideas. It is often a good plan, in the earlier stages, to note with deliberation how a great author expresses his ideas. Contrast it with your way of expressing the same thought. Note the difference, and ask yourself why is it so. Where did I go wrong? Why did not this way of expression occur to me? What shall I do to make such expressions my own? Mere memorizing won't help you much. Memorizing must be carried deeper than mere learning by rote. Try and understand the mental habits of the author which are the true parent of his style. Acquire these mental habits, and then his literary ways will become easier of imitation. It is an evil habit to imitate a great author by copying his turns of expression and piling them up in sentence after sentence. It may pass as literary skill with the injudicious, but can never secure an enduring place as a literary piece. The style supports the ideas. If these are weighty they will need a style corresponding in weight and steadiness. In all such matters, the one golden rule is to be natural and avoid ostentatious imitation. The danger of such ostentation is greater in the case of literature which is not in your language, sucked with the mother's milk.

It is always a good plan, in the case of a foreign language like English, to lose no opportunity of hearing a good speaker who speaks the language as his native tongue. In Poona you may be lacking in such opportunities, but whenever you get them, you should not allow them to slip by. The great beauty of the English language is its sweetness and simplicity. Its sweetness partially arises from the fact that

it has a most fascinating system of accents, which does not exist in our language. I want you to note that very carefully. If you want to study and speak the English language well, try and get at the right accent. A word may contain several syllables, but the accent is generally on one syllable only. Mark out that syllable and place the accent there. A word is badly pronounced, if the accent is placed on the wrong syllable, or, what is generally our Indian way, if all the syllables are pronounced with equal emphasis. One badly pronounced word may jar on the ear of the judicious and thereby spoil the effect of an otherwise faultless speech. The next rule to note in connection with the sweetness of the English language is that the syllables, which follow the accented one, have to be rapidly slurred over. We have no system of accents in Marathi but we are equally critical of vocal errors. Fancy a good speech in Marathi, well conceived, well delivered but in which ँ and ा were wrongly inter-changed. What a bathos!

The sweetness of the English language is closely allied to its simplicity. For acquiring that excellence, one book I would recommend to you, viz, the Bible. It is the same rule as with Marathi or Sanskrit, viz., the higher the author, the simpler is his diction. Take the Mahabharat and Ramayan in the original Sanskrit, or the Dasa-Bodha of Ramdas. Do not abhor the New Testament, because it is the religious book of your rulers. Your President just quoted a little sentence from the Bible, and you noticed how it stood out of the rest of the speech like a little jewel. To this day, the Bible holds the field, as being the simplest composition in the English language, and I cannot do better than recommend its study.

It will be a mistake to allow your political dislike of British rule to come in the way of your studying English literature with appreciation and good will. You will never make any progress, if your attitude is one of hatred, contempt or abhorrence for the culture of the people whose literature you are studying. You have to get over your political dislikes, if any, and concentrate your mind upon the beauty of the literature you read. When in the field of literature, you are not a politician and have no political or social antipathies.

GAEKWAR JUBILEE IN NEW YORK.

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

The Diamond Jubilee of sixty years progressive rule of His Highness the Maharaja Gaskwar of Baroda, International President of the World Fellowship of Faiths, was celebrated at a banquet-entertainment in the Hotel Biltmore, New York, on Monday evening, March 9th, by the members and friends of the World Fellowship of Faiths.

The Sponsoring Committee of this banquet included His Excellency Sir Ronald Lindsay, Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, Mrs. James Roosevelt, Mrs. Charlotte Goddard Shaw, Mr. and Mrs. James S. Cushman, Mrs. Sidney C. Borg, Mr. and Mrs. Pierre C. Cartier, Mr. James Speyer, Dr. and Mrs. John Haynes Holmes, Mr. J. Frederick Talcott, The Rt. Rev. Ernest M. Stires, Madame Ganna Walska, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Dr. Henry Moskowitz and Justice Jacob S. Strahl.

Several hundreds of people attended the banquet and after-dinner entertainment. The toast of the President of the United States was proposed by Mr. Kedarnath Das Gupta of India, Founder and General Executive of the World Fellowship of Faiths. In proposing the toast Mr. Das Gupta said, "President Roosevelt's recent radio address should be a source of inspiration to all of us, emphasizing as it does fellowship and understanding, exhorting us "to find a common ground on which all faiths



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can stand." He further added that the people of the United States were among the most spiritually-minded.

The toast of His Majesty King Edward VIII was proposed by the Rev. Eliot White. He emphasized the democratic humane qualities of the new King. The toast of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda was proposed by Sir Gerald Campbell, British Consul General in New York. In proposing the toast he spoke about the great achievements and reforms of His Highness and also paid tribute to India for her culture and spirituality.

Sir Albion Banerji, former Prime Minister of Mysore, who came to New York for a short visit, supported Sir Gerald Campbell in the toast of His Highness and referred particularly to the compulsory, free education which His Highness introduced into his State.

Rabbi B. Leon Hurwitz, Chairman of the Brooklyn Council of the World Fellowship of Faiths, said: "The achievements of His Highness' benevolent rule are too numerous to enumerate which include not only compulsory, free education but sanitary improvement, amelioration of the condition of depressed classes and aboriginal tribes, founding of Kalabhavan (Art school) and technical school, establishing public libraries, state bank and construction of highways, public buildings and parks, etc."

Messages of appreciation of the works of the Maharaja Gaekwar were read from eminent American and British leaders who know His Highness intimately, which included the Governor of Illinois, the Mayor of Chicago, the Rev. Dr. J. T. Sunderland, the Rt. Hon. Marquess of Crewe, Lord Lamington, Colonel Wedgewood Benn and Sir Francis Young-husband.

The dinner was followed by an entertainment with music of many lands. The singers included the Greek Opera stars, Tito Xirelli and Madame Ismene Xirelli, and the famous Sinhalese singers, Surya Sena and Nelun Devi. Moving pictures taken by the Fox Movietone at the time of the Diamond Jubilee celebration in Baroda last January were shown together with pictures of the Maharaja, the Maharani and other members of the family.

The entertainment was concluded with the presentation of a short Indian play called "Savitri or Love Conquers Death," adapted by Kedarnath Das Gupta from the Hindu epic, Mahabharata. Artists included Madame Barry-Orlova, Miss Elaine Eldridge, Mr. William Hallman, Mr. Herbert Rudley and Mr. Bhupesh Guha.

People of many creeds and nationalities were represented at this celebration. Among those who participated included Americans, Christians, Jews, Negroes, English men and women, French, Polish, German, Russian, Italian, Moslem, Hindus, Sinhaless, Greeks, Latvians, and adherents of New Thought, Theosophy, Baha'i and other modern religions. It is a happy coincidence that the international aspect of this affair occurred without planning.

It was further announced that His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar was expected to attend the Second International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths scheduled in London from July 8 to 18.

Banned Film of Mecca.—At the eleventh hour the premier of the film "Pilgrimage to Mecca" was forbidden by the authorities in Alexandria. This film 4000 metres in length was taken in great secrecy at Mecca itself, although the strictest regulations obtain in the holy city forbidding the use of any photographic instruments. The owner and "camerawoman" is a European lady, Madame Mour Dahaby, who married an Egyptian and was converted to Islam. It is a mystery how Madame Dahaby succeeded in smuggling the necessary apparatus into Mecca.

BABU RAJENDRA PRASAD.*

SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA.

Since his election, in October 1934, as the President of the Congress, our honoured guest had made, more than once, most extensive tours throughout the length and breadth of India, literally from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin, and he has done it now continuously for 18 months at all seasons of the year, travelling from place to place, and carrying the message of hope and goodwill to the people of the various provinces. Those who, like myself, know that he is a chronic invalid as the victim of asthma, can easily realise the numerous privations and the serious sufferings which he must have had to undergo during these prolonged and incessant tours. It has been my unique privilege to know, more or less intimately, almost all the Presidents of the Congress, during the last 50 years of its existence, but—without any idea of derogating in the least from the work of any one of his predecessors—I maintain that few of them brought to bear upon their work, as President, that unparalleled devotion to duty and rare self-abnegation which has been displayed by Babu Rajendra Prasad. There are present at this gathering many of those who were his colleagues at the Bar during the years he practised as an advocate in the Calcutta and the Patna High Courts, and they will, I am sure, fully confirm my statement that had he but cared to aspire after the laurels crowning the brow of either a successful advocate, or of an administrator—a judgeship, a rank in the Cabinet or the Presidentship of a legislature—there is nothing which he could not have reasonably aspired to and been disappointed of. But Babu Rajendra Prasad has been cast in a sterner stuff than many of us. His ideals and aspirations soar ever so much higher than many of us can persuade ourselves to accept as feasible for us. He represents a much higher type of humanity than many of us can aspire to be. It may be—in fact, I believe it is—that the realist element is absolutely necessary in this universe to carry on the day-to-day work on which the well-being of humanity depends, but it is none-the-less necessary to appreciate that higher type of worker, represented by Babu Rajendra Prasad, who displays a spirit of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice, coupled with absolutely disinterested public service, which is but rarely met in this world, and certainly not easily found in this country. The distinction which I have sought to draw between the two types of public workers is brought into striking relief by one of the greatest English poets, Robert Browning, in his well-known poem called "The Grammarian's Funeral." You will permit me to read out to you but one stanza from it which is highly apposite and specially relevant to the view I have tried to express in my own feeble language:—

"That low man seeks a little thing to do.
Sees it and does it:
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it,
That low man goes on adding one to one,
His hundred's soon hit;
This high man, aiming at a million, misses an unit.
That has the world here—should he need the next,
Let the world mind him!
This, throws himself on God, and unperplexed
Seeking shall find him."

Now Browning obviously uses the words "high" and "low" in this stanza not in their common acceptation with reference to character, but to those of ideals and aspirations of humanity. The many in this world must necessarily represent the type which

* Speech at a public reception at Patna, 2nd April.



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Browning calls 'low', though he does not deny that his 'low' man (in the sense of the realist) is as much essential for the well-being and progress of humanity, as the 'high' man representing the superior type of worker, whose work we must all admire and try to emulate, though we can never excel it. But while fully holding that in the economy of Providence, the 'low' man is as essential to the well-being of God's creatures as is the 'high' man, there is all the more reason that those representing the former type should express their appreciation of the work and worth of the 'high' man and the type he represents so that it may serve as a glorious example to all. And it is in this spirit that we have assembled here to-day as representatives of the various towns, cities and districts of this province of Behar, to testify our appreciation of the work and worth of Babu Rajendra Prasad, our admiration for his selflessness and our fondness for his loving personality.

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT IN NORWAY.

Synnove Larsen Baasch writes in *Unity*: "In all the fear and distrust now, the Oxford movement is gaining ground, the more rapidly because it stresses important matters which are common to all honest Christians, without demanding a bleeding wound of severance from one's accustomed church. To many seekers this movement has been a blessing; it has strengthened and unified their spiritual life. They no longer live on their selfish intelligence but listen for guidance from God, and thus live fearlessly. Explain it how you will, as integration of personality or as obedience to God, I know at least two people who were quite ordinary before, and who now tower above the rest of us, in insight, in power to influence others, in peacefulness. To them, religion is not a plaster on a wound, but the core of their being.

The Oxford movement is spreading like fire in dry grass. It has become fashionable in Norway. There is an institution called the Oxford tea, where upper-class women gather in smartly simple and expensive gowns to exchange stories about God and His ways. In Oslo last winter there was an enormous sale of black afternoon dresses. The marvels of His inspiration are broadcast wherever the Oxford teams meet. And so, maybe we have found the one thing that can save us from war. Maybe in our fright we have found the one piece of magic that will flatter God and stop Judgment. With or without Oxford, all thorough individuals know that this will be a test, not only of armaments, cunning, and cruelty, but first and last a test of character. Now each one stands alone to endure what must be endured.

Hitler's Seven Points:—The following are the main points of the Note of Herr Hitler, handed over to the Ambassadors of the Locarno Powers:—Firstly, Germany attacks the Locarno Agreement on account of the Franco-Soviet Pact; Secondly, she regards herself as free from stipulations regarding the demilitarised Rhineland Zone; Thirdly, Germany expresses her readiness to agree to a new demilitarised zone, provided France and Belgium also demilitarise the zone of their frontiers; Fourthly, she offers to sign a twenty-five year non-aggression pact in the West, provided Britain and Italy agree to be guarantors; Fifthly, Germany offers to admit Holland if she desires; Sixthly, she offers to conclude an Air Pact in the West, and a non-aggression pact in the East including Lithuania; Seventhly, Germany expects that within a reasonable time through friendly negotiations, the question of colonies will be amicably settled. If all these matters are agreed to Germany is ready to return to the League of Nations, provided the Covenant is separated from the Peace Treaty.

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN CHINA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The China Committee of the Council of the League met in March to consider the present situation and the 1936 programme as regards the plan of technical co-operation between China and the League of Nations. This plan, which has been in operation since 1931, is intended to enable the National Economic Council of China to have recourse to the League technical organisations in connection with the work of national reconstruction in China; in such ways as it may see fit and as are provided for in the plan.

The 1936 programme provides for continuing the forms of co-operation already begun. This includes the maintenance of the administrative office at Nanking, and the continuance of the contract of Mr. Campbell, an expert on rural co-operation, who began his work in China in September 1935. Agriculture has always been, and continues to be, of primary importance for China, since a very large part of the population is dependent on it for its livelihood. The National Economic Council has accordingly devoted special attention to the numerous problems constantly arising in this sphere as a result of the special conditions obtaining in China. One problem relates to the agricultural co-operative societies which, in recent years, have begun to expand in a remarkable manner. The Chinese Government, being convinced of their utility, but realising at the same time the necessity for encouraging their development on the lines and according to the rules dictated by the experience of other countries, decided to obtain the advice of a first-class technician. It requested the League's assistance in this connection and Mr. Campbell, who had acquired a great reputation in Ceylon in these matters was engaged for a mission starting in September 1935 and which it was proposed, in order to achieve the best possible results, should cover several years.

Another expert in China under the plan of co-operation is M. B. Mari, an Italian, who has been living in China since the autumn of 1932 and who was engaged through the good offices of the League Economic Organisation at the request of the Chinese Government as an expert in silk culture, with the object of developing and improving conditions in the silk industry. He acts as technical adviser to the National Economic Council in this connection.

The National Economic Council of China has frequently called upon the Communications and Transit Organisation of the League in connection with its work. The representatives of the Transit Organisation have advised the Chinese Government on road questions, the conservancy of waterways and irrigation, and their co-ordinating activities in connection with these different matters have been of considerable value.

In 1935, the Communications and Transit Organisation, at the Chinese Government's request, applied to certain experts with special qualifications on various questions of capital importance for China. A mission of four experts appointed by the Communications and Transit Organisation made a careful preliminary study of the problems submitted to it, subsequently proceeding to China, where they remained from December 1934 to the spring of 1935 and were able to obtain indispensable data with a view to subsequent technical consideration. With the aid of a fifth expert, who had already been associated with the preliminary studies, a voluminous report was prepared on the basis of individual drafts by the experts specially assigned to the study of the different problems treated—*viz.*, the Hwai River



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regulation scheme, waterways of northern China, work on the Fen Ho, scheme for regulation of the Hsia Chieng Ho, regulation of the Yellow River, Kuang Ting reservoir on the Yung Ting Ho, problems arising in connection with the Yangtse Kiang, water-power in Shensi, irrigation on the Suiyau, and the general problem of road and land communications in China.

M. Bourdrez (Netherlands) of the Transit Organisation, who has been in China since the beginning of 1932, is at the service of the National Economic Council as an expert on water-power problems, in particular in connection with river regulation schemes.

Following on last year's mission sent to China, to which reference has been made above, the Chairman of the Advisory and Technical Committee on Communications and Transit took steps to improve the co-ordination on the spot of the work in application of the experts' different recommendations and their execution by the Chinese authorities by appointing one of his experts, M. Coursin, Chief Engineer of the French Ponts et Chaussées Department and Director of Public Works in Madagascar, to proceed again to China as the representative of the Committee with the National Economic Council. M. Coursin left in November 1935. His mission will terminate on October 15th, 1936. He is to spend the last few months of his mission in Europe in order to furnish the Chairman of the Advisory and Technical Committee on Communications and Transit with any observations or suggestions of value which he may have to make for the continuance of the work of co-operation between the Transit Organisation and the Chinese Government.

Co-operation with the Health Organisation—which was intended to be followed later by co-operation with the other technical organisations—was first requested by the Chinese Government at the end of 1929 and was agreed to by the Council in May 1930. The result has been a series of practical achievements by the Nanking central authorities, the Health Organisation having been represented from May 1930 down to the end of 1934 by Dr. B. Borcia, who, during this period, collaborated actively in the technical work of the Health Administration.

Dr. A. Stampar, Honorary Director of Public Health in Yugoslavia and a former member of the League of Nations Health Committee, was also placed at the disposal of the National Economic Council and the Health Administration of China in September 1933, in accordance with the new plan of co-operation inaugurated by the decision of the Committee of the Council on July 18th, 1933. He has been called upon to co-operate with the National Economic Council in the matter of rural reconstruction.

At that time, the National Economic Council had decided to concentrate its efforts, particularly in the matter of general reconstruction, on two regions, one in the north-west (Shansi and Kansu) and the other in Kiangsi. These two regions were selected partly on account of agricultural distress, some of the main causes of which were infectious diseases among human beings and animals, particularly in the north-west. As far back as November 1933, Dr. Stampar began to study the health situation in these provinces on the spot. Up to the end of 1935 he had studied from a technical aspect Kiangsi, Hunan, Szechuan, Kwangsi, Yunnan, Fukien, Ninghsia, Chinghai, Kansu, Shensi, Chahar, Suiyuan, Hopei and Hokonor.

At the request of its Chinese member, the China Committee of the Council decided upon extending the plan of technical co-operation in a new direction:

the Chinese National Economic Council attaches great importance to opportunities for its own specialists to gain first-hand knowledge of how problems of reconstruction, finance, health, waterways, etc., are handled in day-to-day practice in other countries. For this purpose, it wishes to send selected specialists abroad under the plan of co-operation with the League. These specialists would utilise the machinery of the technical organisations and Secretariat to obtain the experience and insight into administration and reconstruction work in other countries. The necessary arrangements will be made by the Chinese Government in agreement with the Secretary-General. The specialists, who will rank as temporary members of the Secretariat for the purpose, will be given the facilities they require, both at Geneva, where a good deal of information on these matters is available in the archives of the Secretariat and the International Labour Office, and in whatever countries afford the best opportunities for study of the subjects chosen, and to which these Chinese specialists could be sent on temporary missions after a preliminary stay at the Secretariat and according to a plan to be worked out by the Secretariat.

MR. SUBHAS BOSE'S STATEMENT.

"Since I received the letter of the British Consul at Vienna, I have been deliberating as to what I should do in such circumstances and have also been in consultation with some Indian and European friends, including that great lover of India, M. Romain Rolland. Most of them have expressed the opinion that it would be futile to court imprisonment at this stage when the Congress had openly given up civil disobedience and they think that I could be of some service to our cause by remaining a free man outside India. They have also expressed concern that my health which has improved greatly since coming to Europe but which is still far from satisfactory—may again receive a severe setback as a result of incarceration, from which it may be difficult to recover. A further consideration has been urged—namely, that since the suspension of the civil disobedience movement Congressmen have not in many cases been defying official orders calculated to restrict their liberty.

These are weighty arguments, but after giving them the consideration that they deserve, I have been forced to the conclusion that I should adhere to my previous resolve to return home in order to attend the ensuing session of the Lucknow Congress. In coming to this conclusion, I have ignored altogether all personal considerations and have viewed the matter entirely from the point of view of national interest and national duty. If I had felt that I could be of some substantial service to our cause while remaining outside India, I would certainly have postponed my return—in spite of the risk of being misunderstood at home. But I feel that in the present circumstances I cannot render my substantial service to our cause while remaining in Europe."

"If I had either sufficient funds at my disposal or sufficient backing from the Congress—my public utility during my stay in Europe would have been much greater than at present. But the executors of the Patel Fund, for reasons which are best known to them, have been sitting tight over that money and the Working Committee of the Congress have declined to vest me with any representative capacity. Though I have during the last three years endeavoured to advance the cause of India in spite of such difficulties, I have felt that my achievement has been far less than what it should have been; and if I were to continue my stay in Europe, my achievement is not likely to be greater than in the past."



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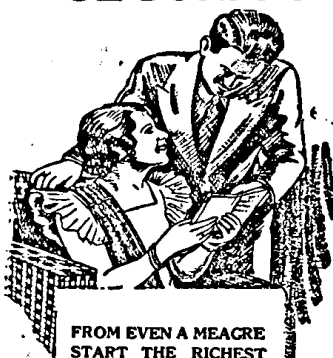
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In these circumstances, my place is among my countrymen at home. No doubt, the prospect regarding my health in the event of my renewed incarceration is a gloomy one—but that is a prospect which a public man in India will always have to face. There only remains the consideration whether I should defy an official order at a time when civil disobedience as a weapon of mass struggle has been suspended. Official interference with elementary human rights should never be taken lying down. The order (or threat) of the Government of India is a most outrageous one—because when given effect to it will be not only a case of imprisonment without trial but also a case of imprisonment in anticipation of political activity."

I would be doing a distinct disservice to the public cause I have endeavoured to serve during the last 15 years if I were to submit to such a threat.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice : I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The New Viceroy:—The Marquis of Linlithgow with his family landed in Bombay yesterday morning and left the same evening for New Delhi where he will enter on the duties of his office on Lord Willingdon's departure by the English Mail steamer this afternoon. They have the good wishes of the Indian people for their health and happiness during their sojourn in this land. Lord Linlithgow may be reminded that he starts his Indian career with the great handicap of having been one of the principal architects of the new Reforms Scheme which the whole country regards as an affront to Indian intelligence. There can be no two opinions about it. The President of the Moslem League condemned it as strongly as the President of the National Congress. Liberal leaders have been no less emphatic in their disapproval. That Parliament has sanctioned it does not make the scheme better or more acceptable. There is not a single representative of India in the British Parliament. Besides, Parliament has been responsible for many blunders and injustices to India in the past. The people of Great Britain who elected the Parliament and who have the opportunity of electing its successor, may accept a wrong measure in the hope of having it righted by their representatives in a later Parliament. The Indian people can entertain no such hope. They are, therefore, bound to exert their utmost to create a situation in this country, which will be felt by the British electors as needing their intervention. In some ways, therefore, it is rather a disadvantage than an advantage that Lord Linlithgow has been so closely associated with the enactment of this highly obnoxious measure. How far he will be successful in reconciling the Indian public to the humiliation of having this Act thrust on them, will depend to a large extent on how far he is able to dissociate himself from his personal share in it and to enter sympathetically into the minds of Indian leaders who are strongly opposed to it on

various grounds. His Cabinet, as at present constituted, cannot help him much in this direction. In small things as in great, its members, individually and collectively, have insisted, in maintaining their own views against reason and commonsense in the face of nonofficial opposition. The refusal of the Finance Member to provide for the reconstruction of Quetta from loans and not from revenue as he wanted, is a recent glaring instance. Even on the strictest Gladstonian principle, the reconstruction of an earthquake-smitten city out of revenue, will be hard to justify. This is one instance but it is typical of the frame of mind of the Executive Council with which Lord Linlithgow will have to work. Under the regime of his easygoing predecessor the country has drifted on to dangerous shoals. Lord Willingdon managed to produce a semblance of smooth waters by methods which in their nature are liable to violent reactions. The situation, nevertheless, is not beyond the resources of wise and conciliatory statesmanship which, we trust, will be vouchsafed to Lord Linlithgow.

The Moslem League:—The Moslem League was started some 30 years ago to voice the aspirations of Indian Muslims to consolidate their position as a distinct community and to have it recognised and safeguarded as such in any political constitution that may be conferred on India. It was to a deputation of the Moslem League that Lord Minto promised that, in the franchise proposals of Government, religious belief would be an essential consideration. The Lucknow Pact between the National Congress and the Moslem League by which the former withdrew its opposition to communal electorates and agreed upon the distribution of seats in the Legislatures in a certain proportion, was the League's second great achievement. This Pact was adopted as the basis of the electoral scheme of the Montagu Chelmsford reforms in 1919. Then came the Khilafat movement and the close alliance between the National Congress and that movement. The alliance was dissolved and was succeeded by a period of the bitter antagonism of alienated confederates, on the publication of the Nehru Committee's Report the provision made for Muslim representation in which was considerate inadequate. Congress thereupon put aside the Report and several attempts were subsequently made to find a basis for unity between Congress and the League. These were unsuccessful.



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ful. The scene then shifted to the Round Table Conference in London. In the discussions at the first Conference fundamental differences emerged between the viewpoints of Mr. Jinnah and of the group led by His Highness the Aga Khan. In the second Conference Mr. Jinnah was dropped and the Moslem side was represented by the Aga Khan group. This was surprising as practically all the fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah were adopted as their own by the Aga Khan's group and most of them have since been given effect to in the Hoare scheme. The main point of difference between the two side centers round the Federation. Mr. Jinnah is uncompromisingly opposed to Federation on the lines proposed, as he fears that most of the States will constitute a permanent obstacle to political progress under the new Constitution. For a time it seemed as if the Aga Khan group had carried the Muslim community with it. Mr. Jinnah seemed to be isolated. He was only biding his time. There has recently been a shift towards his point of view and the meeting of the League held in Bombay was a personal triumph. According to the constitution of the League, Mr. Jinnah occupies the position of permanent President. Chairmen are elected for each session but the policy of the League is in the hands of the permanent President. The Chairman at the session held in Bombay last week was Sir Wazir Hasan, retired Judicial Commissioner of Oudh. In his address he condemned the reforms but counselled their acceptance, and suggested that the Congress President and the permanent President of the League should convene a Conference of leading Indians to frame a more acceptable constitution. He also indicated some heads of subjects on which united action in the Legislatures would be possible between the Moslem League and Congress members. But the most significant passage in his address was a casual observation that India consisted of two nations, the Muslims one and, we suppose, all the rest of the population, the other. If Sir Wazir prefers to call the Muslims a nation instead of a community, he is entitled to please himself; but, in that case, there is no reason why Christians, Parsis and Jews not to mention Sikhs and Arya Samajists, Sunnis and Shias, Qadians and Khojas should not also be called nations. Only the word 'nation' will have to be interpreted in a sense altogether different from that commonly attached to it. That the future of the country can be settled by a Hindu-Moslem Pact is a great delusion. Hindus at least are in honour bound to secure for the smaller minorities, which sought shelter in India relying on their toleration, equal rights with the largest minority.

The Lucknow Congress :—The dust and din of the Congress session at Lucknow should be allowed time to subside before a judgment could be formed as to how far and in what way that body has been affected by the conflict of ideals which found expression in its discussions. Today we must be content with some general

observations on the address of the President, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru. It is a remarkable pronouncement much—not "somewhat" as the President himself said—out of the beat of presidential addresses. We earnestly trust that neither the length nor the frank avowal of the Pandit that he was a Socialist and believed that Socialism was the only remedy for India's and the world's ills, will deter any considerable number of the public from perusing it with the attention which it merits. Apart from the views expressed, the address is interesting for the revelation it affords of an intense and eager personality. With Pandit Jawharlal Nehru's insistence that the problem of India is part of the world problem and can be understood rightly only in relation to it, we are in complete agreement. For one thing, we are liable for want of knowledge of the outside world to regard our problems as unique and insoluble. The fact, however, is that every one of our problems has a counterpart in other countries and nations. But we differ from the Pandit in his view that the masses everywhere are pressing to take their destinies into their own hands. On the contrary, it seems to us that the masses are disillusioned regarding the power of the vote and are only too willing to place themselves under a Dictatorship which assures them of their daily bread. How otherwise can we explain the enthusiasm of so educated a people as the Germans for Herr Hitler or the unquestioning obedience rendered to Signor Mussolini by so artistic a people as the Italians? The nineteenth century aphorism of progress being from status to contract is being reversed. The nations are now progressing back from contract to status, most of all in Soviet Russia. Pandit Jawharlal has some fixed notions about the upper and lower middle classes and the masses, which however true of Western society, leaves out of account the powerful influence of caste and community in India, based not on economic conditions but on heredity, belief, occupation. The Soviet Republic has some great achievements to its credit but it is only twenty years old as yet and to hold it up as a model for an ancient society like ours, is a bit temerarious. Trotsky himself in his history of the Russian Revolution points out that the ancient civilizations of Egypt, India and China had a character self-sufficient enough, and they had time enough at their disposal, to bring their social relations, in spite of low productive powers, almost to the same detailed completion to which their craftsmen brought up the products of their craft. In other words, what Revolution was needed to achieve in Russia, was long ago achieved by normal processes in these ancient societies.

The Indian Problem :—The problem of India, as we see it, is largely to preserve such of the old values as exist and to recreate those which have been lost in the vicissitudes through which we have passed. They have, at the least, a survival value. They have helped us to outlive



our misfortunes. We do not say that we should not seek after and secure new values. By all means, let us do so but let us not sacrifice those which we have under the impression that they are useless because they are not modern. The Pandit dislikes what he calls "vested interests." It is quite possible that they may and often do become dangerous to society if allowed to outgrow their legitimate limits but their existence is necessary to every stable society. Without them no man can go out to his work in the morning with the certainty of finding a roof over his head in the evening when he returns to rest and recuperate for the next day's toil. Babu Rajendra Prasad is reported to have remarked that the Pandit's views were derived from books. That is not a matter for criticism. The late Pandit Motilal Nehru once remarked that non-cooperators had non-cooperated with books, making immediately an exception of his son. We really think that Congress might have avoided some of its more glaring mistakes if its leaders were not so entirely dependent on their personal impressions. Many problems of the day are as old as the hills and, at least to economise errors, we do well to acquaint ourselves with what was done or left undone by those who went before us. Pandit Jawharlal should read the writings of Ranade in order to get the right perspective of the Indian problem in all its aspects. The temper of the Indian masses is reformist, not evolutionary. One word more. The smallest insect which crawls on earth, Momm-sen wrote, is far more wonderful than the most intricate machine, because the former is self-directing which the latter is not. A living society, to our mind, has the power to adapt itself to every change of environment. Planning presupposes that the thing to be planned for, has no life of its own. If it has, it has first to be killed before the plan would work. This, to our mind, is the root objection not only to Fascism and Nazism but also to Sovietism. We should add that the presence of Pandit Jawharlal at its head is a great asset to the Congress. Opinions change but character abides. A man of transparent sincerity, unflinching courage, and high ideals, the great political organisation has a worthy guide in him during the next twelve months. He is sure to make mistakes as greater men have done before him. But in the economy of life, honest mistakes are as valuable as inspired victories.

The Buddha and Miracles:—The Venerable Bhikku Mettaya whose informing article on "The Buddha's Way" we published last week, has misunderstood our remark that the Buddha's method was "to change the mental attitude of sufferers and not their material condition." In the article in which that remark was made, we were writing about miracles said to be performed by great religious Teachers. The Bhikku gives instances showing that the Buddha was not

unconcerned about the sufferings of his people. We did not say he was. But the means which he used to relieve them, was not by way of miracle. In the case of the indigent Brahmin, Bharadwaja, referred to by the Bhikku, the Buddha took him to the King who relieved his wants, and did not himself feed and clothe him miraculously out of nothing. It is not the function of a religious Teacher to correct the economic inequalities of society. That can be done by others, as shown in Mr. Masani's "Soviet Side-lights" a review of which we published in the same *R. former*. To cure a patient of malaria, to take an instance, by administering quinine is not a miracle, though Christian Missions seem to think that it is a proof of the truths of Christianity. Gautama Buddha did not make this mistake. The Bhikku also cites authorities showing that, during the time when Buddhism was the dominant religion, India prospered and the people were virtuous and happy. There is nothing strange in that. Jesus also taught that if the people sought the Kingdom of Heaven all their material wants will be added unto them. Economic inequalities are, in the ultimate analysis, due to inappreciation of ethical values in a community; and moral reform is the only sure method of social reform. The mistake of many Socialists and Communists is to assign to the ethical and spiritual a lower position than to the economic and material aspects of society, in their schemes of social reform. Christian Socialism avoids this mistake but its basis is not wide enough to make it acceptable to all communities. A nation which is guided by religious and moral principles in all its affairs may not be the richest or the most powerful nation on earth, but it will not lack in the essentials of true happiness.

Untouchability and Sikhism:—An Associated Press Message says: "Before the commencement of the All-India Sikh Missionary Conference on the 12th April at Bagh Akalian 50 untouchables, including five leaders of the Thiya community of Kerala, embraced Sikhism at Akal Takht and were given Sikh names and *kirpans* or swords. Jagadguru Shankaracharya of Nasik had sent a message blessing the conference and saying that he preferred the untouchables' conversion to the Sikh faith to conversion to other religions. Dr. Ambedkar in a short speech said that all communities were agitated over the problem of untouchables who were tired of social iniquities and had decided to desert Hinduism. He could not say about his future but he liked Sikhism. Sikhs were a self-respecting and against cast distinctions." It was first reported that Dr. Ambedkar was to be one of those who received the Sikh baptism at this date, but he seems to have given way, at the last moment, to his characteristic indecision, and contented himself with saying that he liked Sikhism but preferred for the present to suffer from the "contagious disease" called Hinduism.



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LORD WILLINGDON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Speaking before a joint sitting of the Legislative Assembly and the Council of State, Lord Willingdon referred to the principal features of his five years' administration. First of these was the situation on the North Western Frontier. He congratulated himself that during his term of office the relations between the Government of India and the countries on India's border were peaceful and friendly. "If there have been," His Excellency went on to say "some incidents on the Frontier for the solution of which military operations have been necessary, I can still claim that progress has been made towards the establishment of more settled conditions in this area. If, as I hope, our present policy of gradual penetration by consent and negotiation is quietly and consistently pursued I do not doubt that my successors in this high office will find the Frontier problem far less troublesome in the future than it has proved in the past." Lord Willingdon is not the first Viceroy to claim that he had found the right solution for the Frontier problem. Lord Curzon before him thought likewise. But the problem still remains unsolved and will not be solved except by leaving the tribes alone and adopting a purely defensive policy for guarding against inroads. "The policy of gradual penetration by consent and negotiation", in plain English, bribery and bullying, will never secure peace on the frontier with the goodwill of the tribes. We have no better reason to civilize the Frontier tribes by means of air bombs and machine guns than Signor Mussolini, to civilise Ethiopia by the same means.

Lord Willingdon turned from this topic to the position of Indians Overseas. The plain fact behind His Excellency's complacent observations is that the position of Indians Overseas has worsened in every respect during the Willingdon regime. If there has been unanimity between the Government of India and public opinion in this country, as Lord Willingdon claimed, it is largely due to responsible bodies like the Imperial Citizenship Association having more than once strained their relations with the public in order not to embarrass Government in the efforts they were supposed to be making to protect the rights of Indians in British Dominions and Colonies, not to speak of foreign countries. The results of these efforts have been practically nil. In South Africa, in East Africa, in Fiji, there has been no improvement whatever in the position of Indians. A new and sinister development during the last three years is the anti-Indian Decrees passed by the British Resident who is the virtual ruler of the Protectorate of Zanzibar. Lord Willingdon's

Government made large promises but their representations, for all we know, have produced no better results than if they had never been made. His Excellency's appeal to "men of my own civilization" to remove the disabilities of Indians, he knows very well, will have no more effect than the appeal of a far more powerful statesman, Joseph Chamberlain, thirty years ago. Under this head, therefore, the achievements during the Willingdon quinquennium have been less than nothing.

His Excellency next dwelt on unemployment and education. He praised the report of the Sapru Committee which, judging from his observations, he had perused only perfunctorily. That Report emphasises the failure of Government to do their part in opening avenues of employment as the main cause of unemployment. Lord Willingdon passed over this part of the Report without remark and fastened upon the Committee's somewhat superficial criticisms of the Indian educational system. On this subject he spoke with two voices. He deprecated approaching the educational question from the point of view of demand and supply; and, in the same sentence, he stressed the necessity of facing the unpleasant fact that "we have here a supply of young men for whose services there is no effective demand." It is obvious that in this part of his address he did not quite know what he had to say. Lord Willingdon warned his audience not to deceive itself with the hope that development along present lines will absorb the output of our schools and colleges in responsible positions. This output is ridiculously low compared to that in other countries. The main reason why, small as it is, it can not be absorbed in responsible positions, is that responsible positions are largely absorbed by men—and also nowadays women—of Lord Willingdon's civilization. In every other country, the first measure adopted to reduce unemployment was to prohibit the employment of non-nationals in positions for which qualified nationals were available. This is not the occasion to enlarge on this aspect of the problem. The Central Board of Education, to which His Excellency pointed as his contribution to the solution of the educational and unemployment problems, is not likely to survive long after His Excellency's departure.

Lord Willingdon's reference to the work of the Council of Agricultural Research was commendably brief. The article on "the New Russian Peasant," which we reproduced from *Current History* in the *Reformer* of April 4, contained a reference to the cultivation of a perennial wheat in one of the experimental farms in Siberia. These experimental stations are scattered far and wide so that the results of research are immediately available to the farmers who, indeed, are in close touch with the process at all stages. We are not very conversant with the achievements of the Imperial Council of Agricultural



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Research. But one feature of its mode of operation has struck us as somewhat surprising. The members of the Council appear to do their Research mostly in railway trains, travelling from Simla to Coimbatore, from New Delhi to Shillong. No doubt this is intended to "co-ordinate" Agricultural Research with the development of Railway revenue. One peculiarity of the Indian administration is, if there are two ways of doing a thing, one expensive and wasteful, and the other, economical of both time and money, our rulers instinctively prefer the former to the latter. The establishment of the Council has had one good result. It has stopped the importation of ignorant "experts" who imported iron ploughs which Indian bullocks could not draw and, then, brought British bulls, which died in one season, to do the work. The next attempt to produce a new breed by intercrossing also proved a failure. The hybrids were susceptible to the diseases of both parents. This kind of Research has been mitigated by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research. But that the Council is more actuated by Imperial than by Agricultural purposes, was evident from the reasons urged in support of the transfer of the Central Research Institute from Pusa to Delhi.

We now come to the central feature of Lord Willingdon's administration, the repressive measures, detentions of suspects, ordinances and emergency laws. His Excellency expressed his hope that terrorist outrages have been checked, though he thought that certain incidents during the last six months (when there has been no serious outrage) went to show that the movement and the spirit behind it still persisted. Has Lord Willingdon known any country in which terrorism was permanently smashed by deportations and detentions? We commend to His Excellency's contemplation during his voyage home the following passage from the "Recollections" of one of the leaders of his own Liberal Party, from a letter written by him to the then Viceroy, 26 years ago. "You have nine men locked up a year ago by letter *de cachet*," wrote Lord Morley, "because you believed them to be criminally connected with criminal plots, and because you expected their arrest to check these plots. For a certain time it looked as if the *coup* were effective and was justified by the results. In all this, I think we were perfectly right. Then you come by and by upon what you regard as a great anarchist conspiracy for sedition and murder, and you warn me that you may soon apply to me for sanction for further arbitrary arrest and detention on a large scale. I ask, whether this process implies that through the nine detenus you have found out a murder plot contrived not by them but by other people. You say: "We admit that being locked up they can have had no share in these new abominations; but their continued detention will frighten evil doers generally." That's the Russian argument: by packing off trainloads to Siberia we'll terrify the anarchists out of their wits, and all will come out

right. That policy did not work out brilliantly in Russia." If Lord Morley had been living now he would have been able to find overpowering reinforcement for his Russian argument in what has happened during the last twenty years. He would have been able likewise to enforce his argument drawn from his experience of the result of "twenty years of resolute government" in Ireland, which was to have made Ireland enamoured of the British connection. When Lord Willingdon says that the terrorist movement and the spirit behind it still persist, although there are now not 9 but 1400 men and women under lock and key, we do not wonder, because the course of history is not deflected by latitudes and longitudes.

Neither have the measures adopted against the Civil Disobedience Movement, succeeded in convincing those who believed in it of its futility. Lord Willingdon said that he and his Government had to use the full resources of the State in fighting and defeating the movement. The Working Committee of the Congress in its draft resolution on repressive measures, recognised that these measures were the measure of the strength and success of India's struggle for freedom (*Reformer* April 4.). Lord Willingdon's acknowledgment that his Government had to use the full resources of the State to defeat the Civil Disobedience Movement, confirms the Working Committee's estimate. Was it wise, was it statesmanlike to exhaust the full resources of the State in putting down a non-violent movement, which drew its strength from, if it did not originate in, the inordinate delay and subsequent whittling down of solemn pledges made to the people of India to place their Government on the same footing as the Dominions? The direct consequence of this delay and denial was the declaration of independence as its goal by the National Congress. Among the many profound reflections strewn about in Santayana's remarkable story "The Last Puritan", is one which is as applicable to the sphere of government as to other spheres. "The secret of control", writes this philosopher novelist "is suggestion not force." Lord Willingdon left nothing to suggestion. He exhausted the full resources of the State in fighting a movement which would have been dissipated by timely reform in conformity with the pledges made of responsible government. The resources of the State having been exhausted, there is nothing left to his successors when the crisis comes next. Lord Willingdon in this as in other matters leaves a legacy to his successors for which they will not feel grateful to him.

We have little space left to comment adequately on the highly imaginative observations which His Excellency made regarding the economic recovery of the country during his regime. He referred to the rise in the price of Government loans as a sign of this recovery. People who are in the best position to know and have no interest in distorting facts, maintain that the rise in the prices of Government loans is the result



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not of prosperity but of industrial depression which has greatly narrowed the field of investment. They also think that the habit of hoarding is being resumed. As for the budget surplus it is one of which the Government of India should rather be ashamed than proud of in view of the almost universal provincial deficits. By starving the country still more a larger surplus may be shown but that will only show that a budget surplus is not necessarily the same thing as national prosperity.

HINDU WOMEN'S DISABILITIES.*

H. H. THE MAHARANI OF BARODA.

According to Hindu Law the Joint Family comprises only the male members of the family; a woman is not a co-parcener, but a mere dependant, with no rights of ownership in the joint property; and when she has the misfortune to become a widow she is entitled only to maintenance and residence. The woman, therefore, upon whom her husband and her children have had to depend so largely for their welfare, is, when her husband dies, left not only probably disconsolate but definitely degraded. It is one thing to be dependent upon one's husband; it is quite another to be dependent upon one's husband's relatives. Believe me, I do not speak without knowledge or these things. My personal experience has made me only too painfully aware of the misery which some women endure because the hand of the law is against them. They have come to me with their trouble; I have seen their unhappiness, and felt it as my own; I have felt helpless before their helplessness. And so it is that I plead with you to-day to do your utmost to see that the lot of the women in this country, *your* women, is legally improved so that they may hold up their heads confidently in the society for the happiness of which they are so largely responsible.

The condition of the widow is unhappy enough; but it is a haven of security compared with that of a widowed daughter-in-law; for the law lays no obligation on the father to maintain his son's widow even though the law knows well enough that it is almost invariably the father who is solely responsible for the marriage of his son. Any number of legal inhibitions based on moral and religious grounds, exist to prevent a widow doing this or that, notably in the code governing adoption; and yet a father-in-law, who is obviously morally responsible for his son's marriage need not, unless he feels so inclined, accept the responsibility in its wider application when his son dies leaving a widow. Only when the estate passes to the heirs of the father does the widowed daughter-in-law become entitled to maintenance from them! There are other ramifications of this law to which I do not think it necessary to refer. I have said enough, I should hope, to show that there is a definite instance of the failure of the law to satisfy those moral standards according to which it professes to measure itself. I am glad that you, Mr. Principal, in your commentary upon this particular point of law have stressed the only-too-obvious truth that it offends not only against the spirit of a Hindu family, but against the principles of justice and equity.

You will not wonder that now I suggest to you that, if law is to maintain those principles of justice and equity, if it is not to lag stupidly behind in the progress of civilisation, some changes must be made in the law governing the aspects of the joint family system I have cited. First, a widow must be

raised from that degrading position in which the receipt of maintenance from the joint family puts her; and it seems to me that the only way in which this can be accomplished is by making the widow of a deceased co-parcener, a co-parcener herself. So she would enjoy all those rights which are at the present time enjoyed only by the male members of a Joint Hindu Family. This would give her the most important right of asking for a partition of the joint property. As the law stands, she can only have a share when a division of property is made among her sons; she is not herself entitled to ask for a partition. I know the kind of argument which is brought against this reform,—that it will jeopardize the security of the joint-holding so that the security which the joint holding of property is designed to give will no longer be well founded. But such an argument is that of a reactionary, a die-hard, and not reasonable, since there is no reason to suppose that a widow will wantonly ask for a partition which she knows would lessen the value of the joint holding any more than a man. With the acquiring of the status of a co-parcener, she should also I think, acquire the sense of co-parcener's responsibility. There is no reason to suppose that the suggestion I have made, while it would undoubtedly much improve the status of widows in our society, would constitute anything but a gain to that society.

I come next to consider the law of inheritance, as it affects the position of a widow with regard to the self-acquired property of her husband. The law allows the widow to inherit only when there are no sons, grandsons, or great-grandsons to whom the property may descend. For those who think that the present right of the widow to maintenance at the hands of the Joint Family is equitable, the descent of all property of her husband to the male members of the family will seem meet and right. But a just view will see that the widow has an even stronger claim to rights of inheritance equal with those of her son, grandson, or great-grandson, where the property in question was the separate possession of her husband, than she has to be a co-parcener. Only the most jaundiced eye would refuse to see the undeniable claim of a widow to inherit her husband's private property equally with her son, or that son's son. The plea is not for mercy but for justice.

There are many other aspects of this matter which need attention, but enumeration of them would weary you, and I do not wish to try your patience too much. But one other point I must mention, and that is the right of a woman to alienate property. I know that quite a number of men learned in the law regard a woman as being quite well off in this respect, in that she can do what she likes with her Stridhana. In practice, that rarely happens. But even if it did, a woman's Stridhana is relatively only very small; and she has only a limited interest in all other property that may have come to her, and is unable to alienate it except for certain purposes recognised by law; such property descending after her death not to her heirs but to the heirs of the last male owner. It is to those to whom you owe much of what you are to-day, those who are dear to you that you say, with Manu, that they are well off since they have some control over their Stridhana, which magnificent heritage, as you well know, more often than not consists in nothing but a few trumpery, tawdry bits of jewellery. It is clear that the reforms I have already adumbrated would not be complete in their full intent if the right of alienation were withheld in respect of all property except Stridhana. I will not specify details of any

*Extract from address at the opening of Saraswathi Hall, Law College, Poona, 6th April.



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such alteration in the law, but will content myself with pointing out the necessity for such alteration. The effect of these suggested reforms in the law of property as it applies to Hindu women, will have an influence far beyond their immediate sphere as, for example, when they are considered in conjunction with the right of a woman to ask for divorce. They do, indeed, form an integral part of that general movement for the amelioration of the condition of the women of this country, a movement which every one who is not bigoted must do his best to help towards its goal. I need not, I hope, urge you, the youth of this country upon whose shoulders rests the precious burden of improving the condition of its people, who are engaged in the academic study of law in this College, to give your serious consideration to the substance and implication of what I have said to you to-day. And yet I wonder. Academic study often, I think, tends to obscure the real, the living issues; and, as I suppose you have gathered by now, I lock upon law as a very real issue in the lives of the women in India to-day. You are students studying in an academy; but the faces I see before me are young faces, and the minds behind them are, I imagine young minds. Why, then, do you allow your minds to be manacled and led captive, as it were, by laws which were made for a society which differed from our own as much as chalk differs from cheese? Manu and the rest of them made excellent laws for their own times perhaps. But why should you take them as a final pronouncement? Are they the will of God? Indeed, no; they are the statements of men's thoughts or their prejudices. Indeed, when I think of the laws they made against women, they seem to write like men who have been bitten by some serpent, so poisonous is their attitude. Their laws seem almost to breathe hatred for us. How can I help thinking so when the law from birth to death makes a woman subordinate, stifles her so to speak, in the cradle; and then says thus and thus shalt thou live? Live? The word in their mouths mocks us; for how can a human being live when she is deprived of any vestige of freedom from the beginning? First we must bow before our fathers, then our husbands, then our husbands' relatives; and then when we have escaped from all these bonds, we are, wards of the king, if you please. Does that strike you as a just state of affairs? Would you tamely sit down under a system of law that does not allow you even to call your soul your own? Is that true law or, true religion, do you think? I am sure you do not; you cannot be so dull of soul that you will pass these things by without more than a twinge of conscience. For these laws govern the women who are your mothers, your sisters, your wives. I want to ask, have you so poor an opinion of your own worth, your own intelligence, that you think yourselves incapable of improving on Manu and the like? I do not blame Manu, for after all, it may be that he honestly did his best according to his lights. But those lights burn dim in twentieth-century India. It is you who must trim the lamps if we are to see clearly, if we are to see justice enshrined in the law. You are every whit as capable of making laws as Manu was; and you are better off than he was, since you are able to study the wisdom that has been bred since he lived. Will you not take the torch in your hands and light us on the road to a better, a more equitable world?

Women and Council of State :—A regulation has been made that no woman, who is not by reason of her sex, disqualified for election as member of the Legislative Council of the Governor's Province shall, by reason only of her sex, be disqualified for election to the Council of State by any constituency in that Province.

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA CENTENARY.

(MR. S. S. PATKAR.)

Shri Ramakrishna Paramhansa was born on 18th February 1836. The Ramkrishna Centenary celebrations will extend for one year from February 1936. The centenary will be celebrated not only in the whole of India but in many other parts of the world. The basic principle of his teachings, that every faith is a path to God, is likely to eliminate the causes of friction between different classes and communities, and is sure to lead to a closer bond of friendship between persons belonging to different creeds and religions. In celebrating the centenary of a great apostle of religious culture, the organisers have laid special emphasis on the cultural union of the East and the West.

The scheme of the celebrations is to create permanent memorials of different categories, humanitarian, cultural, literary, aesthetic and religious. The pamphlets will give a detailed description of the activities sought to be pursued as permanent memorials of the departed saint. It is intended to create a nucleus of the central fund for relief work during flood, famine and pestilence and for mass education, to establish an institution of cultural fellowship, to publish a Centenary memorial volume and a centenary album, to raise a suitable memorial at the birth-place of the saint and to hold religious conventions and conferences. In this age of scepticism and rampant materialism, the shining example of a living faith which would give solace to and relieve mental distress of suffering humanity, requires to be placed prominently and constantly before the public gaze. It is alike the duty and interest of patriotic as well as religiously minded Indians to contribute to the realization of the cherished objects of these centenary celebrations.

It would be appropriate on this occasion to refer briefly to a few salient points relating to the life and teachings of Shri Ramakrishna Paramhansa.

The basic principles of Shri Ramkrishna's teachings summed up in his message, "As many faiths, so many paths", is calculated to lead to a better understanding among the communities belonging to different religions not only in this country but in the whole world. It is said by some responsible critics that religion is the cause of all friction and misunderstanding among the different communities belonging to diverse creeds. It is urged that crusades, war, inquisitions, riots and various other strifes and conflicts can be traced to religious proclivities and prejudices, and it is seriously suggested that religion should be done away with altogether if conditions of lasting peace and complete harmony are desired to be established. This is neither the place, time nor the occasion to enter into an elaborate controversy on this point. It would be recognized even by such critics that notions of morality based on truth, equality and justice must regulate human conduct in order to tame the brute in man and to preserve individual liberty and freedom. The fundamentals of all religions are based on eternal truths and principles of morality. The basic principles inculcated by all religions are identical. It is the dogmas and the interpretations put on religious precepts by priests and persons in religious hierarchies that lead to strife and conflict. As observed by Sir Francis Younghusband at the London celebration of Shri Ramakrishna Paramhansa the message "As many faiths, so many paths" did not advocate mere tolerance but insisted on the acceptance of the tenets of other faiths in their entirety, and that all religious faiths led in their ultimate consummation to the same realisation.



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The events in the life of Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa forcibly illustrate the same truth. Under the guidance of Bhairavi whom the saint adopted as his guru or teacher, he attained union with God by love or Bhakti. When later on he came under the influence of Totapuri, he learnt the cardinal virtues of the Advaita Vedanta. Shortly afterwards Shri Ramakrishna saw a humble Mahomedan, absorbed in his prayers, asked him to initiate him, and realised the Mussalman God. Romain Rolland observes: "His expositors have later interpreted this experience following as it did immediately upon his great ecstasy in the Absolute, in a very important sense for India, that Mussalmans and Hindus can only be reunited on the basis of the Advaita, the formless God."

Some years later Shri Ramakrishna realised Christianity. When Malik read the Bible to him, the life of Jesus secretly pervaded him and he saw on the wall a picture representing the Madonna and the child, and subsequently visualised the figures as animated by life and motion. Whatever may be the scientific explanation of these phenomena, the message of Shri Ramakrishna is pregnant with great potentialities for the unity and peace not only of this country but the whole world. He observed: "I have practised all religions, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and I have followed the paths of the different Hindu sects. I have found that it is the same God towards whom all are directing their steps though along different paths".

The criticism has sometimes been levelled that the conduct of a Hindu in the journey of life from its inception to its end is regulated by religious precepts, that more attention is paid to the requirements of the ancestors in heaven and to the obligations necessary to secure eternal bliss after death, and adequate attention is not paid to the alleviation of the suffering of the living. Some of the incidents in Shri Ramakrishna's life point to his earnest solicitude for the relief of distress of suffering humanity. When Shri Ramakrishna went with his rich companion Mathur Babu to Deoghar during a famine, he compelled his companion to feed the persons dying of hunger, and on another occasion forced Mathur to remit the dues from the tenants of his estate. The western ideal of putting deeds before intentions and the good of others before individual emancipation or salvation, was carried out by Shri Ramakrishna's disciple, Vivekanand, to whom he entrusted the mission of alleviating the misery of the humble and the poor.

The life and teachings of Shri Ramakrishna constitute a rich heritage to this country especially as they are absolutely free from any taint of sectarianism and fervently appeal to a harmonious unity of all faiths and creeds. In the present stage of the evolution of society such teachings require worldwide publicity. It is, therefore, the bounden duty of the patriotic as well as religiously minded Indian to contribute to the success of these centenary celebrations.

Raipur Rajkumar College:—As the public are aware, the main object of the Rajkumar College at Raipur is to train the future Rulers of States and Estates, and also to educate the younger sons and relations of Rulers and Zamindars. Better to fulfil this object while at the same time preparing the sons of other Indian gentlemen for useful careers, the Governing Body has decided to admit to the school on the 1st July, 1938, ten boys unconnected with any State or Estate. In view of the projected Federation of British India with the Indian States, where Indian Rulers and British Indians will have to learn to appreciate one another's point of view this decision of the Governing Body to widen its field of recruitment and to provide a common training ground for future leaders of the Greater India is of the happiest.

AMERICA FACES THE EAST.

(WALTER BROOKS FOLEY.)

COLORADO SCENERY.

We entered Colorado across the plains; driving toward the Rocky Mountains. There were places in the road where the elevation was in the vicinity of 7,000 feet. Pikes Peak with its 14,000 feet of height was just ahead.

The visitors usually in the section around Colorado Springs in the summer were noticeably absent. We drove about the city and discovered that one of the disastrous floods that come at certain seasons of the year in many American regions had destroyed one of the principal bridges and caused other damage which the city had not found it possible to repair, though the floods had come months before.

We drove out from Colorado Springs to the town of Manitou, and then on up to the Cave of Winds some 120 feet above the town.

The Cave was discovered by two small boys in 1880. The boys were out on a Sunday School picnic and with customary curiosity were scouting around through the hills. Since that time nineteen rooms have been discovered and opened in the limestone formation.

The peculiarities of nature are graphically illustrated in these rooms of the Cave. Without any imagination at all one can find a thousand and one objects of interest which seem to be like other manifestations of nature outside. There are temples and canopies, crystal palaces, diamond halls and even an altar. It would not do to omit a section of the Cave which is called Dante's Inferno. It reminded me of the tortures of the condemned in the picturesque Buddhist Wheel of Life, which I saw in Tibetan monasteries.

A short distance from the Cave of the Winds we went through, as we had done years before, the Garden of the Gods. In this Garden the sandstone formation has been weathered into weird shapes. Unexpected views are in this picturesque section of the foot hills of the Rocky Mountains.

In the afternoon we turned south toward Canon City and the scenic Royal Gorge. The walls of the Canon rise in places to a height of nearly 3,000 feet above the Arkansas river. Through the gorge runs a railway, part of which is carried over the river by a hanging bridge. Over the top of the gorge there is a suspension bridge, probably the highest in the world. This bridge is 1260 feet long and is located 1000 feet above the river.

In this same section of the country lies the famous Cripple Creek Mining District, which is shown to tourists more as a curiosity these days than as a profit-making series of gold mines, though one or two of the mines are still operating at deep levels.

FROM MOUNTAINS TO OPEN SPACES.

We had the unexpected opportunity of driving through five inches of snow when we left Canon City to go north past the mile-high city of Denver through the Rockies to the plains beyond.

The country roads had suffered severely from the heavy and unexpected snow fall. The snow lay deep on the green leaves of the fruit trees still bearing the fruit which had not been gathered.

We avoided on this trip some exceedingly dangerous mountain roads which we had covered on our short trip to the south. There were moments when we had thought, while traveling on the clay roads, that we would never be able to pull through. Fortunately everywhere we went we had a chance to travel on wellpaved high-ways, and what difficulty



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we got into was due to our own choice of attempting short cuts over the second and third class roads.

One of the curious experiences on our Colorado trip was to be taken by a friend of ours in Canon City to his Hot Spring Sanitarium with baths of Mineral water, and to realize that coming from beneath the surface there was great heat—and health-giving power in the water; the modern application of science to human health, in an ever enlarging field of experiment and successful achievement.

We skirted the western edge of the city of Denver, found our way up across the ridge of the Rockies to Laramie, just beyond Estes Park.

At Laramie, we struck our coldest weather, with the thermometer at 16° above zero. Also we found ourselves in the midst of what are known as the "Great Open Spaces."

To one who has never crossed the great plains of the Far West in the United States, it must be a rather terrifying experience to come upon those plains for the first time. From the highway life seems often to be found only in individuals who travel from one point to another, always surrounded by a great and abiding silence. The dome of blue hangs over head, and while the horizon seems a long way off, nevertheless there is a sense of power ordered by forces of nature which are still in control over human life.

SAGE BRUSH AND TUMBLE WEED.

The purple gray of the Sagebrush becomes a part of one's life experience in the days of travel across the dusty plains of Western United States. The dust is so deep during the season that we used in crossing the continent that it seems impossible for any shrub or bush to grow at all. But the sagebrush grows; and as we crushed its leaves between our fingers we caught the aroma of the sage which is unlike anything else in the way of plant life. Our youngster picked some of it, put it in a bottle and has it with her still in Manila. A curious phenomenon of the plains are the large balls of the dry tumble weed. They are as I have hinted, circular in form and go bounding and rolling for miles across the plains, blown by every stray wind that comes along. They pile up against any fences or posts and along the highway itself. There are times when we had to force our car through the piles of this tumbleweed which had stacked up to a height of several feet. They form a kind of moving life on the plains that is unexpected. For the silence leads one to feel that there will not be motion, but there is motion, and not only does that motion come from the tumbleweed blown by the winds, but also from the prairie dogs, jack rabbits and an occasional fox.

Then, too, the distant appear at intervals and the high buttes which change their colors with the movement of the sun or with passing of the clouds overhead bring a picturesqueness to the trip which adds variety in what would otherwise be a very drab period of days.

It was interesting to explain to the youngster on the trip that the blowing of the dry tumbleweeds across the plains was an illustration of how Mother Nature spreads her seeds for the new crop, broadcasting them for hundreds of square miles. The laws that govern life are always interesting in their manifestation, no matter what form or method is used. The plains are close to primitive regions and often through our understanding of the primitive, we gain our greatest knowledge.

There is something about the heat and the pressure of the sun on the great western plains that

helps one to understand the place of the sun in the life and thought of India and in the development of Hinduism. There comes a sense of unity and of inevitability which is not found often in thickly settled sections.

NORTHWARD THROUGH WYOMING.

We left the well-paved highway and struck off across the prairie to the north. The road was gravel-ribbed and blinding in the sun. Smoked glasses saved our eyes somewhat. The country was ridged with low hills. Here and there great mail boxes were set up indicating that miles back from the road reached by barely-discernible trails there were ranches where a few men lived and rode the range. Now and again we came on small ranch centers on the banks of narrow streams. The greens of the fields and trees were a contrast to the dull dusty gray of most of the landscape.

The Teton Mountains appeared ahead and to the left. They stood out stark and grim with limited foliage. They gave an appearance of rough and rugged resistance to a pitiless dry atmosphere. The road wound on eventually beside them. Some peaks in the range have never been scaled, possibly never will be. Why anyone should want to climb them is beyond imagination. Yet they do stand as a challenge to those who wish to do the seemingly impossible.

That country must have seemed hopeless to early settlers. Perhaps men stayed there only because they were too weary to go farther.

We stopped at a small hotel for lunch. The dining room was well filled—but not with men of the ranches. Those we saw were road-workers and were only in the section for a short time as they built new bridges made necessary because timber has been cut off the country side. When the floods come after the melting of snows great gulleys are torn out where before were only narrow stream beds. One man told me that in the few years he had known the country bridges had had to be more than doubled in length because of the widening of streams from bank to bank though most of the year the streams were only a trickle of water.

Then a series of lakes lay beside our path—the water a contrast to the dust and alkali—through which we had been going.

Gradually we drew nearer to heavily wooded sections and in relief, drove into shadows of deciduous trees turned to masterpieces of blazing color by early frosts. These gave way to evergreens with the odors and aromas of the forest. Here the trees were under Federal protection finally—and the rush of unthinking profit-taking had been stayed—at least temporarily.

On the trip we had all the evidence necessary to prove the need of trees to conserve soil and moisture, both of which have been sacrificed over hundreds of square miles in Western United States to the greed of men who cared nothing for the future.

There is no real reason why Americans should allow their country to become a desert because of the selfishness of a few—yet due to lack of adequate control and planning it will cost far more to restore some sections than ever was gained by helping them to deteriorate.

Great plains that once supported millions of head of bison are now dreary desert. A realization of that fact should prevent Americans from allowing the process to go farther. National resources are assets that should not be squandered.

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DEWAN BAHADUR RAGHUNATHA RAO.

SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYAR.

"The Ranade Library is becoming a sort of Valhalla, and it contains the portraits of several of our distinguished men and there is great propriety in its adding to its portrait gallery that of a distinguished son of India," said Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar, unveiling the portrait of the late Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Rao last week at the Ranade Library Hall, Myslopore.

The portrait was presented to the Library by the Arya Mata Sabha of which the late Mr. Raghunatha Rao was the founder.

It was perhaps rather late in the day that they were seeking to commemorate the services of Dewan Bahadur R. Raghunatha Rao; for it was about twenty-four years that the gentleman passed away. But perhaps, it was better to be late than never. The question might be asked whether one would seek to appraise the services of a man soon after his death or a considerable time after his passing away. Much could be said for both views, but on the whole it seemed to him that it was somewhat of a disadvantage to seek to commemorate the services of a man so many years after his death. In this case, the period that had elapsed was far too long. In this country there was a sad lack of material for writing the biographies of great men. For such materials as were available of the lives of great men of the old generation, they had to depend on the industry and enterprise of a local firm of publishers. Mr. G. A. Natesan had rendered a great service to the country and to the friends of the late Mr. Raghunatha Rao by including in his publications a short sketch of his life.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar then proceeded to give in an outline the career of Mr. Raghunatha Rao and his services to the country. Mr. Raghunatha Rao was the scion of one of the most aristocratic—if not the most aristocratic Maharashtra families of Tanjore district. His father K. Venkata Rao, was the Dewan of Travancore for seven years, and later Assistant to Sir Mark Cubbon the great administrator of Mysore. Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao was a cousin of Mr. Raghunatha Rao. Mr. Raghunatha Rao came for his education to Madras and studied in the Madras High School—the predecessor of the Madras Presidency College. He was there the contemporary of several young men who later greatly distinguished themselves—Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, Sir A. Seshayya Sastri, Dewan Rangachari and others. Mr. Raghunatha Rao was compelled to give up his studies when he was in the highest class but one, and he went to his village, Koviladi, in Tanjore district, where he devoted himself to the work of learning something of the revenue system of the country. The foundation for his intimate knowledge of the land revenue administration was laid during these early years of his life. Shortly afterwards, he entered Government service as Translator on a monthly salary of Rs. 35. In 1859, he was appointed Deputy Collector which office he continued to hold almost till the date of his retirement, with a few breaks when he acted as Sheristadar of the Board of Revenue and as Dewan of Indore State. His official experience enabled him to get an intimate knowledge of the country and particularly its land revenue system. As an official perhaps he was distinguished by an excess of zeal and a certain degree of impetuosity. But he had virtues of which Indians were charged by Europeans of being deficient in—great force of character, driving power and strength of will. As Dewan of

Indore, Mr. Raghunatha Rao endeavoured successfully to reform the administration, to put down corruption and to modify the laws. The Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code of Indore were passed during his regime.

Mr. Raghunatha Rao came back to Madras in 1881, and it was then that the speaker came into contact with him. He (Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar) was asked by his father to pay his respects to Mr. Raghunatha Rao. When the speaker went to Mr. Raghunatha Rao's residence to do so, Mr. Raghunatha Rao spoke to him encouragingly and took a very kindly interest in him.

After retirement, Mr. Raghunatha Rao spent some years in Madras, devoting all his time to public service of various kinds. He was, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar said, most interested in social reform—not on radical rational lines but on conservative shastric lines. He set his face against the two great evils from which he found Hindu society was suffering—child marriages and restraint on widow re-marriages—and without desiring to break away from the moorings of the shastras, he advocated reform based on what he considered the more reasonable interpretation of the shastras—an interpretation more in accord with enlightened public opinion and the needs of the time. He wrote numberless pamphlets on the subject of widow re-marriage and quoted text after text to show that it was authorised by Hindu law. In fact, he had to pay a penalty for his advocacy of social reform in that he had to suffer, along with Mr. Chenchal Rao, excommunication by the head of their Mutt. But his courage never quailed. While he was anxious to promote widow remarriage, he was anxious to provide for the happiness and moral welfare of young widows and he inserted, while drafting the Indore Penal Code, a provision penalising adultery with Hindu widows.

Another piece of social reform with which Mr. Raghunatha Rao was closely associated was that measure which led at the time to a great deal of acrimonious controversy—the Age of Consent Bill raising the age of consent to twelve. It evoked a lot of opposition—most unaccountable and most unreasonable—from orthodox people, and even from Sir T. Madhava Rao. There was a great public meeting at the Pachaiyappa's Hall where Sir T. Madhava Rao was one of the spokesman against the Bill. An uproar was created by the supporters of the measure. Sir T. Madhava Rao collapsed on account of the uproar and confusion and had to be carried away to his house—never more to attend any public meeting of that sort. Mr. Raghunatha Rao proved by reference to the shastras that postponement of the age of consummation was in no way opposed to the injunctions of the shastras.

Mr. Raghunatha Rao's activities, Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar proceeding said, were not confined to social reform. His interest in political, educational and economic questions was great, and he was never happy unless he had written to the press at least four letters on these subjects every day. He was a man who strongly believed in propaganda and his motive in doing so was not of a personal character at all. It was merely his strong desire to educate public opinion. He was a man of extraordinary energy and untiring activity, notwithstanding physical infirmities of a more or less serious kind, and he retained his vigour of mind to the last day. His services were so much appreciated and he was held in such high esteem for his character that he was nominated a member of the Legislative Council of Madras, in which body he did most useful work.

Mr. Raghunatha Rao was not merely the father and patriarch of the Indian Social Conference, but he was also in a way associated with the in-

* Speech at the unveiling of portrait in Gokhale Hall, Madras.



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inauguration of the Indian National Congress. It was in December 1884 that seventeen distinguished sons of India met in "Krishna Vilas"—the residence of Mr. Raghunatha Rao—to consider the inauguration of the Congress and they resolved that each of the gentlemen present should try to form a Committee in his province to promote the movement. Mr. Raghunatha Rao used to attend some of the early meetings of the Congress.

Mr. Raghunatha Rao was most proud of his Maharashtra blood. He was a man of sterling character and independence. A fearless critic of the Government he was absolutely loyal to the British Raj. A man of intense religious conviction, he loved to read the Bhagavata and give discourses day by day, wherever he was, on the Bhagavatam in the true spirit of a missionary. He was easily accessible to students and others and was a very great friend of the poor. He was systematic and industrious. Lives of great men were full of instruction and inspiration and the speaker hoped the memorial unveiled that evening would be of some service in reminding the younger generation of a great patriot and a most worthy citizen of India. The Kanade Library was becoming a sort of Valhalla and it contained the portraits of several distinguished men of India. There was, therefore, very great propriety in its adding to its gallery the portrait of a distinguished son of India.

MORE WORKING COMMITTEE RESOLUTIONS.

The following is the text of the resolutions of the Working Committee of the Congress officially released to the press:—

"Whereas the Government of India Act of 1935, which is based on the White Paper and the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report and which is in many respects even worse than the proposals contained in them in no way represents the will of the Nation, is designed to facilitate and perpetuate the domination and exploitation of the people of India and is imposed on the country to the accompaniment of widespread repression and the suppression of civil liberties, the Congress reiterates its rejection of the new constitution in its entirety.

"The Congress as representing the will of the Indian people for national freedom and a democratic State declares that no constitution imposed by outside authority and no constitution which curtails the sovereignty of the people of India and does not recognise their right to shape and control fully their political and economic future, can be accepted. In the opinion of the Congress such a constitution must be based on the independence of India as a Nation and it can only be framed by a Constituent Assembly elected on adult franchise or a franchise which approximates to it as nearly as possible. The Congress, therefore, reiterates and stresses the demand for a Constituent Assembly in the name of the Indian people, and calls upon its representatives and members in the Legislatures and outside to work for the fulfilment of this demand.

"In view of the fact that elections for the Provincial Legislatures under the new Act may, according to an official statement, take place before the next session of the Congress, this Congress resolves that in such an event candidates should be put forward on its behalf to contest such seats in accordance with the mandate of the Congress and in pursuance of its declared policy. Such candidates must be chosen from those who fully support the Congress objective of Indian Independence and pledge themselves to carry out its policy in regard to the Legislatures.

"The A. I. C. C. shall place before the country, prior to the election a manifesto explaining the political and economic policy and programme of the Congress in conformity with the resolutions passed by it from time to time. The Provincial Congress Committees may further supplement the manifesto by adding thereto specific items which have special application to their respective provinces. All provincial manifestoes must be approved by the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C.

"Resolved further that the functions of the Parliamentary Board be discharged in future by the Working Committee of the A. I. C. C. The Working Committee is authorised to appoint such Boards or Committees as may be necessary to organise elections to Legislatures as well as to guide, co-ordinate and control the activities of the Congress members in the legislatures. Accordingly the Parliamentary Board need not be reconstituted hereafter.

"The question of acceptance or non-acceptance of office by Congress Members elected to the Legislatures under the constitution having been agitated in the country, the Congress, in view of the uncertainties of the situation as it may develop, considers it inadvisable to commit itself to any decision at this stage on the question and leaves it to be decided at the proper time by the A. I. C. C., after consulting the Provincial Congress Committee."

UNTOUCHABLE LINCOLN.*

One of the few men who have risen from the malodorous sink which is below the lowest caste of India is Dr. Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, No. 1 Untouchable. This plump, cheery, bespectacled man of no caste, whose very shadow would outrage high-caste Hindus, managed to get a good education in Indian Government schools, was staked to courses at the University of London and Columbia University by the highly democratic Gaekwar of Baroda. Dr. Ambedkar is probably the only man alive who ever walked out in a huff from a private audience with the Pope of Rome. His Holiness Pius XI having heard from Dr. Ambedkar about the miseries of Indian outcastes, replied: "My son, it may take three or four centuries to remedy these abuses, be patient."

Impatient Dr. Ambedkar summoned 10,000 raggle-taggle Untouchables to Nasik near Bombay last autumn, said deliberately: "I had the misfortune of being born with the stigma of Untouchability. But it is not my fault. I will not die a Hindu, for this is in my power. I say to you, abandon Hinduism and adopt any other religion which gives you equality of status treatment."

Thereupon 10,000 adopted a resolution advising India Untouchables—some 60,000,000—to desert Hinduism en masse. Then a mob of Untouchables made a mighty bonfire of the most sacred Hindu books they could find. At Lucknow volunteers were solicited to force entry into Hindu temples, from which untouchables have been barred since time immemorial. At Barabanki 28,000 untouchables shouted their support of Ambedkar, laid plans for an All India untouchable Conference. Millions of leaflets bearing untouchable Ambedkar's message began fluttering out over India.

To what faith the Untouchables should turn for "equality of status and treatment," Dr. Ambedkar did not hasten to explain. Since he was reported dallying with Mohammedanism, Christian leaders in India exhibited pious skittishness. Declared the National Christian Council of India: "The harvest is ripe for the gathering in many quarters and we urge that volunteer bands be sent forth to gather it."

* The Times, March 16, 1936.

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This week in *Zion's Herald*, New England Methodist weekly, appears the first interview with Dr. Ambedkar to be published in the U. S. since he made his Nasik speech. To get it, able Editor Lewis Oliver Hartman went to India, sought out its No. 1 Untouchable, plied him with practical questions. Wrote the editor of *Zion's Herald*:

The (Untouchable) leader was rather critical of Christianity's constant emphasis upon personal experience at the expense of any wider reference.

'Why have you not seen the importance of a religion that reaches out into all life and all relationships?' he asked. Continuing, he declared with deep feeling, 'If you are going to compromise with evil conditions while you stress personal religion exclusively, I tell you now I am not with you.....'

'I pointed out in answer that, so far as the Methodist Episcopal Church was concerned, our watchword was this: 'Nothing that has to do with human welfare is foreign to Methodism.' This seemed to please him.....'

Of Hinduism the man whom Editor Hartman calls "India's Lincoln" said: "Hinduism is not a religion; it is a disease."

Editor Hartman's interview concluded thus: 'This much is settled,' he said to me, 'we are through forever with Hinduism. We are going somewhere, but are not ready yet to say in what direction.' 'Yes,' I answered, 'you are not strong enough yet to announce a decision. If you compromise with the Hindus, all is lost; if you choose Mohammedanism, the Hindus will crush you; if you go Christian, both the Hindus and the Moslems will be on your back.'

Exactly, replied Dr. Ambedkar. 'We are not ready—yet.'

A MOVEMENT FOR WORLD CHRISTIANITY.*

A Movement for World Christianity grew out of a meeting held under the auspices of the Modern Missions Movement in May of 1935, at the Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, Rochester, New York. After two days of earnest deliberation, it was resolved that a new movement be organized, dedicated to the world service of Christianity. This movement was to be educational in character, progressive in spirit, scientific in method and zealous in its devotion to the Church's world task. It was, in short, to combine the thoroughness of the scientist with the devotion of the crusader. In the words of the closing message at Rochester, "If this Movement, past or future, has any genius unique to itself, it is a capacity to take those two interests and blend them into a unity. If we cannot do that, we fail."

PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION.

A Movement for World Christianity is a result of the deepening conviction in the Church that God in our time calls for a more adequate expression of Christianity's world responsibility. It believes that this involves at least:

1. A conception of missions which faithfully represents Jesus and his Gospel; which, recognizing every aspect of human need, lays a demand upon the Church to meet those needs in the light of new world conditions and changing forms of thought; and which make for increased co-operation among religious and social groups, free from ecclesiastical and doctrinal divisiveness and from all sense of national and racial superiority.

2. The recognition of the responsibility of the Church for Christianizing the whole range of influences—economic, political, cultural, as well as religious—both within Christendom and in the impact of those influences upon non-Christian peoples.

3. The appreciation of the spiritual goods and

* This was held over from the April 4th *Reformer* in which there was an Editorial comment on it.

high aspirations of non-Christian peoples, which are also the basis upon which Christianity may hope to fulfil its mission of helping to bring to men and society everywhere the abundant life of the Kingdom of God.

4. The conviction that any enterprise, venerable as it may be, can be justified only in so far as its methods, motives and principles are constantly subjected to searching inquiry and revision in the light of the truth of the Gospel.

RELATIONSHIPS.

Relation to pre-existing movements.

The Movement regards itself as an outgrowth of a succession of developments in relation to the missionary enterprise. Among these were a series of objective inquiries into the work of the Christian churches in non-Christian lands, such as the Burton Educational Commission (1922) and the Lindsay Commission on Higher Education in India (1931). But the Movement is more immediately the outcome of the Laymen's Foreign Missions Inquiry (1932) and the Modern Missions Movement. While recognizing its abiding indebtedness to these and other notable contributions, the Movement is free to define its own methods and objectives.

Relation to missionary agencies.

While the relation of the Movement to the existing Mission Boards and other missionary agencies is conceived as independent, it purposes to be of fundamental service to these agencies and invites their reciprocal co-operation in its own undertakings. It will place at the disposal of these agencies, if desired, the results of the work of its Research Department and make recommendations for their consideration, as it will welcome recommendations by them with reference to its own activities.

Relation to the churches.

The Movement is an independent organization only in the sense that it is not officially the creature or representative of any denomination or other ecclesiastical body. It stands ready to serve the churches by providing them with concrete information concerning missionary principles and policies, furnishing lists, where desired of commended enterprises, developing a fuller understanding of the larger issues of missions, seeking with the churches a new vindication of the enterprise and creating fresh interest and conviction.

Relation to other countries.

The Movement will endeavor to increase its value to the churches by seeking information, counsel and fellowship through contacts with the counsellors, friends and critics of the Movement in other lands. It welcomes co-operation with kindred movements that may exist abroad and purposes to work with men of good-will, regardless of nationality, race or creed, for the building of a better world.

PLAN OF PROCEDURE.

The Movement will project its program progressively along the following lines as opportunity and resources permit:

1. Continue the process of objective inquiry and appraisal of the work of the existing missionary enterprise and of other factors that bear on the world mission of Christianity, and make such use of the findings as in its judgment may enhance the service of Christianity throughout the world.

2. Engage in educational activities designed to help further the reorientation of the churches under this larger concept of the world mission of Christianity and to bring vividly to their attention significant developments, trends and needed emphases in relation to that mission.

3. Organize national and regional institutes for the consideration of major problems of concern to the



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Church, at home and abroad, in relation to the world mission of Christianity, in the light of results of surveys and inquiries of its own and of others, including those unchristian and evil contacts, whether of economic exploitation, nationalism, racial antagonism or excessive cultural pride, which poison and corrupt the interflow of good-will and the exchange of spiritual goods; focussing the attention both of the Church and of the general public upon these issues, and suggesting practical procedures in relation to them.

4. Foster such co-operative planning and activity and such other unifying processes as will make the missionary enterprise increasingly effective.

5. Encourage experiments and exploratory projects for discovering increasingly effective ways of fulfilling Christianity's world mission.

6. Foster and facilitate, through literature and exchange visits, the interchange of the prophetic spiritual leadership of the nations, races and religions.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

State Ritual:—For some obscure reason, the change of Viceroys last week was invested with the ceremonial of a King's succession. Descriptions of the Viceregal arrivals and departures, presentations to them of high officials and Princes, their rides along the streets, and presentations of Municipal and other valedictory addresses and their replies thereto, were broadcasted not only to all parts of India but also to London and New York. The inclusion of New York is probably significant of the influence which American opinion is beginning to exert on Indian affairs. The fact that the Mayor of Bombay, Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, was dressed in hand-spun was emphasised, though Mr. Mehta has long ceased to hold any position in the National Congress, and though wearing of hand-spun is no longer an authentic mark of Congress membership. Some ex-members and even non-members wear it. The acting Governor of the Central Provinces is said to be a habitual wearer of khadi including the boat-shaped Gandhi cap. Congress members in the Legislative Assembly were conspicuous by their absence at functions connected with the outgoing and incoming Viceroys. Church ritual has been given up or reduced to a minimum in most communities but its place is being taken up by an elaborate State ritual.

A People's Viceroy?:—Lord Linlithgow has taken pains to show at the outset of his Indian career that his main preoccupation as the head of the Government of India will be the interests of the masses. He had twenty-five peasants from different villages brought down to Bombay and accommodated with seats in the Gateway of India when he arrived and he had them introduced to him on his landing in Bombay last week. In celebration of the Silver Jubilee of their marriage, Lord and Lady Linlithgow had five thousand poor fed at their cost in different parts of Delhi on the day

after His Excellency assumed the Viceroyalty. During his voyage to India he cabled for two stud bulls to be bought from the well-known Hissar Farm as his own personal property. It is announced that he will pay for their maintenance and stabling himself and also for their attendance, and that it is his intention to make them available free of charge for breeding purposes in the City and its neighbourhood in order to improve the quality of milch cattle. Lord Northcote when he was Governor of Bombay—and he was one of her best Governors—did much to preserve the fine breed of Gujarat cows which had been almost wiped out by the great famine which ushered in the twentieth century. We are sorry that an English newspaper tries to make out that Lord Linlithgow's endeavours to get into personal touch with the people are calculated to achieve a political object.

The Ithad Party:—Mian Sir Fazli Hussain inaugurated a new political party at Lahore on April 19. It is to be, like the Justice Party in Madras, a provincial party. The Ithad Party, as it is to be called, is open to all without distinction of race or creed who subscribe to its creed which, Sir Fazli said, would be available at the Party Secretariat. He might have given its substance at least in his long address because without it the significance of much of what he said would have been lost on his audience. This is more especially the case with readers. The new Party programme is to work upward from the bottom, the village, the tahsil, the district, the Division and the Province. To begin with, however, the work will have to begin from the Headquarters in Lahore which Sir Fazli opened. The Party, he said, would work for the uplift of the poor, the down-trodden, the villager, the peasant. No political Party avows that it is working for its own uplift. The Ithad Party has merely repeated here the slogan of all political parties. Its methods, said Sir Fazli, will not be those of communists. It does not aim at abolishing private property. It will appeal to the enlightened self-interest of the wealthy to contribute generously towards the amelioration of their less fortunate brethren. Sir Fazli warned his friends that if the gulf between the rich and the poor grows wider and wider no Government can protect the rich for any length of time. Enlightened self-interest has not been able to prevent the widening



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of the gulf in other countries. Sir Fazli is sure that it will, in his native province. It is somewhat disconcerting to see that Sir Fazli does not quite appreciate Lord Linlithgow's declaration in his broadcast speech that he was incapable of showing preference to any one community. Sir Fazli suggested that His Excellency rather overdid this protestation. Taking up the Viceroy's analogy of his children, Sir Fazli posed certain questions which only showed his chagrin and had otherwise no point in them. As we show in our leading article, the Viceroy's declaration is of no practical importance except as a sign of his personal good intentions, in view of the fact that the Government of India Act embodies all possible preferences, and leaves no room for the Governor General's discretion. Sir Fazli knows this better than any one else. His remarks on Lord Linlithgow's innocuous declaration were in bad taste and utterly ill-conceived. We understand his reference to the statements about Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's resignation of his office, in the Reserve Bank, in order to re-enter public life in the Punjab, to mean that for the present there is no likelihood of their coming to pass.

Courts and Custom:—An instance of how Law Courts harden custom and prevent its reacting to growing public opinion, is furnished by a case in which the point at issue was, whether the marriage of a father-in-law with a widowed daughter-in-law was a valid marriage according to the custom prevailing among a caste of Jats in the Punjab where customary law is most in vogue. The District Judge who tried the case in the first instance found that such marriages were against Jat customs and were therefore void. On appeal, the Lahore High Court found that there was a valid custom sanctioning such marriages and remitted the case to the District Court for retrial. There were witnesses on both sides, leading men of the caste, some testifying to the existence of the custom and others denying it. The truth seems to be that there was a custom of the kind but that the caste was beginning to look down on it. The witnesses who denied that the custom existed were probably influenced by their own repugnance to the custom. What is the duty of a Court in such cases? There have been Judges who taking a broad view of their function have given due weight to the growth of public opinion and decided against giving effect to a practice which has become repugnant to the public conscience. There have also been Judges who in a stricter view of their function refused to recognise the growth of opinion as a fact justifying judicial cognisance. The Lahore High Court in deciding that the marriage was sanctioned by custom was obviously influenced by the latter view. The learned Judge argued: "It may be that such marriages are perhaps not looked upon with approval and are, therefore, rare. But that does not necessarily mean that they are invalid. So far as mere repugnancy to modern notions is concerned, a marriage with a

deceased brother's widow can scarcely be considered to be less repugnant than a marriage with a son's widow. If the latter marriage is considered to be objectionable because a daughter-in-law stands on the same footing as a daughter, the marriage with brother's widow would equally be repugnant as the latter stands on the same footing as a sister. But there can be no doubt whatever that Jats do recognise Karewa with a brother's widow as valid."

Home to Roost:—John Bright was never tired of warning his countrymen that the methods they employ in Indian administration were sure eventually to invade their own government. The passing of a Sedition Act some time back was a proof of Bright's prescience. The English mail last week brought accounts of police action against a popular demonstration against Fascism, which are reminiscent of the doings at Azad Maidan and Darasna in 1930. We quote from the reference to it in "A London Diary" by Critic whose weekly comments are a feature of the *New Statesman*: "I have before me the written testimony of some forty observers most of them people with no axe to grind who agree that the mounted police acted as if 'orderly' London citizens could be knocked over with staves, pushed over or trampled on by horses without anybody having the right to complain." The *New Statesman* also publishes letters from correspondents and a statement by Mr. John Strachey, who presided at a meeting in support of the demonstration against Fascism, of what happened.

Comforting Doctrine:—Thus the *Dnyanodaya*: "Human affairs are vastly complex, and present conditions are always the outcome of the struggle among inter-acting elements in the past. In spite of the hostility of counter-purposes evident in the Indian-body-politic today there is the deep underlying unity of desire for a condition of things in which men and women will be adequately provided with the material requirements for a full life, and in which they will be free and happy. We must wait for the future to disperse the mists of these past sixteen years, and then perhaps it will be seen that Mahatma Gandhi, Lord Irwin, and Lord Willingdon, the movement of revolt, the efforts at conciliation and the counteraction, the forging of a new constitution and the new alignments and attitudes that it has brought about in individuals and in parties—that all of these have played their part in the evolution of a great people to a condition of self-respecting freedom and solid prosperity. We know that this evolution is by no means complete as things stand, and that there are many obstacles to be removed and great difficulties to be overcome. But we believe that real progress has been made in these past sixteen years and that we are in the true dawn." Why stop at the last sixteen years? Why not push the same argument back some twenty centuries? Why confine it to India, either? realpatidar.com



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Mass Organizations :—Mr. T. Sivasankaran of Penukonda writes : "To those who are accustomed to close thinking the Congress outlook is somewhat puzzling. With the Civil Disobedience movement suspended, it seemed that the pendulum was allowed to swing on the side of developing a constructive temper among the masses as is indicated by the intensive work in the Harijan and Village Industries movement. Sardar Patel is exhorting people not to come into conflict with the established order of things but to develop strength from within. Mahatma Gandhi retired from Congress with the object of devoting his undivided attention to constructive work. By such conscious change the country was led to believe that wisdom lay in the direction of awakening the masses to a sense of applied citizenship in matters of immediate concern in their daily life, as the only means of laying the foundation for the growth of a larger political consciousness enabling them to make the best out of the self-governing institutions spread all over the country, as a step towards the goal for Swaraj from our side, while freedom is sought to be achieved from the other by National movements in the land. Instead, to think of weaning the mass mind away from such constructive temper into revolutionary mentality would be, if slang is permitted, rubbing the wrong way. 90% of the Government whatever its cost should ever remain of a local character in this land of villages whether it is Poorna Swaraj or a hide-bound foreign constitution of the kind which is now facing the country. The greatest mercy at the present time for this unfortunate land would be to allow the masses to confine their attention exclusively to detailed working of local Government within the limits available in all branches affecting their immediate collective welfare, the talent for which, according to history, has always been in the genius of their race, whether Empires came or Empires went. I do confess that I am among those who, the more they examine this complicated scheme the more are they repelled by the ugliness in it. I for one would not be sorry if it is wrecked but on one condition, that the mass temperament is allowed to remain within constructive bounds leading to progress of an evolutionary character, building up during the interval solid and live citizenship as the only means to handle any scheme of Government making it yield to the popular will."

Post Office Enterprise :—The Indian Post Office is introducing an Identity Card which will be issued on the payment of one rupee at any Post Office. This will facilitate delivery of Money orders and other articles to the right persons when travelling in places where they are strangers and where it will be difficult for them to produce testimony regarding their identity. Further particulars will be found in another column. We commend to the Director General the following which is worthy of his attention. The French Post Office has recently established a highly efficient information and messenger service for the benefit of telephone subscribers. By dialing

"S. V. P." (French for 'please') any subscriber can receive easily available information at a charge of one franc, or information requiring research ('Where did Cain get his wife?) at charges up to 10 francs. The messenger service makes reservations for theatres, planes, trains and steamships and buys and delivers anything the subscriber desires for a nominal fee.

The King and the Pandit :—In the *Reformer* of the 11th April, we commented on the report published by the *Riyasat* on the authority of an "ex-Minister of Parliament" and reproduced by the *Anrila Basar Patrika* of the King having invited Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the latter having declined the invitation. The Pandit has issued the following statement on the report : "I have just seen a reference to a fantastic story which apparently was started by a Delhi weekly newspaper and later copied by the *Anrila Basar Patrika*. The story relates that the Private Secretary to the King wrote to me extending an invitation to meet the King. Further, that I was unable to accept this for fear of certain political complications in India. I should like to say that this story is utterly and absolutely without foundation, and I am surprised that any newspaper should have given currency to it." The story is not so fantastic as it would be if it had reference to King George V. King Edward VIII is not a stickler for convention. In his message to the Empire he assured it that, although he now spoke to it as King, he was still the same man who, during the War and, since, had had the opportunity to know the people of nearly every country of the world under all circumstances and conditions, and whose constant effort would be to promote the well-being of his fellowmen.

The King among Communists :—Glasgow is a hotbed and the headquarters of British Communism. During his visit to Glasgow last month to inspect the new monster ship, *Queen Mary*, His Majesty King Edward VIII visited the slums of the city and was greeted by the crowd everywhere with cries of 'Good Old Teddy'! Quitting the *Queen Mary* bare-headed in a pouring rain amid fresh roars of 'Good Old Teddy,' writes *Time*, "the Sovereign drove off rapidly over an unannounced route with John Stewart, Lord Provost of Glasgow...Cheerfully the King, in sleek long coat and bowler, set out to repeat in Glasgow slums the sort of famed house-to-house tour he made as Edward of Wales through the bleak, starveling Welsh collieries and 'Depressed areas.' *Knk-knk*, tapped the knuckle of Edward VIII's middle finger on a Glasgow tenement door as he cried, 'May I come in?' 'Certainly, come right in! Who are you?' 'I am your King'. In tenement after tenement the King plodded up and down worn steps of Scottish granite to *knk-knk* softly and ask, 'May I come in?'. At His Majesty, 5 year old Charlie Storrie piped incredulously, 'Are you the new King?' Patting the mopet's head, the Sovereign answered 'Yes, little man, I am.' This seems to be a better and more effective way of dealing with Communists than some which are in favour with His Majesty's servants in India.



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of the gulf in other countries. Sir Fazli is sure that it will, in his native province. It is somewhat disconcerting to see that Sir Fazli does not quite appreciate Lord Linlithgow's declaration in his broadcast speech that he was incapable of showing preference to any one community. Sir Fazli suggested that His Excellency rather overdid this protestation. Taking up the Viceroy's analogy of his children, Sir Fazli posed certain questions which only showed his chagrin and had otherwise no point in them. As we show in our leading article, the Viceroy's declaration is of no practical importance except as a sign of his personal good intentions, in view of the fact that the Government of India Act embodies all possible preferences, and leaves no room for the Governor General's discretion. Sir Fazli knows this better than any one else. His remarks on Lord Linlithgow's innocuous declaration were in bad taste and utterly ill-conceived. We understand his reference to the statements about Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's resignation of his office, in the Reserve Bank, in order to re-enter public life in the Punjab, to mean that for the present there is no likelihood of their coming to pass.

Courts and Custom:—An instance of how Law Courts harden custom and prevent its reacting to growing public opinion, is furnished by a case in which the point at issue was, whether the marriage of a father-in-law with a widowed daughter-in-law was a valid marriage according to the custom prevailing among a caste of Jats in the Punjab where customary law is most in vogue. The District Judge who tried the case in the first instance found that such marriages were against Jat customs and were therefore void. On appeal, the Lahore High Court found that there was a valid custom sanctioning such marriages and remitted the case to the District Court for retrial. There were witnesses on both sides, leading men of the caste, some testifying to the existence of the custom and others denying it. The truth seems to be that there was a custom of the kind but that the caste was beginning to look down on it. The witnesses who denied that the custom existed were probably influenced by their own repugnance to the custom. What is the duty of a Court in such cases? There have been Judges who taking a broad view of their function have given due weight to the growth of public opinion and decided against giving effect to a practice which has become repugnant to the public conscience. There have also been Judges who in a stricter view of their function refused to recognise the growth of opinion as a fact justifying judicial cognisance. The Lahore High Court in deciding that the marriage was sanctioned by custom was obviously influenced by the latter view. The learned Judge argued: "It may be that such marriages are perhaps not looked upon with approval and are, therefore, rare. But that does not necessarily mean that they are invalid. So far as mere repugnancy to modern notions is concerned, a marriage with a

deceased brother's widow can scarcely be considered to be less repugnant than a marriage with a son's widow. If the latter marriage is considered to be objectionable because a daughter-in-law stands on the same footing as a daughter, the marriage with brother's widow would equally be repugnant as the latter stands on the same footing as a sister. But there can be no doubt whatever that Jats do recognise Karewa with a brother's widow as valid."

Home to Roost:—John Bright was never tired of warning his countrymen that the methods they employ in Indian administration were sure eventually to invade their own government. The passing of a Sedition Act some time back was a proof of Bright's prescience. The English mail last week brought accounts of police action against a popular demonstration against Fascism, which are reminiscent of the doings at Azad Maidan and Darasna in 1930. We quote from the reference to it in "A London Diary" by Critic whose weekly comments are a feature of the *New Statesman*: "I have before me the written testimony of some forty observers most of them people with no axe to grind who agree that the mounted police acted as if 'orderly' London citizens could be knocked over with staves, pushed over or trampled on by horses without anybody having the right to complain." The *New Statesman* also publishes letters from correspondents and a statement by Mr. John Strachey, who presided at a meeting in support of the demonstration against Fascism, of what happened.

Comforting Doctrine:—Thus the *Dnyanodaya*: "Human affairs are vastly complex, and present conditions are always the outcome of the struggle among inter-acting elements in the past. In spite of the hostility of counter-purposes evident in the Indian-body-politic today there is the deep underlying unity of desire for a condition of things in which men and women will be adequately provided with the material requirements for a full life, and in which they will be free and happy. We must wait for the future to disperse the mists of these past sixteen years, and then perhaps it will be seen that Mahatma Gandhi, Lord Irwin, and Lord Willingdon, the movement of revolt, the efforts at conciliation and the counteraction, the forging of a new constitution and the new alignments and attitudes that it has brought about in individuals and in parties—that all of these have played their part in the evolution of a great people to a condition of self-respecting freedom and solid prosperity. We know that this evolution is by no means complete as things stand, and that there are many obstacles to be removed and great difficulties to be overcome. But we believe that real progress has been made in these past sixteen years and that we are in the true dawn." Why stop at the last sixteen years? Why not push the same argument back some twenty centuries? Why confine it to India, either?



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Mass Organizations :—Mr. T. Sivasankaran of Penukonda writes : "To those who are accustomed to close thinking the Congress outlook is somewhat puzzling. With the Civil Disobedience movement suspended, it seemed that the pendulum was allowed to swing on the side of developing a constructive temper among the masses as is indicated by the intensive work in the Harijan and Village Industries movement. Sardar Patel is exhorting people not to come into conflict with the established order of things but to develop strength from within. Mahatma Gandhi retired from Congress with the object of devoting his undivided attention to constructive work. By such conscious change the country was led to believe that wisdom lay in the direction of awakening the masses to a sense of applied citizenship in matters of immediate concern in their daily life, as the only means of laying the foundation for the growth of a larger political consciousness enabling them to make the best out of the self-governing institutions spread all over the country, as a step towards the goal for Swaraj from our side, while freedom is sought to be achieved from the other by National movements in the land. Instead, to think of weaning the mass mind away from such constructive temper into revolutionary mentality would be, if slang is permitted, rubbing the wrong way. 90% of the Government whatever its cost should ever remain of a local character in this land of villages whether it is Poorna Swaraj or a hide-bound foreign constitution of the kind which is now facing the country. The greatest mercy at the present time for this unfortunate land would be to allow the masses to confine their attention exclusively to detailed working of local Government within the limits available in all branches affecting their immediate collective welfare, the talent for which, according to history, has always been in the genius of their race, whether Empires came or Empires went. I do confess that I am among those who, the more they examine this complicated scheme the more are they repelled by the ugliness in it. I for one would not be sorry if it is wrecked but on one condition, that the mass temperament is allowed to remain within constructive bounds leading to progress of an evolutionary character, building up during the interval solid and live citizenship as the only means to handle any scheme of Government making it yield to the popular will."

Post Office Enterprise :—The Indian Post Office is introducing an Identity Card which will be issued on the payment of one rupee at any Post Office. This will facilitate delivery of Money orders and other articles to the right persons when travelling in places where they are strangers and where it will be difficult for them to produce testimony regarding their identity. Further particulars will be found in another column. We commend to the Director General the following which is worthy of his attention. The French Post Office has recently established a highly efficient information and messenger service for the benefit of telephone subscribers. By dialing

"S. V. P." (French for 'please') any subscriber can receive easily available information at a charge of one franc, or information requiring research ('Where did Cain get his wife?') at charges up to 10 francs. The messenger service makes reservations for theatres, planes, trains and steamships and buys and delivers anything the subscriber desires for a nominal fee.

The King and the Pandit :—In the *Reformer* of the 11th April, we commented on the report published by the *Riyasat* on the authority of an "ex-Minister of Parliament" and reproduced by the *Amrita Basar Patrika* of the King having invited Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and the latter having declined the invitation. The Pandit has issued the following statement on the report : "I have just seen a reference to a fantastic story which apparently was started by a Delhi weekly newspaper and later copied by the *Amrita Basar Patrika*. The story relates that the Private Secretary to the King wrote to me extending an invitation to meet the King. Further, that I was unable to accept this for fear of certain political complications in India. I should like to say that this story is utterly and absolutely without foundation, and I am surprised that any newspaper should have given currency to it." The story is not so fantastic as it would be if it had reference to King George V. King Edward VIII is not a stickler for convention. In his message to the Empire he assured it that, although he now spoke to it as King, he was still the same man who, during the War and, since, had had the opportunity to know the people of nearly every country of the world under all circumstances and conditions, and whose constant effort would be to promote the well-being of his fellowmen.

The King among Communists :—Glasgow is a hotbed and the headquarters of British Communism. During his visit to Glasgow last month to inspect the new monster ship, *Queen Mary*, His Majesty King Edward VIII visited the slums of the city and was greeted by the crowd everywhere with cries of 'Good Old Teddy!' Quitting the *Queen Mary* bare-headed in a pouring rain amid fresh roars of 'Good Old Teddy,' writes *Time*, "the Sovereign drove off rapidly over an unannounced route with John Stewart, Lord Provost of Glasgow...Cheerfully the King, in sleek long coat and bowler, set out to repeat in Glasgow slums the sort of famed house-to-house tour he made as Edward of Wales through the bleak, starveling Welsh collieries and 'Depressed areas.' *Knk-knk*, tapped the knuckle of Edward VIII's middle finger on a Glasgow tenement door as he cried, 'May I come in?' "Certainly, come right in! Who are you?" "I am your King". In tenement after tenement the King plodded up and down worn steps of Scottish granite to *knk-knk* softly and ask, 'May I come in?'. At His Majesty, 5 year old Charlie Storrie piped incredulously, 'Are you the new King?' Patting the moppet's head, the Sovereign answered 'Yes, little man, I am.'" This seems to be a better and more effective way of dealing with Communists than some which are in favour with His Majesty's servants in India.



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THE NEW VICEROY.

Lord Linlithgow made two speeches during the few hours of his stay in Bombay and broadcasted a lengthy message from New Delhi soon after he took the oaths of office. Both in his reply to the Muslim address presented to him in this city and in his message from New Delhi, His Excellency declared that he would make no distinction between the communities of India, that he was incapable of doing so. In his message, Lord Linlithgow enforced his resolve by an illustration drawn from his relations with his own five children among whom he had no favourite though he adapted his behaviour with each of them to the needs of his or her distinctive temperament. In his message, while assuring the Services of his support in the discharge of their duties, he took occasion to remind them that they were servants of the Indian people—not the steel frame that they have been encouraged to regard themselves to be. He exhorted district officials to spend more time in touring their charges than in sitting at their desks, adding that the tent is mightier than the pen. His Excellency bade children to fear God, honour the King, and obey their parents. He pointed out that, in order to discharge his responsibilities under the new constitution, it was incumbent on him to acquaint himself personally with all shades of political opinion and that it should not be supposed that he agreed or was in sympathy with the views of those whom he might interview from time to time in pursuance of that duty. He assured the country—London and New York listening in—that it was his intention to make official information freely accessible to the public, but only in the shape of objective facts, so that it might have the material on which to form its own judgment without any officious assistance on the part of his officials. His Excellency gave a special assurance to the Press that newspapers will be treated by his Government without any discrimination on account of their editorial policies. Lord Linlithgow promised that he will give Indian publicists full credit for sincerity and disinterestedness and expected that they would do the same to him. The message as it was heard on the radio was delivered with the assurance of one who was sure of his ground and fully meant what he said. It made a very favourable first impression which goes a long way in human intercourse.

If there has been doubt or hesitancy—there has been very little—in the way in which Indian opinion has expressed itself on the Viceroy's pronouncements, it is due not to any suspicion of his sincerity but to an apprehension as to how far he would succeed in impressing his intentions on the media through which the Viceroy has to function. There is no danger today of a repetition of the experience which Lord Ripon had to

undergo. Indian opinion fifty years ago was not articulate enough, neither was it organised, to support that great Viceroy who attempted to give effect in a small way to the promise of equal citizenship of the Queen's Proclamation, against the storm of fanatical fury which burst on his head. If the Services tried the game today of baiting the Viceroy, they would soon find themselves floundering in a dangerous bog threatening their very existence. Their younger members at least know this very well. The older ones will, no doubt, take their pension and retire to write letters bewailing the passing of the old order in the London newspapers. It is a great advantage that Lord Linlithgow belongs to the Conservative Party and is a Protestant, though we see that there is some grumbling at his being a dissenter, Scotch Presbyterian, and not a worshipper in the Church of England. Creed and communal prejudices pass unnoticed in British public life, but they lie not far below the surface and come up whenever any important question raises a controversy. The *Morning Post's* anti-Semitic outbursts against Mr. Montagu and Lord Reading when they happened to be Secretary of State for India and Viceroy for a short time, are an illustration. A greater obstacle to the implementing of Lord Linlithgow's good intentions, is the Government of India Act which his lordship had himself a large hand in shaping. His Excellency said that he was incapable of discriminating between communities. But the Act is based on such discrimination: it is shot by it through and through. Take the franchise provisions. One community has assigned to it one seat for, say, a hundred thousand of population. Another is entitled to elect one for just half or a third of that number; yet another for a hundredth or even less fraction of it. This discrimination is carried, as it is bound to be, into the Cabinet the local bodies, the Services. This in itself would not much matter. What matters very much is that all this is to be secured not by voluntary choice but by statutory obligation. How would it be if it was laid down by law that one fifth of Ministers in a British Cabinet should be Ulstermen, another fifth, Welshmen, and the rest in equal parts Scotchmen and Englishmen, including a specified proportion of Roman Catholics and women? We shall be told that there is no need for prescribing proportions in Great Britain because there are no conflict of interests there as in India. The answer is that there is no conflict of interests in Britain because the constitution does not discriminate between the different races and creeds. The case is even more conspicuous in the United States.

As for imputing motives, Lord Linlithgow will soon find that those who indulge in this game are not always or predominantly Indian publicists. Most of them are educated enough to know that motives do not count in public affairs as the different motives of various men concerned in them, tend to cancel one another.

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Moreover, the Executive in India has armed itself with enormous powers to put down any impugment of its motives, with and without judicial proceedings. On the other hand, public men whose motives and conduct are questioned by it from the shelter of its official barricade, have no remedy. They may raise the matter on a motion of adjournment in the Legislature but this may only lead to worse imputations which may be broadcasted through the public press with complete impunity. Any speech from the non official benches which the Executive does not like, can be practically suppressed by applying the Press Act as was recently done in the case of the *Abhyudhaya*. The President of the Legislative Assembly has ruled that such action on the part of the Executive did not infringe any privilege which the Assembly can lay claim to. His Excellency will be doing a service to the Indian Press if he will kindly have this point settled early in consonance with British parliamentary practice.

UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA AND THEIR PROBLEMS.

Mr. Littlehailes, Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University, and Chairman of the Inter-University Board in his opening speech at the last meeting of the Board, at Aligarh, referred to the different types of Universities in India.

Discussing the limitations of the Indian Universities, he said that each University had its own Act drawn up by the Legislature of its own province or that of all India; its own policy, as set forth and circumscribed by its Act of Incorporation, and also much more important, its own aims and objects, based upon the structure, and restricted by the achievements of secondary education, in the areas from which the University drew its undergraduates. "A University does not stand by itself in an educational system; it has, on the one hand, the limitations of the secondary educational system on which it stands, and side by side with it the other Universities of India, and other institutions for higher education like the Institute of Science, Bangalore, with which it must co-operate in the common aim of all University education—the advancement of learning and the making of men of character and of high ethical standards, who will form the leaders of our political and social life."

He described the diversity of structure in Indian Universities. (1) Leaving aside the ancient foundations, modern University education in India dates from the foundation in the same year of the Universities in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras as purely affiliating Universities with no teaching functions, (2) other Universities, e.g. Allahabad and the Punjab were set up on the same model, (3) the older Universities began themselves to teach and research, not leave teaching and research to be conducted only through their affiliated colleges, (4) Aligarh and Benares were founded, one to express the ideals of higher Muslim education and the other to express the ideals of higher Hindu education: (5) other Universities were instituted as offshoots of the then existing Universities with the main ideas of reducing the administrative areas of the older Universities and of self-development on a policy of their own which might be essentially different from previous policies, (e.g. Osmania) or scarcely differing from previous policies, (e.g. Mysore) and

* Report of Inter University Board, 1935-36.

(6) the idea of a unitary University was set forth and Universities like Lucknow and Dacca were set up so that at the present time there are now seventeen Universities in India.

There are in India today at least five distinct types of Universities, the classification being made according to (1) the location of the University and its Colleges and (2) the direct control and appointment of teaching staff, i. e., according to whether the University is itself directly responsible for teaching (unitary Universities) or whether its responsibility is exercised through associated Colleges.

(1) *Unitary Universities located in one place, e. g., Dacca, Lucknow, Osmania, Annamalai.*

(2) *Unitary Universities not localised in one place, e. g., Mysore.*

(3) *Affiliating Universities, with no teaching functions, and not localised in one place, e. g., Agra.*

(4) *Affiliating Universities with teaching functions, and not localised in one place, e. g., Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Andhra.*

(5) *Affiliating Universities, with or without teaching functions but localised in one place (federal in nature) e. g., Delhi.*

There is a further division of Universities in India depending upon the stage of admission to University courses. In Dacca, Allahabad, Lucknow and Agra, the stage of admission is the 'Intermediate' standard; in all other Universities in India the undergraduate comes under the control of his University at the Matriculation or Secondary School leaving stage.

Administrative problems in our Universities differ considerably, but these differences are due not so much to varying ideals and policies of Universities as to their varying structures and constitutions. These latter involve differences in the stage of admission to University courses of study, in the size, constitution and mode of appointment to the Courts or Senates, to the Academic Councils to the Syndicates or Executive Councils and to Boards of Studies. Under some of the more recent University Acts, especially, those with affiliating functions, the Court or Senate is composed of a very large number of persons (200 or more) representing, besides persons of academic influence and authority, every conceivable interest; Legislative Councils, District Boards, Municipal Councils, Chambers of Commerce, Landholders, Depressed Classes, Backward Classes, Graduates and so on. Academic Councils and Executive Councils are correspondingly large. Meetings of such large bodies whose members are drawn from wide areas involve a severe drain on the finances of a University—a drain is not experienced by localised University whether unitary or federal. The financial problems of a large affiliating University thus differ appreciably from those of a localised University.

The affiliating University with teaching functions has special problems of its own. Such a University is in fact two Universities in one—a teaching University and an affiliating University. The United Provinces when it constituted the Agra University resolved the old affiliating and teaching Allahabad University into its constituent parts; it took all affiliating functions away from the old Allahabad University leaving it a purely localised unitary University, and gave them to the then newly instituted Agra University. Is it not possible for other Universities with a dual function and contending interests (for the interests of an affiliated college are often far from identical with those of a college at the headquarters of the University) to consider resolving themselves into their constituent parts, one a purely affiliating University, the other a localised unitary or federal University?



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Proceeding Mr. Littlehailes emphasised the advantage of localised Universities either of the unitary or federal type, and impressed the need for the retention of affiliating Universities but said that it was undesirable to increase centres of University education through colleges. New colleges would do well to set themselves up in centres where colleges already existed. College individuality could be expressed through residential halls or hostels or even by the appointment (in a federal University) of University teachers subject to their possession of some minimum qualification or their approval by the academic authority of a University. Some Mission Colleges which are supported by several Missions have solved the difficulty of appointments of staff in this manner, each supporting Mission being responsible for the appointment of the person who is to hold a named post on the staff.

Referring to some of the recent Indian University Acts which are obviously based upon the Acts of some of the modern Universities of Great Britain, Mr. Littlehailes asked if they were quite suitable for India with its vast uneducated population and, limited franchise. He further asked if these Acts would not result in administration of Universities being handed over to bodies on which persons sit who were quite unfitted for their task, persons who were unable to consider University policy on academic and ethical grounds, who concentrated on questions of patronage and political policy to the detriment of principles and standards of University education and administration, who were in fact inexperienced politicians rather than educated statesmen. He further pointed out that the University Senates and Courts had to be trained to value wisdom, integrity and imagination in their representatives on the Executive bodies of the Universities; they had to realise that their representatives might at times have to sacrifice what appears to be and, indeed, might be immediate interests of their own University in order to further the common good of all higher education and to raise the ethical standard of academic life in India.

In conclusion, Mr. Littlehailes compared the Inter-University Board to the League of Nations—members of the League were representatives of different forms of Government with different constitutions and with different policies; they met however with a common aim; the maintenance of peace. "Members of this Board represent different kinds of Universities, with different constitutions and policies; we sit together to deliberate and discuss matters of common policy and mutual good. The members of the University Board assemble to find ways and means to maintain a high ethical standard in higher education in India, and to endeavour to secure the advancement of knowledge and research."

First Indian Plane.—The first aeroplane to be made in India—and out of Indian materials—and flown, is nearing completion at Bangalore. This is a "Flying Flea," a single seater aeroplane. Professor K. Ashton of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, in taking the initiative for this enterprising venture, has secured new possibilities for aeronautical engineering in India and for civil aviation. He has personally tested the Indian materials, in the construction of the plane and has utilized them as far as possible. The originator of the "Flying Flea," M. Henry Mignet, a Frenchman, claimed that an amateur could teach himself to fly in the air without the aid of an instructor in this type of aeroplane. Professor Ashton, believing in the feasibility of the proposition, has now gone far enough to its successful conclusion. The machine is specially designed for safety and easy handling by the amateur.

HINDUS AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION.*

RAJA SIR RAMPAL SINGH.

The political position of the Hindus in the coming Constitution will suffer a serious and disastrous setback due to certain novel principles embodied in that constitution. These are, broadly speaking, to devise a constitution on the basis of mere number, or counting of heads, of quantity irrespective of quality and even within the framework of a novel political arithmetic the relative values of quantity and quality are not determined by any uniform principle. As you all know, more weightages of representation and consequently of political power are given to Moslems than to Hindus and Sikhs and, in some cases, especially in the province of Bengal, the Hindus are made to lose both in quantity and quality, with a representation falling below even their population strength.

On behalf of the Hindus, I must emphatically point out that these unprecedented schemes of communal electorates, reservations, and weightages of representations, have never been the demand of Hindus either as majorities or as minorities. Standing on the platform of this Conference I must state emphatically that this is not a narrow communal platform. We in the Hindu Mahasabha have been always standing for a national solution of our communal problems on the basis of joint electorate, pure and simple, without any reservations of representation, except reservations to minorities on the basis of their population strength, as strictly a minority right, if pressed. And yet this national position of the Hindu Mahasabha has been assailed in season and out of season not merely by Moslems but even by some distinguished Hindu leaders of the Congress who are so uncharitable as to think that the nationalism of the Hindu organizations is only a cloak for communalism, that the Hindu Mahasabha is national because it is convenient to it. I know that the Congress has no religion and is neither Hindu nor Moslem. But I cannot understand how it can neither accept nor reject, and remain neutral and indifferent, as regards the vicious system of separate communal electorate and quotas and weightages of representation which are destructive of the very nationalism and democracy for which the Congress ought to stand as a matter of principle. I am sorry to say that the Congress acquiescence in the Communal 'Award' has been taken to be the acquiescence in it of the Hindus who practically constitute the Congress and this fact has set a seal on the 'Award' which has been condemned, by the Hindu world. Nor am I able to follow the logic or the consistency of the Congress which does not own any religion, but must profess one, against its own conscience and principles, for purposes of what is called Council-entry for which they are so enthusiastic. For, as you know, Indians as such cannot vote under the constitution except as Hindus, Moslems, Sikhs or Christians, and Congressmen, in professing a composite and godless nationalism, must separate, and obtain their respective religious labels to obtain entrance to the Legislatures. The constitution drives us into separate communal camps. This is a justification for the Hindu Mahasabha and its institutions.

We have now to put our own house in order and face our own problems. Our indifference to these problems has caused incalculable damage to the interests and prospects of the Hindus even in the United Provinces where they are in an overwhelming majority of 85 per cent. The position of the Hindus in the present constitution has been already reduced far below the standard of their

* Presidential address, Provincial Hindu Conference, Lucknow.



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numerical and cultural importance, and will be much worse in the coming constitution, if the Hindus do not properly organize themselves to protect and promote their own interest, and take a lesson in this respect from their Moslem brethren. Nay, even the constitution itself conveys to us that lesson and instigates communal organizations. Already in the U. P. Government there has been the established practice of including in it a solitary Hindu member, while for years the same cabinet had included two Moslem members. In the services, every one knows, how far the present percentage of appointment for the Hindus falls below their population strength and the result is that in some of the services they are being reduced to a minority. We have never stood for percentages and proportions in the public services of the country, for we have always believed in their efficiency and recruitment on the basis of merit, on the basis of maximum qualifications and not on the strange principal of 'minimum' qualifications dictated by narrow communal considerations. And now, in the coming constitution, our prospects threaten to be more gloomy, if the Hindus do not fully organize themselves as Hindus, and protect their own interests, as they are expected to do by the constitution.

This means that we must first of all organize a party to contest the coming elections to the Provincial Legislatures. This is a matter too important to be dealt with by me as an individual, and I must leave it to the Conference and the permanent body of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha who, I understand, have already adopted a resolution for Hindu Sabhas to contest the provincial elections. I only beg your leave to suggest for your consideration in a general way the lines on which the proposed party should be organized in the special conditions of the U. P. Firstly, the party should bring about a united Hindu front and provide a platform on which Hindus of all shades of political opinion can come together. This means that the policy and programme of the party must be wide, liberal and national, so as to give scope to progressive and democratic thought and outlook as regards our vital political, social, and economic problems, the problems of labour and capital, landlords, and tenants, peasants and workers, depressed classes, rural reconstruction, development of industries, large and small, agricultural indebtedness and cheap credit, unemployment, illiteracy, sanitation, public health and medical aid. And on the treatment of these and other problems, we must bring to bear that democratic, national, and catholic outlook by which divergent interests may be reconciled and classes welded together into a harmonious whole, without allowing any unreasonable invasions of private property and encroachment upon the home and family life which are integral parts of the Hindu social system and mass mentality.

In conclusion, I should like to remind you of the responsibilities that rest on you at this great crisis in our Hindu national history. I do not consider the Hindus, numbering more than 200 millions of people, as a community, but a nation by themselves. They stand for a type of culture which has enriched the culture of mankind and attracted some of the choicest spirits of the West as its votaries. We owe it to ourselves and to the world to conserve and extend that culture. I rejoice to think that most of the advanced western countries are interested in Hindu thought and are maintaining chairs and school of Sanskrit at their universities. Even a small state like Poland maintains a professorship of Sanskrit at each of its five universities. Should we allow this precious cultural heritage to perish or should we not promote it to the best of

our powers? The whole of Hindu India today looks to the U. P. as the cradle and home of Hindu learning and culture to give the lead in the matter of our political emancipation on which depends the culture of the race. The Hindus of U. P. must rise to the occasion and to the full height of their responsibilities, so that they may win for themselves their rightful place in the coming constitution.

SIR FAZLI HUSSAIN ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

Mian Sir Fazli-I-Hussain, leader of the National Unionist Party—now called the Ithad Party—performed the opening ceremony of the Party's Headquarters office at the Mamdot Villa, on the 19th in the presence of a large gathering.

Sir Fazli Hussain, in declaring the New Headquarters Office of the Unionist Party open, made a lengthy speech. He said:

I have been asked to declare open the office of the Punjab Unionist Party Headquarters. It is customary on an occasion like this to say something, but I trust you do not expect any elaborate statement from me dealing with constitution making, India's position, political and economic, in the Empire or the civilised world; new constitution under the Government of India Act of 1935; whether the constitution of our legislatures can be modified under the Act and if so how? These are all matters of vital importance, of absorbing interest, but this is not the occasion for it.

Here, I will just say a few words about self-government for the largest possible number of human beings—the masses—as our ideal in opposition to the scheme of dictatorships. We in India have been moving from the centralised Imperial Government to the Local Self-Government and to Provincial autonomy—very slowly, but steadily and persistently, towards decentralisation and delegation of powers from the top to those down below. With your permission may I casually mention that the conception of Government in the past in the case of India has been of a centralised organisation. Not to go too far back in the Indian History, the Moghul Government at Delhi was, so to speak, the Imperial Government of India, and the firmans issued by the Moghul Emperors were obeyed in the Punjab as well as in Bengal and the Deccan. Later on, the Company Bahadur and still later the Government of India came into being, before the Provincial Governments were added to it, or created by it, and we were one of the latest additions. Realising that India is almost a continent, and marked variations of language, culture, dress, diet and physique and that it would be best to let the residents of different tracts develop on their respective lines of development, the British Government adopted the policy of, by stages, releasing them from the central bondage.

Political activity as such in India is about 50 years old. The Indian National Congress came into being in 1885. From 1885 to 1905 a number of political organisations in different provinces came into being but none of them achieved all-India importance. It was the All India Muslim League which tried a little later to represent the Muslims' political case, as it was felt that it was not fully represented in the Congress—may be through no fault of the Congress, and may be on account of the Muslims themselves, not having joined the Congress in sufficient numbers. Both the Congress and the Muslim League, came into being as central organisations, for the whole of India and undertook to open branches in the provinces with the desire that each province should have bran-



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ches in the districts and then these districts should have branches in every town and village. The Congress organisation in some provinces was well developed and the All-India Muslim League, which came into being more than two decades later, made a little progress in some provinces and in the Punjab such success as was achieved by it was due to the efforts of the late lamented Dr. Mian Sir Mohammad Shafi, who devoted a great deal of his time and money and energy to develop the League in the Punjab and also to the zeal, enthusiasm and unflagging labour of my friends Pir Tajuddin, Malik Barkat Ali, Syed Mohsin Shah, Mr. Ghulam Rasul, Maulvi Fazl Din and Shaikh Umar Bakhsh. The relations between the Congress and the League became quite cordial in 1916 and remained so for a few years. This was the period during which they tried to secure what are called the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms which are in operation since 1921.

Up till 1921 the Government of India was the centralised Government and the Provinces were in its grip. The Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, as embodied in the Government of India Act, 1919, created diarchy and released the provincial Governments to a certain extent from the bondage of the Government of India both financially and administratively. This has continued from 1921 up till now and the new reforms which are to come into force next year mark a second stage in political development and this period of 15 years has brought in what is called the Provincial Autonomy and indirect election to one of the Central Legislatures. The Reforms are believed to render provinces free from a great deal of control, which was in the past exercised by the Government of India, and in a number of matters they have become more or less independent of the Government of India and deal direct with His Majesty the King Emperor through the Viceroy and the Governor-General. Thus the new Reforms mark the decentralisation of power, the change from centralised Imperial Government to autonomous provinces, constituting themselves into the United States of India, electing their own legislators for the centre to which legislators in the future Government of India will be partly responsible. This devolution of power, this provincial autonomy is believed to afford the provinces some chance to work out their own economic salvation and mark a distinct advance in the political life of the country.

We the Unionists, realising how India stands today, feel that we have no choice in the matter and must do our best to work the constitution which the British Parliament in its wisdom has decided to give us. We are not satisfied with it, but that is a separate matter, and for the present what we are keen on, is to find out what should be done to get the best possible service out of the reformed constitution which will be put into force next year. There is a very wide and general agreement among Indians of all schools of thought, that they have not had a fair deal in the matter of Dominion status being accorded to them. However, the British Parliament have said their last word for the present on the subject, and there is nothing more to be done by us, just now, except to submit. But let it be remembered that no Indian can take this as a decision in any way final. The struggle for further advance must continue and the claim for attaining Dominion status at as early a stage as practicable must be conducted with all the vigour and energy of which every one of us is capable.

SRI RAMAKRISHNA CENTENARY.

ALL-INDIA, BURMA AND CEYLON THESIS AND ESSAY COMPETITION.

The public are hereby informed that, under the auspices of the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary, Thesis and Essay competitions will be held all over India, Burma and Ceylon, on the lines indicated below. We earnestly hope that all irrespective of caste, creed or nationality, will take part in these literary competitions and thereby pay their tribute of love to the sacred memory of Sri Ramakrishna whose life stands before the world as a wonderful synthesis of all creeds and faiths:—

1. *Thesis Competition*: It is open to men and women of India, Burma and Ceylon. The competitors should possess the minimum academic qualification corresponding to M. A., M. Sc., etc., of Indian Universities. The thesis should be written in English on "*The Philosophy of Sri Ramkrishna and its bearing on World Culture*" and be complete in about 20,000 (twenty thousand words).

First prize: Rs. 200/- (two hundred only) in cash.

Second prize: Rs. 150/- (one hundred & fifty only) in cash.

II. *Essay Competition*:—

(a) *Among College Students*:—It is open to college students (both boys and girls) of all grades, belonging to educational institutions of India, Burma and Ceylon (Government, private or otherwise). The Essay should be written in English on "*Sri Ramakrishna's Contribution to the Social and Religious Life of India*" and should not exceed 4,000 (four thousand words).

For Boy-Students:—

First Prize:—Rs. 80/- (rupees thirty only).

Second prize: Rs. 25/- (rupees twenty five only).

For Girl Students:—

First prize: Rs. 30/- (rupees thirty only).

Second prize: Rs. 25/- (rupees twenty five only).

Each prize shall comprise a copy of "*The Cultural Heritage of India*" (the Ramakrishna Centenary Volume in two parts of about 2,000 pages of double crown octavo), one medallion and cash.

(b) *Among School Students*: It is open to all boys and girls of matriculation or corresponding classes in educational institutions of India, Burma and Ceylon (Government, private or otherwise). The essay should be written in their own mother tongues on "*Sri Ramakrishna and His Teachings*" in about 2,000 (two thousand) words. The competitors of this group are invited to write their essays in any of the following languages:—

(1) Assamese (2) Bengali (3) Burmese (4) Gujarati (5) Hindi (6) Kanarese (7) Marathi (8) Oriya (9) Gurumukhi (10) Sindhi (11) Sinhalese (12) Tamil (13) Telugu (14) Malayalam (15) Urdu.

There will be 60 prizes in all for school boys and girls. In each language group two prizes will be awarded to the best two essayists among the boys and two to the best two among the girls.

For Boys:—

First prize: Rs. 15/- (rupees fifteen only).

Second prize: 10/- (rupees ten only).

For Girls:—

First prize: Rs. 15/- (rupees fifteen only).

Second prize: Rs. 10/- (rupees ten only).

Each prize shall consist of valuable books and a medallion.

N. B. The thesis should be submitted in type or in legible handwriting to the undersigned on or before the 31st August 1936. The Essays should be written neatly and clearly on only one side of the



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paper and not on both sides, and should reach the undersigned on or before the 31st July 1936. The competitors should produce a certificate from the Head of the institutions to which they belong, to the effect that they are *bonafide* students of their respective schools and colleges. The results of these competitions will be announced in November 1936 and the prizes will be awarded at a general meeting to be held in February 1937 when the centenary celebrations will be brought to a close.

The names and addresses of the competitors should be clearly written.

Dated, Calcutta, the 26th March, 1936.

Sd. Swami Sambuddhananda,
Asst. Secretary,
Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Committee.
Albert Hall, 15, College Square,
Calcutta.

DEVADHAR MEMORIAL COMMITTEE.

An informal meeting of the friends and sympathisers of the late Mr. G. K. Devadhar, convened by the Servants of India Society was held in the Society's Home on the 18th instant to consider the steps to be taken to commemorate Mr. Devadhar's memory and to strengthen the finances of the Poona Seva Sadan Society. Her Highness the Rani Saheb of Sangli presided. Among those present were Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, the Mayor of Bombay, Lady Cowasjee Jahangir, Mr. J. A. Madan, I. C. S., Mr. K. Natarajan, Mr. D. G. Dalvi, Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale, Mr. B. G. Kher, Mr. Vaikunth L. Mehta, Mr. B. N. Motiwala, Dr. H. V. Tilak, Mr. Tatnis and Mr. K. J. Dubash.

Describing the selfless and varied uplift work carried on by the late Mr. Devadhar, Her Highness spoke about him in the following feeling terms:— "The cruel hand of death has snatched away from us the great leader who was the mainstay of the cause of women. A man with a heart less stout than that of Mr. Devadhar would have found it a difficult job in the earlier stages to have carried the torch of the emancipation of women as he did. All honour, therefore, to Mr. Devadhar for his ceaseless work, undaunted enthusiasm and great self-sacrifice. His death leaves his work unfinished and harder of accomplishment. That work has not lasted long yet in the country. It is, therefore, a sacred trust he has left us which should impel us who have faith in his ideal to take up the threads where he left them and to continue the work with the courage and enthusiasm evinced by him till the last moment of his life." Concluding Her Highness said:— "I feel sure that you are possessed with a consuming desire to help our women, to relieve their sufferings and to elevate them to their rightful place. I, therefore, appeal to you to take such steps as you will deem necessary to raise contributions in the city of Bombay to commemorate the memory of Mr. Devadhar which in my opinion can best be achieved by strengthening the financial position of the Seva Sadan Society."

After the President's speech and some discussion, the meeting decided to form a Devadhar Memorial Fund Committee to raise funds for the Poona Seva Sadan Society. Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, the Mayor of Bombay, is the Chairman and Messrs. N. M. Joshi, Vaikunth L. Mehta, Dr. H. V. Tilak and Mr. R. R. Bakhale are Secretaries of the Committee.

The following donations to the Devadhar Memorial Fund were announced:—Their Excellencies Lord and Lady Willingdon Rs. 1,000. Her Highness the Rani Saheb of Sangli Rs. 5,000; Sir Prabhaskar Pattani Rs. 5,000; Mr. M. R. Jayakar Rs. 1,000; and the chief Saheb of Aundh Rs. 500.

CATHOLIC PROSELYTISING OF HARIJANS.

"N. U." Manager, Gandhi Ashram, Tiruchengodu, South India, writes in the *Hindustan Times*.

The storm of controversy that raged over the mass conversion of the Harijans of Mettupalayam to Christianity and the purchase of their temple, has scarcely quieted down, when we come to know of another similar attempt at conversion and purchase of another Hindu temple by the same Roman Catholic Mission in the same taluk. The monsoon, which is ever known to be uncertain in the taluk of Tiruchengodu, has failed this year also, with the result that not only is there little work on the fields to give occupation to the ryot and the cooly, but great difficulty is experienced for drinking water. The condition of the agriculturist of these parts is well known, as also the recent plight of the handloom weavers of the whole of Salem district. While the suffering of the caste Hindus is acute, the suffering of the Harijans is necessarily worse. The plight of this helpless community is so pathetic that any description of it will fall short of the actual fact. It is just at this time that the Christian missionaries find it possible to convert them. The public is already aware of the details of the wholesale conversion of Mettupalayam and the purchase of their temple by the Missionaries. The present attempt of the same Mission to convert another Harijan village is given below.

Empalli (Perumampalayam) is six miles away from Tiruchengodu on the Tiruchengodu-Kokkarayanpet road. In this cheri there are about 60 houses. There is a Mariamman temple in the village owned by the Harijans. Of the sixty families, some have gone to the hills in search of labour. It was in this village that six years ago the London Mission people from Salem converted most of the people in the village to their faith. But at the end of five years, the converts found that there had been no betterment or change for good in their condition, except the change in their names. On their desire, in May 1935, a Suddhi ceremony was performed by the Arya Samaj representatives from Salem and no less than 59 persons were re-converted to Hinduism. After this representations were made to the Harijan Sevak Sangh regarding the urgent need of a well for drinking water for the village. The Sangha sanctioned Rs. 150 towards this and a well was dug for the village.

The French Roman Catholic Mission which was responsible for the conversion at Mettupalayam has now made overtures to the Harijans of the Empalli cheri and is taking advantage of the miserable condition of the Harijans. The monetary value of a conversion, so far as the individual converted is concerned, is gradually becoming smaller and smaller. What the Mission is doing is this: it offers 12 annas per individual per week for six weeks during which he has to attend the religious classes and at the time of Baptism, free clothing is given to them. This is the third week of their "spiritualising" labour.

What is objectionable here is that the economic conditions of these people should be exploited in this fashion, having no regard to canons of either morality or fairplay. Educated and civilized opinion of all religions of the world unequivocally condemns such mass conversions of illiterate villagers for petty considerations. These acts will be impossible, if there is a strong public opinion against them. It is not as if the public don't mind the pseudo followers of the Lord Jesus coming from far away places and purchasing people's souls for a handful of coins. The fact is that the Hindus have not yet shaken their apathy and realized the



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result of their indifference. A public which is utterly callous, a Government which winks at every move either from inside or outside calculated to increase disruption and disunion among the peoples, the treatment meted out to the Harijans by the so-called higher caste people, all these are being fully exploited by the foreign missionary. But he must realize that he is doing no real service either to his religion or to the people whom he has purchased or to posterity by such unthinking and unreal conversions. These acts can only be characterised as vulgar. They cannot be called "conversions." Only when the mind has free play and the heart is in tune with it, real conversions can be effected.

We appeal to all caste Hindus, caste Hindu leaders, and newspapers which are vehicles of public opinion, to take the necessary steps to stop the rot. The members of the Legislative Council must take the matter in hand, see that pressure is brought to bear upon the Government to take a serious view of the situation. It is more than probable that refusing to take a lesson from the Mettupalayam temple affair in which a Hindu temple was purchased for cash, the French Mission will repeat the challenge in this village also and convert the "Mariamman Temple" into a Roman Catholic chapel. We are confident that all well-wishers of Hinduism and all real Christians will play their respective roles—properly, the former by inducing the caste Hindus to do their utmost to ameliorate the economic distress of the Harijans as far as may be possible and the latter by making the Mission concerned to realize the utter folly and the gross disservice it is doing to its own religion and to the people whom it has thought fit to misguide. We once again appeal to the public to realize the full implications of the issue and deal with it promptly.

WOMEN UNDER FASCISM.

In view of the *Hibbert Journal* having received letters from various sources alleging inaccuracy in a statement made by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, in her article under the above heading in the January 1936 number of the *Hibbert Journal*, the editor requested Miss Pankhurst to present precisely, the evidence upon which the contested statement was based. Miss Pankhurst in reply writes in the April number as follows:—"I have before me a copy of the Lateran Treaty, and a collection of all the State and Church laws and regulations arising from it, by Avv. Giambattista Migliori published by Casa Ed. "Pro Familia," Milan. These clearly give the condition of the law in Italy today on all matters touched by the Concordat for the use of students, lawyers and official persons dealing with these matters. In this document I find the Instructions of the Sacred Congregation (Sacra Congregazione per la Disciplina dei Sacramenti). In Capo II, 18, of these instructions are provisions of which the following is a literal translation:

"When the obstacle to the marriage proceeds from a previous civil marriage contracted by one of the two parties with another person, the parish priest (il parroco) will refer the case to the Bishop (l'Ordinario) who, if he thinks fit, will permit the religious marriage. This marriage cannot be inscribed in the civil registers of the State; therefore it is useless to notify it" (Art. 12 nn. e 2 della Legge.)

Capo III, 28 directs that State officials, soldiers, diplomatic officials, and all who are forbidden to marry without special State authorisation, may be given a religious marriage without civil consequences (cfr. Istruzione della Sacra Congregazione dei Sacramenti, April 2, 1909).

The instructions further direct that widows with pensions, and particularly war widows, may also receive the religious marriage carrying no civil rights, in order that the pension may not be withdrawn by the State (cfr. pero Istruzione della S. C. dei Sacramenti, January 25, 1927). These are the Church regulations issued by the Vatican.

The State law of May 27, 1929, N. 847, Article 12, declares that persons may not marry if they are already legally married to someone else, or in case of mental infirmity, but the Ministerial Circular of July 18, 1929, N. 2232, definitely states that the obstacles referred to in Article 12 of the law of May 27 above, impose no obstacles to the celebration of a religious marriage, but they prevent its registration. It must not be forgotten that registration of the religious marriage is "not a mere formality, but constitutes an act indispensable for the acquisition of civil rights."

The Ministerial Order of September 3, 1929, N. 2284, again clearly states: "Two persons already united by a valid civil marriage to others may later enter into a religious marriage celebrated by the priest, but this second marriage will have no legal value, and ought therefore not to be registered," unless it be in a special register merely for statistical purposes.

Hibbert Journal publishes with Miss Pankhurst's letter one from Anne Brock Griggs (for the British Union of Fascists) who says that the comparison between these laws and our own makes no allowance for the difference in outlook between the Latin and Anglo-Saxon. She adds: "Presumably the tendency to which Miss Pankhurst and those of her way of thinking take exception, is an accentuation in Fascism today of the woman as mother, and of her education for motherhood—a not unnatural reaction in Germany from the sordid days of the post-war period, in which even women themselves denied and dishonoured motherhood and its dignity."

The Editor announces that an article by the Reverend Father W. Dempsey, S. J. replying to Miss Pankhurst and dealing with the law and practice of the Catholic Church in regard to marriage, will be published in the next issue.

AN INSPIRING WOMAN.

(By Miss R. MOOSDEEN, HONGKONG.)

It was a cold gloomy day, so dull that even well-to-do people would feel uneasy in spite of their being able to afford a fire or radiator to temper the bitter weather less unendurable. The less fortunate folks will have to endure the unpleasantness with the only consolation that behind every dark cloud there is a silver lining.

Two children playing at the doorstep were indifferent to the cold, but a young lady looked up piteously towards the sky. There was no sun to dry the clothing and she would not be able to iron them for delivery and payment to meet expenses of the current day. A postman at the time threw in a letter; a youth picked it up, tore it open and his facial expression betrayed unmistakable signs of joyful expectations. "Mr. Yim has very good prospects to secure a job for me in his office and asks me to make a trip to Hongkong to interview his boss." He brought the cheerful tidings to his wife and then suddenly he frowned. "What is the matter, now?" the lady asked. "I think you are worrying about the travelling expenses, there is no cause for anxiety, we can sell or pawn some clothes not immediately required. It is unnecessary to have too many anyway, just sufficient is quite good enough."

Next morning everything was ready for George to set sail. After breakfast he remarked "I am very



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sorry that I have to leave you penniless, but as soon as I am sure of getting the post I can ask Mr. Yim to advance me something to remit home." "If you can possibly help it, try not to borrow, you need not worry about me, I can manage to carry on for the time being; your clothing is not at all decent, so as soon as you can do it, make several suitably respectable ones. Managers like to see their staff well dressed, after you have replenished your wardrobe and procured other items of necessities, attention can then be paid to our domestic requirements," were the wife's parting words.

On arrival at Mr. Yim's, Geo was invited to breakfast and was brought to interview the manager. "I can personally sponsor for him," Yim said to the head when he intimated that the position was that of a shroff and that he ought to be bonded. Geo got the job and he sent his wife \$400. Alas, that was the first and last time that he remitted anything until after the lapse of many years. It was Saturday night and Geo had two visitors. "We came purposely to ask you to go out with us and would accept no refusal as an answer," said Wong. George had previously declined at the office, but this time he thought he could not very well do so because they came personally to the boarding house, so he agreed. "Aren't you going to change into European dress?" remarked Cheung. "You look positively antique in those togs." "In that case, I think I had better not go," George said, glad to have an excuse for declining. "Never mind, never mind, don't listen to him," said Wong and dragged him out.

They reached Cecil Hotel by seven and did not have to wait long for their dancing partners. After introduction, Miss May asked whether George was a teacher and where he was teaching. "He is the compradore of our office" lied Cheung. To the inexperienced griffin the social flowers are certainly better than capable mothers and subtly encouraged the young man soon fell into the trap. He made it a rule to go and see Miss May after office and bought her a diamond ring, costly dresses and other luxuries. Dancing parties and musical evenings were thrown out unstintingly. He went so far as to marry her, forgetting the wife and four children at home.

It was a cold night and whilst others had retired to their cosy beds, the wife still sat sewing and the eldest child said, "Mother, aren't you going to sleep, it is so cold tonight." It was touchingly pathetic to the extreme. "I have promised to have the dress ready by tomorrow, girlie, you go to bed first to keep your younger brothers company." "I would like to hear a story first, mammy." "Alright, I will tell you a very interesting one. Once there was a young man who was very poor but honest, he worked for every cent and would never accept more than what he thought he deserved. Not long afterwards, he was well known for his honesty and was given a very good post and became rich. He never forgot his early trials and always thought of the poor. He was ever afraid that his parents could not live long enough to enjoy the luxuries of life and constantly tried to give them the best of everything." Though the stories varied every time, she always endeavour to convey to the children the moral it taught. When she finished her story the child kissed her goodnight.

Next morning they woke up early, it was not so cold as the night before yet the scene enacted in the house was none the less touching. In the midst of breakfast the second child asked "Are there any more dishes of rice." Feeling greatly aggrieved over the lack of food for her children, the mother checked back tears and said:

"We eat to satisfy hunger and not taste, and as the interval between this and the next meal is not too long, no one should take too much at a time." When the mother asked the daughter to take the dress back to their rich neighbour, the younger one cried saying "That is the dress papa took away, I want to keep it, I want to keep." But the Mother bravely said "I do not wish to imply that our neighbour is selfish but one dresses for warmth and not for show and unless we are so rich and can afford everything after thinking of the poor who have not enough warm clothing for the winter, we should not indulge in luxuries." No sooner had the kids been comforted, the rent collector came and pressed for payment; not being satisfied he had the house distrained. Mother and children were driven to a charitable institution and were given money for passage to locate George. Genuine and deserving cases seldom escape notice and they received proper treatment.

She had little difficulty in finding Mr. Yim who furnished her with Geo's address and an account of his doings. In no time she was ushered into the house. Dressed with the greatest simplicity, she had sorrow and hardship written all over her face. The other woman robed in the height of fashion was singing cheerfully with his violin played in accompaniment. Addressing the amah Geo, said "Who gave you permission to let her in", and then to the wife "Here is \$10.00 take it and leave, who told you to come here?" "I don't want it, since your conscience allows it I will go away," and without another word she went out of the house. "Who is she?" enquired May. "Aren't you really well off?" she flashed, and realizing that he was an impostor and not really a wealthy compradore, she soon picked up a quarrel and left him.

When Geo reached his office the next morning he was confronted with nothing better; the manager detected that he had embezzled \$1,000 and handed him over to the police. When he tried to plead for himself, Yim retaliated by saying "Besides being unfaithful to your manager, wife and friend you have been a most negligent father."

After seeing Geo, the wife patiently tried to earn a livelihood but for the sake of the children she would have done anything rashly. In the midst of her work she greeted a visitor—Mr. Yim—and she related how her husband treated her. "He can't take care of you even if he wants to; he misappropriated the firm's money and is now under arrest," informed the visitor. The poor wife was dumb-founded and he continued without interruption "I have thought of a way which can shorten his imprisonment, that is, if you will agree to it." "If it is within my power I will certainly do what you suggest, please tell me how," was the answer. "I can speak to the manager and get you to fill his place, but you must agree to accept half the salary only, the other half to be refunded to the firm as instalment to wipe out the amount of your husband's defalcation," said the Mr. Yim. "I am quite willing to work for quarter of the salary which is more than my present earnings, besides I can continue to give lessons after office," said the wife accepting the offer. "So that settles it; and I can speak to the boss tomorrow, can't I?" "Yes, please, words fail me to express how grateful I am to you and I am sorry that my husband abused your kindness, I can only hope he will have time to make retribution and treat his friend and benefactor fairly."

The boss yielded to the arrangement and was glad to find her a good substitute. She carried out her duties faultlessly in every respect. The lessons she gave were specially noteworthy; she would mould her lessons differently to suit her various pupils, the

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dullest and laziest would be aroused by her painstaking and interesting explanations. In reply to Mrs. Yim's enquiry of how she can make the most tedious lesson interesting she said "I make it a rule to study the inclination of the pupil first and then alter the whole lesson to be appealing to him. I remember once I was teaching a sixteen year old lad who was unduly fond of pleasure and I told him a story of how knowledge is another way of spelling pleasure but pleasure is the disguised form of pain; he listened with great interest and after that he was completely changed.

Wherever she went she set a noble example. Lucky were those who came into contact with her. To the busy worker time is ever flying, and one fine spring morning saw husband and wife reunited; after the usual greeting Geo apologizing said, "I have been most inhuman and fully realize that what I have undergone was not half that I deserve and am ready to make amends." "If you can turn over a new leaf, let us bury the past, my prayer now is that you be an useful member of the community; in this time of our national weakness I have not been able to do any public service so what we have to do is not for ourselves but for our compatriots," inspired the wife.

On the advice of his wife Geo established a newspaper enterprise and edited many stimulating and encouraging articles on patriotism, the mother joined the Society for Protection of Children and their eldest child, a girl, joined the Ambulance Brigade, thus they played their parts to the best of their best individual ability.

Their prayer was soon heard and their country was elevated to the level of other countries.

One moonlight Saturday night, when everything was in symphony sublime, the husband said to her "You are working too hard, after office you have to take care of the house work, why not get a servant now we can well afford to have one". "Not that I want to stir up the past," replied the wife, "but my present work is only quarter of what it was when you were not yet reformed and as regards having a servant I detest that idea. Children ought to learn everything that is useful and without the mother's personal attention the girls would not be able to do any household work; besides it is very bad for children to be too much with the uneducated as most servants undoubtedly are. No one can have enough spare money to be lazy; as soon as there is any deserving person looking for a job, I am going to recommend him to the boss and give him my position. After our own comfort, not luxury, we should think of those less fortunate than ourselves, this is one of the many ways to strengthen our country in time of peace." What Mr. Yim has done cost him little, but now his house is frequented by two grateful visitors who are ever on the outlook to repay their indebtedness.

INDIANS AND MALNUTRITION.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Dear Sir,

I have learned from newspapers repeatedly of the malnourished state of the majority of the Indian population and I am greatly hurt.

Can't the better classes do something to improve their condition, whether through ignorance or poverty? Why not organize a Society for the Protection of Children to distribute milk, cod liver oil, oranges and other important diet. Donations can be solicited to defray the expenses.

Through the Indian Ladies' Magazine I know that lectures on Hygiene are being given and that relieves me a little; but I venture to suggest that stress

must be laid on the point that when they are aware of their state they must not be disheartened and think only of how weak they are. On the other hand, they should take every precaution to guard and improve their health; above all not to worry because anxiety is the greatest handicap of physical fitness. Instruct them to employ their thoughts in finding ways and means to drive away any unpleasantness and assure them that then there will be no room for worry; that fresh air and sunshine are free to all—rich and poor alike, and that these are the chief factors of health.

Otherwise, instead of being profited by the lectures their resisting power will be reduced through being aware of their weakness—imagination is vivid. For instance:—A, who knew nothing about fresh air, entered a badly ventilated room, would not feel the effect till after a long time, whereas as soon as B got in he realized the want of ventilation and felt headache at once. What he should do is to open the windows and think nothing of ventilation.

Our motto should be, Light a candle, why complain of darkness? I venture to enclose an account of "an inspiring woman" (printed above) the end of which ought to be the picture of the majority, if not everyone, of the population.

Hongkong, {
2-4-36.

R. MOOSDEEN

NEWS OF THE WEEKS.

Can A Mahant Marry?—Writes the Darbhanga Correspondent of the Amrita Bazar Patrika:—Before the Subordinate Judge of Darbhanga a big case is going on for the last five months regarding the Mirzapore Asthal. The present Mahant Anand Das has married and the suit has been brought by his Chela Mahant Rambhushan Das who alleges that the Asthal belongs to the Vaishnava's of the Ramanandi Lashkari sect and according to the tenets of that sect Bairagi's cannot marry. It is also alleged that according to the usage and custom of the Asthal only a celibate Bairagi can become a Mahant and if a Mahant marries, he forfeits his Mahantship. The plaintiff claims to be the only 'chela' of the defendant and after his marriage he was declared to be the Mahant at a meeting of the Mahant's of the neighbouring Asthals of the district. The defendant's case is that the Asthal belongs to the Vaishnava Ramanuja sect and there is no prohibition against marriage according to the tenets of that sect. The defendant also denies that the plaintiff is his Chela and that neighbouring Mahants have no right to nominate or declare the plaintiff as a Mahant. The parties have examined a large number of witnesses about 160 in number including Mahants of various districts, namely Darbhanga, Muzaffarpur, Jaipur, Ajodhya, etc. to prove the respective customs alleged by each. The peculiar tenets of each sect, the principal deities of each whether they are Ramjanki or Lakshmi Varain, the 'tilaks' worn on the forehead by each are in dispute.

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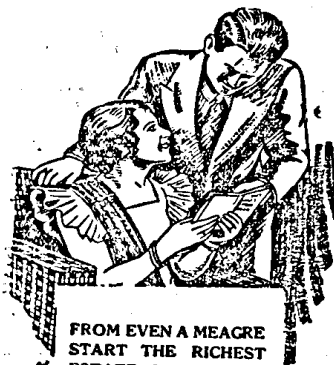
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apply for and obtain a Postal Identity Card, details about which are to be found in the Post and Telegraph Guide or can be obtained on application at the head post office. All that the visitor has to do is to produce a small passport size photograph of himself, get himself identified at the post office by any respectable permanent resident unless he himself is personally known to the postal staff of the office and to pay a fee of Re. 1/-. The card once issued is current for three years at the end of which period a fresh card is to be obtained. On production of such a card at any post office articles will be delivered to the person claiming to be the person mentioned in the identity card.

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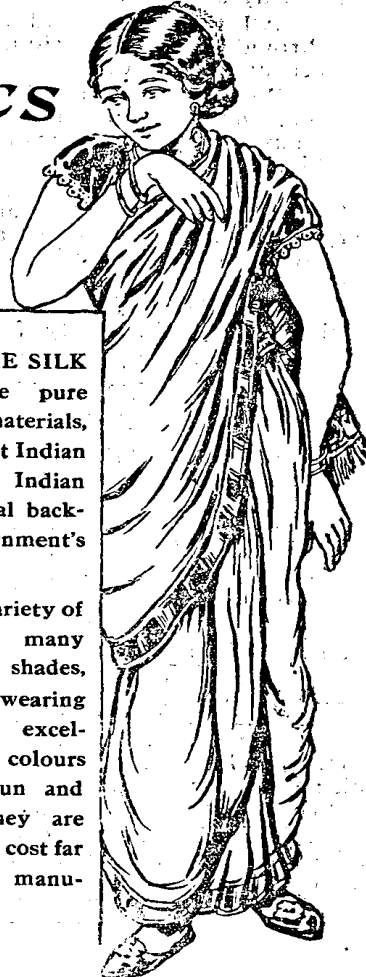


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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice : I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The Poona Riot :—This is not the first occasion when a communal incident in some part of the country or a province has synchronised with a change in the Viceroyalty or a Governorship. The Poona riot is further remarkable in that the old capital of the Peishwas which is also the present summer capital of the Bombay Government, has been immune from communal trouble for nearly half a century. The Home Secretary to the Government of India implied in his statement in the Council of State that the riot was due to the District Magistrate of Poona having permitted something unusual, which should not have been permitted. The communique of the Bombay Government which we print elsewhere makes it clear that such a suggestion is misleading. An old Hanuman shrine had to be removed in order to widen and straighten an important road in a congested locality. A piece of land was granted to the worshippers nearby on which to house the shrine. Removal of a shrine for a public purpose does not involve any change in the ritual practices observed in the shrine. One of this is singing and playing on musical instruments as accompaniments of worship. The Hindu does not go before his God in fear and trembling. He rejoices to be in the presence of his Maker and likes to show that he does so. Nor does it matter to him whether the shrine is situated in a great temple or just under a tree by the roadside. When the Hanuman shrine was removed it followed as a matter of course that the worshippers were at liberty to worship in their customary way in the new shrine. We are unable to understand why the District Magistrate should have consulted Muslims as to whether their Hindu neighbours should be allowed to carry on their customary adoration in the new shrine. This practice appears to be common in Northern India but this is the first time that we hear of its being adopted in Bombay Presidency. Not only that but when the Muslim mob, in spite of the assurance graciously

given overnight by its leaders, collided with the Hindus who were acting on the Magistrate's permission, he suddenly withdrew his permission! The Government of Bombay should lose no time in making it clear beyond the possibility of doubt that every community will be protected in the exercise of its civil rights and that their officers will not be intimidated by threats of mob violence from doing their duty. The Poona incident, although it has passed without more serious consequences than two killed and several not seriously injured, has produced a bad impression throughout India. Bombay has a reputation to lose in this matter.

The Willingdon Regime :—Commenting on the *Reformer's* criticism of Lord Willingdon's regime that it "put an end to the hope associated with civil disobedience of India being able to set an example to the world of carrying through a political revolution by entirely non-violent means", the *Dnyanodaya* points out that Gandhiji who originally favoured revolution was converted by Lord Irwin to the reformist point of view. This only makes the case against the Willingdon repressive regime stronger. The *Dnyanodaya* admits that Lord Irwin's policy was one that true statesmanship dictated. Lord Willingdon's was the very reverse of that policy. The first tried to discriminate between the good in the civil disobedience from the less good. The second aimed at destroying it root and branch whatever may be the consequence. Like the Chinaman in Elia's story Lord Willingdon burnt down the whole structure of what was meant to be a reign of law in order to roast pigs for his administrative table. The Indian political system is without the means of reforming itself in keeping with changing conditions. It is not a living, breathing entity; it is a machine operated from some six thousand miles away. But it has or can readily obtain powers to repress and suppress. Lord Irwin did not believe that suppression was the true remedy for Indian discontent and he resorted to it reluctantly, restricting it to the most urgent needs of the moment. His successor who made no secret of the fact that his policy had nothing in common with his predecessor's, recognised no distinction between violent and non-violent and, on his own showing, used the full resources of the State to repress both. The momentary success of the repressive measures relieved the pressure on the British Government and led to the reforms being whittled down to a travesty of



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what the speeches of the Prime Minister and others at the first Round Table Conference led India to expect. Mr. Wedgwood Benn who as Secretary of State for India initiated the Conference, in an article in the *Political Quarterly* pointed out the gulf between the first and the third Conferences and the Joint Parliamentary Committee's Report. The Indian Reformists were as completely ignored as the Revolutionists in the Government of India Act. The *Dnyanodaya's* belief that the Hoare constitution represents the victory of the Reformists over the Revolutionaries, is, thus, without any foundation.

Frontier Policy:—Lurid light on the policy of what Lord Willingdon called "gradual penetration by consent and negotiation," and which, he said, if quietly and consistently pursued by his successors, would render the Frontier problem less troublesome, was thrown at a Conference held in London on April 7 under the auspices of the National Peace Council. A summary of the proceedings is furnished by the correspondent of the *Amrita Basar Patrika*. Two of the speakers were officers who had themselves taken part in Frontier operations. One of them, Commander Chamier, told the Conference that formerly aeroplanes could fly over the heads of the Pathans for only an hour but now the situation was changed. They could hang on the Pathan villages for three days at a stretch. He admitted that "delayed action" bombs have been and are being used on the Frontier. When a Pathan's house was raided the beam was first removed and burnt so that the Pathan would not be able to build another house. "They can get mud to build mud huts, but they have to come down to town to fetch wooden beams to erect those mud huts." The other officer, Captain Mumford, who spoke at the Conference was of a different type. He had also taken part in these operations but evidently he did not like them. Regarding the use of "delayed action" bombs he said that it was just as bad as using poison gas. We reprint the *Patrika's* report in another column.

Congress and Foreign Propaganda:—Mr. Subhas Bose has been carrying on a vigorous agitation for some time past for Congress propaganda in Europe. The *Reformer* has pointed out that the premises on which he based his plea were incorrect and that the advantages which he claims for such propaganda are more than doubtful. Babu Rajendra Prasad expressed a similar view. It was, therefore, a surprise when the Congress Working Committee at one of its meetings before the Lucknow session, passed a resolution authorising and directing the organisation of a Foreign Department of the All India Congress Committee with a view to create and maintain contacts with Indians overseas and with foreign countries. Mr. Subhas Bose had then announced his intention to return to India in spite of the official warning and the Working Committee was, no doubt, moved by it to adopt the resolution supporting his scheme. Since then some things have

occurred to depress Mr. Subhas Bose's stock in Congress circles and there has also apparently been a cooler review of the circumstances surrounding foreign propaganda by an organisation officially sponsored by the Congress. That is how we explain the statement of the Congress President, Pandit Jawharlal Nehru, issued from Wardha this week. Said the Pandit: "I have long been in favour of our developing foreign contacts and a world outlook. But when we come to the manner of doing so, the subject is full of difficulty and under the present conditions in Europe and India I doubt if it is desirable or possible to have an official representatives of the Congress in foreign countries. This may come later. I imagine that well-known Congressmen can do good work in foreign countries even without special authorisation. Personally I would prefer to be such an independent Congressman when I go abroad than one whose words have to be weighed carefully lest they commit the Congress. Whenever I spoke in Europe during my last stay, I prefaced my remarks by saying that I did not speak officially in the name of the Congress and could not commit it. I did so even after election as President of the Lucknow Congress."

The I. C. S.:—The Secretary of State for India has issued new rules for the recruitment of members for the Indian Civil Service in England. The competitive examination system is to be diluted with a large dose of nominations. Indians are not to be allowed to enter the Service by passing the examination in London. What immediately led to the promulgation of the rules, is the paucity of British recruits for the Service through the open door during the last few years. A large proportion of persons who were appointed to the Service on the result of the examination in London, were Indians who preferred to try their chances there than in India where they have to encounter keener competition. Some men have been successful in entering the Service from London who had little chance of succeeding in the examinations in India. It is not that English candidates were not equal to Indians in passing examinations. But the pick of the successful men preferred the Home Service or even the Colonial Services to coming to India. The glamour of the great Indian Civil Service has ceased to attract them. This is largely due to the advertisement which the repressive laws have secured for the nationalist movement here. It is also due to a change in the mentality of educated Englishmen. Slogans like the White Man's burden and Trusteeship of Asiatic and African peoples, have become rather ridiculous. Whatever shred of respectability still attached to them, has been rudely torn off by the Mussolinian exploit in Ethiopia, which, he has more than once avowed, is in exact imitation of the colonialism of his censors in Europe and America. The new rules are an acknowledgment that it is no longer possible to get the pick of British intellectuals to join



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the Indian Civil Service. They provide the re-fore for nominations to bring up the British personnel to fifty per cent of the total cadre. Eventually, the London examination will have to be abolished as the nominated men and the men who have come in by the examination door, will not be in the same class though they may receive the same pay and pension. The only rational mode of recruitment for an Indian Service is to recruit in India all candidates, Indian and English. We trust that the present changes are a precursor of that great reform. We are, therefore, not inclined to make a grievance of the closing of the English examination to Indians.

Converts and Property :—Whatever might have been the case eighty years ago when the Government of India passed a law securing the rights of apostates in their family property, at the present day when the vast majority of those who change their religion has no property to speak of, such a law would seem to have no more than an academic interest. The draft Mysore Bill, which we print elsewhere, may, therefore, be regarded as a concession to legislative convention rather than as called for by a practical necessity. If a man feels that his soul can find salvation only through abandoning his ancestral faith and adopting another, he is not likely, if he is sincere, to hang back because he can not take his possessions with him. However that may be, the Mysore Bill is carefully drafted so as not to place a premium on apostasy. In this respect it is an improvement on the British Indian Act. Conversion is sometimes nowadays a means of getting rid of marriage obligations in order to contract a fresh marriage not permitted by the religion in which a person is born. From a hasty perusal of the draft Bill, we gather that an effort has been made not to encourage this propensity. If a Hindu becomes a Christian in the hope of being able to get a divorce from his Hindu wife, he will not be able to do this under the Mysore Bill because it expressly provides that the Hindu wife will not have her status changed unless she herself wishes it by the apostasy of her husband. A Muslim who becomes a Christian can not divorce his wife by the procedure open to a Muslim.

Mass Conversions and Catholicism :—The Salem correspondent of the *Hindu* sends that journal an unbiassed account of the happenings in some villages in that part of the country. The villagers who are undergoing an intensive course of Catholic instruction, are not actuated by the motives of members of the corresponding classes in Bombay who are contemplating conversion to some other faith. They find that the Hindu gods have not helped them with timely and sufficient rains and they hope that the Christians' God may be more powerful. One of their number who had become a convert, has taken the earliest opportunity of re-tracing his steps, when he found that caste Catholics were as implacable as caste Hindus

in their attitude to 'scheduled caste' converts. Catholicism is losing ground in Europe and is evidently anxious to find compensation for its loss here. It is obviously out of the question for caste Hindus to undertake to buy off the villagers who are now being prepared for baptism on a stipend of two annas per head a day. The ruling of the Madras Government that converts from 'the scheduled castes' are entitled to the same special concession as non-converts in education and other matters, considerably lightens the responsibility of proselytising missions and, in fact, it is likely to operate as an encouragement to them. The purchase of temples and the conversion of them into parish churches, has in it the possibilities of serious trouble.

The Ethiopian Situation :—Ethiopia has been making frantic appeals to the League of Nations, to the British Government and to women all over the world, to come to her help in her hour of dire distress. The League is still discussing what it should do and if it could do it. Its predicament today is scarcely less precarious than that of Ethiopia. The British Government has sanctioned a "sympathy loan" at six per cent to Ethiopia. The world at large is moved deeply by the impending fate of an ancient Empire but it can only act through its Governments and these are bound by their previous *Karma*. In this dreadful perplexity, nature has come to Ethiopia's aid. The rains have set in and the Italian Army which had counted on a victorious march on the capital, is obliged to call a halt. This is only a short reprieve. The Empire seems to be doomed. Italians claim to have occupied the region round Lake Tsana where British Soudan has vital interests. In reply to a question in Parliament as to the consequences of the Italian occupation, the Foreign Secretary stated that British interests were secured by treaties with both Abyssinia and Italy. The death of King Faud of Egypt this week is a fresh complication. His son and successor is a minor. A Council of Regency has necessarily to mark time. But affairs in Africa are moving furiously.

The Ramakrishna Centenary :—The Parliament of Religions organized by the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary Committee will commence its sittings on Thursday the 7th May in the Cowasji Jehangir Hall. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Chairman of the Committee, will open the meeting which will be addressed by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. At subsequent meetings there will be several speeches by representatives of the important religions of India.

The Sarda Act :—The *Guardian* of Madras learns that some marriages are celebrated on a definite undertaking by the bride's party that they will pay the fines of both parties if any prosecution is launched by vigilance committees for breaches of the Sarda Act. We have no doubt that this is being done but we very much doubt if it is being done in a large proportion of marriages.



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BOMBAY, May 2 1936.

BOLSHEVISM AND NAZISM.

A Reuter's telegram says that a surprising feature of the French elections, is the number of Communist gains. The Communists polled about half a million more votes than in 1932 and they are the chief gainers especially in the Paris suburbs and in the northern industrial Departments. This gives fresh point to Herr Hitler's contention that the Franco-Russian Pact is a menace to Germany. France has offered to submit the Pact for adjudication to the Hague Tribunal as regards its consonance or dissonance with the Locarno Pact. Germany has not agreed to the offer. Her reason is that the danger to her interests arises not so much from the actual terms of the Franco-Russian Pact as from its certain implications and future possibilities. In his memorable, if verbose, speech in the Reichstag on the day on which German troops marched into the demilitarised Rhineland, Herr Hitler pointed out that he had not objected to the French Pacts with Poland and Czechoslovakia because these nations were primarily interested in promoting their own national interests. He went on to say: "Soviet Russia, however, is the official organised exponent of a philosophy of world revolution. The goal of its State lies in the acknowledgment of its faith in world revolution. It cannot be determined whether in France this philosophy will not be successful tomorrow or a day after. Should this happen—and as a German statesman I must also consider this eventuality—then it is certain that this new Bolshevik State will be a part of the Bolshevik International, *i. e.*, the decision over an attack or otherwise will not be reached by two different States according to their own objective considerations, but will be directed from one central place. This place, in case of such a development, would not be in Paris but in Moscow."

Herr Hitler believes that Bolshevism is an Asiatic poison threatening the vitals of European civilisation. He regards European nations as one family, sometimes quarrelsome, but spiritually, culturally and economically intimately related and, therefore, not to be separated from one another even in imagination. He shivers to think of what might happen to this European family through the onrush of this destructive and revolutionary Asiatic philosophy, if the chaos of Bolshevik revolution should succeed first in France, and later in other countries of the old thickly populated European Continent. Herr Hitler seems to have forgotten for the moment that the founder of the Bolshevik philosophy was a German. He was no doubt of Jewish descent but he had renounced the faith of his forefathers and was wholly and solely a product of his European and German environment. The German Chancellor was on surer ground when he expressed his incredulity in France and

Russia entering into a Pact for mutual security without one of them—France—being influenced by the other in her ideas governing social and economic life. "I do not see the possibility," he said, "of making it clear to the German labourer the great danger and misfortune of a Bolshevik chaos in Germany as I see it, if I myself, as the Leader of the Nation, should enter into intimate relations with this very danger. Here also I will, as a statesman and leader of the people, do only that which I expect and demand from every one of my countrymen. I do not believe that a philosophy, an intimate relation with which would ruin a people, could be of use to a statesman." Herr Hitler assumes that when Bolshevism and European culture come in contact, the latter must inevitably go to the wall. Why should it? That this happened twice in Germany, may only show that the German variety of European culture was itself in a state of unstable equilibrium. French culture may not only be able to withstand Bolshevik influence but it may even be able to turn the tables on it. It is this possible objection to Herr Hitler's assumption that is weakened by the gains of Communists in the French elections.

We have remarked above that Bolshevism is not an Asiatic but is specifically a German product. Herr Hitler's description of it seems to us, Asiatics, to be highly distorted. "Not only the social human, economic or political conceptions collapse together and bury with them their hitherto existing representatives, parties, organisations and States," he told the Reichstag. "No, the world of supernatural ideas is demolished, God dethroned, the religions and churches out-rooted, the great Beyond destroyed, and a miserable existence here is being proclaimed as the only reality." Identical allegations are made of Nazism, though the Chancellor does not seem to know. What is more strange is that he attributed the political upheavals, economic nationalism and the militarisation of European countries to the Bolsheviks, while his own activities have materially contributed to these developments within the last two years. To the Asiatic there seems to be little difference in essentials between Bolshevism and Nazism, and what little there is, is certainly not to the credit of Nazism. One sure test of the worth and value of a civilisation is the regard which it pays to women and children, to the sick, the old and the infirm. Another is the importance it attaches to cultural freedom. A third is its attitude to races and creeds other than its own. Tried by all three tests Bolshevism emerges easily ahead of Nazism. We do not say that Bolshevism must necessarily be superior to Nazism in these matters. It is quite conceivable that in other countries and under other leaders the two may interchange their positions in these respects. We do not see why Bolshevism may not develop a religious side to it consistently with its economic ideas. Nor do we see any necessary connection between the Nazi conception of a totali-



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tarian State and belief in God and immortality.

Our position, as repeatedly stated, is that each nation is entitled to find its own solution of its problems. The Russians have accepted Sovietism. No one has the right to pass judgment on their choice. Even so, Germans have rallied to Herr Hitler; and it is not for outsiders to criticise or condemn them for so doing. Likewise, we claim that the people of India have the right to evolve their own kind of State in consonance with their genius and traditions. We strongly object to any attempt to impose on India by its own or by foreign propagandists a system which has no root in the soil, which has merely been borrowed from abroad. The Nazi State is a military state; the Soviet State is an economic State. Far above both is the ethical State such as Asoka built up in India. It is to this ideal that Indian statesmen look for inspiration. It is our national ideal.

THE LUCKNOW CONGRESS AND AFTER.

Looking back on the three-day session of the Indian National Congress at Lucknow, one cannot escape the conclusion that it was primarily a Socialist gain though only a temporary one. It is true that the small band of Congress Socialists made little impression on the vast crowds gathered at the open session. But Pandit Jawaharlal's presidential address was an impassioned appeal for a Socialist programme and Pandit Jawaharlal's Working Committee contains three Socialist members—Acharya Narendra Deo, Buddhist and Marxist scholar, Mr. Jai Prakash Narain, Secretary of the Socialist Party, and Mr. Achyut Patwardhan. The next session of the Congress meets this December at Poona and it is believed that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari will preside over it. There are just nine months, therefore, for the Socialists to prove their mettle, for they can never hope for such representation under any other President—least of all, Mr. Rajagopalachari. Will they succeed in evolving a programme which will appeal to the country without alienating important interests? Their colleagues on the Working Committee will provide valuable ballast. Will they also hinder Socialist work? The answer to these questions lies in the proceedings of the Lucknow Congress. From the outset it was obvious to the observer that Pandit Jawaharlal was in no mood to dilute his Socialism even for unity. The President was unhappy in his isolation. A conservative Working Committee which sought to act as insulator to the Pandit, bore the brunt of his displeasure but even the Subjects Committee suffered from his impatience. Both orthodox Congressmen and Socialist dissenters welcomed his presidentship—for different reasons. The first because, as President, Pandit Jawaharlal would be compelled to show greater restraint than as a member of the Congress; the latter because his guiding a vast organisation would

lend weight to their own group. "We do not want Pandit Jawaharlal to join our party," said one Socialist leader, "because it would mean his giving up leadership of a bigger political body." "Besides," he added significantly, "our discipline is more rigid." The discussion on the constitution was revealing. Pandit Jawaharlal had twice expressed his opposition to office acceptance. The Working Committee had demanded a postponement of the issue to a later date, and this was supported by leaders, like Mr. Satyamurthi, who favoured office acceptance. The Socialists, on the other hand, were anxious for an immediate decision against ministerships. Speaker after speaker put the Socialist case. Mr. Satyamurthi in a feeling speech appealed to his fellow-delegates to look at office acceptance not as a bid for power but as an opportunity for greater service. "I may not," he said, "be worthy to work as a minister for the Congress but surely our President is." Others, notably Acharya Kripalani advised against a hasty decision. It was certainly surprising to listen to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya pleading for non-acceptance of office and Babu Rajendra Prasad urging that ministerships were not necessarily against the country's interests. The adoption of the Working Committee resolution was, in the words of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, the "only means of preserving unity and it was passed on the second day by an overwhelming majority. If the inclusion of three Socialists in the new Working Committee brings about a change in the uncompromising attitude of that party, the future lies with the Congress Socialist group. Men, like Babu Rajendra Prasad who has a unique experience of village life and work, Seth Jammalal Bajaj, Dr. Khan Saheb and Mr. Jairamdas Doulatram have considerable sympathy with Socialist ideals as regards the masses. They feel, however, that the programme of that party is theoretical. Can the Socialists convince these Working Committee members of the possibility of their evolving a programme for the country? The best man to bridge the gulf between the orthodox Congress leaders and his group is Acharya Narendra Deo, respected by his older colleagues, looked up to by his younger comrades. Will he rise superior to the theory of Western Socialism? The working out of a constructive programme will do more than bring unity to Congress ranks. "It was possible," writes Romanoff in 'The New Commandment', "to rouse the young generation at any time for heroic exploits. But in everyday life which required stubborn matter-of-fact energy directed towards the distant goal of the creation of a new state, it revealed itself as being lazy, inefficient, lacking self-discipline, lacking completely any creative instinct. Everyone was prepared to obey orders. But when no orders were forthcoming and individuals were left to themselves, all activity either stopped or manifested itself only in destructive forms. Besides that, many gave proof of



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a depressed mood for it seemed to them that, after tremendous tension, there was nothing for them to do. Their inner enthusiasm clashed with their complete helplessness and inability to begin life under peaceful conditions." The Indian problem today could not be better described. More important than the question of office acceptance which, after all, can affect only a hundred leaders—and what can even Congress ministers do in provinces on the verge of bankruptcy?—is the difficulty in conserving the confidence of the people in themselves. Will our leaders allow academic differences to cloud the issues? The Working Committee has just finished its meeting at Wardha. Its decisions have been kept secret and the public is only told that there was a crisis in its deliberations, which was narrowly averted by the intervention of Gandhiji.

WAYSIDE REFLECTIONS.

Replying to an address presented to him by the Navayug Youth Sanstha at Agra where he had been to attend the Hindu Conference, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya gave much wholesome advice to the youth of the country. He exhorted them to cultivate reverence for all religions, to admit antyajnas freely to wells, temples, schools, meetings, roads and burning ghats, and to make themselves physically strong. "Learn wrestling," he said. "Even, if there be no school there must be a gymnasium. I am of the opinion that if a boy can not wrestle he should not be married." What about girls? We are sure Panditjee would wish them also to learn wrestling. He told his hearers to consume a lot of milk and to keep cows. The milk of a cow, he added, is better than that of a buffalo. Perhaps, it is. But we doubt if he was right in his dictum that the use of buffalo's milk makes one's intelligence like that of a buffalo. In Bombay buffalo's milk is practically the only milk available. Cow's milk costs more and is often only diluted buffalo's milk. In the United Provinces, on the other hand, cows' milk is largely consumed. Can it be said that the average Bombay man approximates more to buffalo-intelligence than the average Agrawalla? Ass's milk is said to resemble closely mother's milk in its composition and nutritive value for children. Does it make them assinine? Some people prefer goat's milk as it is said to be free from tuberculous germs. Do such people become goatish? An observant doctor friend told us some years ago that in certain restaurants which start business in the small hours of the morning, canine milk was served with tea and that bitches were kept on the premises for that purpose. Are those who take their early tea at these shops, more faithful than those who take their tea with or without bovine milk?

There are very few Islamic newspapers conducted in English. One of these is the *Islam*, organ of the Anjuman-i Khuddam-ud-Din, of Lahore. In the issue of April 22, there is an article, headed "Islam in Poland," by Abdul Hamid Hourmovitch, evidently a Muslim Pole himself. Mr. Hourmovitch begins by saying that, after the Great War, in the independent Republic of Poland as reconstituted by the great chief, Marshal Pilduski, there did not exist any lay or religious organisation that could gather together the Mussulmans of that country. Immediately, he adds, that these Mussulmans numbering ten millions (in words) were dispersed all over the country, faithful to their adopted fatherland. Ten millions! The total

population of Poland, one remembered, was less than 30 millions, and if ten millions were Muslims, they would be a formidable minority in the country, more even than in India especially, as according to Mr. Hourmovitch, they occupied high offices in the army, judiciary, banks, high schools and the medical and other departments, and the greater part were cultivators. One turned in perplexity to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. It does not give much information about the religious communities of Poland but it gives a general idea of how they are distributed. The Roman Catholic religion embraces 75% of the population, the Greek Orthodox Church, 3,100,000 the Lutheran and Calvinist Churches, have 1,019,000 worshippers, Jews number 2,800,000 and "the small Mohammedan community," less than half a million!

The *Sunrise*, the weekly English organ of the Qadian sect, published in Lahore, prints in its current issue an interesting account by Maulvi A. R. Dard Imam of the London Mosque, of his visit to Spain, where Islamic Imperialism achieved its greatest triumphs and also suffered its greatest reverse. The Maulvi gives a very depressing description of the Spaniards. Each and every village and town, he says has a public square where men, young and old and small girls seem to be always idling about practically the whole of the day. "They crowd round a car which happens to pass through the square, some of them look like 'crooks' and the majority of them are very shabbily dressed. In appearance they seem to be dirty and horrible." Nine out of ten, whom the Maulvi questioned, assured him that they were proud of their Moorish ancestors. A man who was a Jew from his father's side and a Moor from his mother's, told the Maulvi emphatically that if he were to change his religion he would become a Muslim. Maulvi Dard saw the Governor of Cordova and asked him what the attitude of the Spanish Government would be if a Muslim came to Cordova, bought a piece of land and built a mosque for the purpose of religious worship, telling him that there were mosques in London, Paris and Berlin. The Governor replied that Government would have no objection to it but added in a rather humorous manner, that "we should be prepared for the Jesuits." "Perhaps," comments Maulvi Dard "he meant to say that as the Christians drove out the Muslims before, they might do so again." The Governor also told him that the Spanish State had no religion, and the Maulvi gathered from the interpreter that the working class is Socialist and they do not care for the Roman Catholic religion, except on occasions of marriage and death.

Last week's *Reformer* reprinted an article from the *Hindustan Times* relating how Catholic Missionaries were working to proselytise drought-stricken villages in Salem district, Madras Presidency. The forerunners of these missionaries followed somewhat different methods. The Catholic *Examiner* in a leading article on "Fr. De Nobili and the Guru" gives an account of how this seventeenth century Jesuit converted "the Guru." De Nobili disowned with "the Guru" for twenty days, taking one topic for each day. The first day's debate is thus described by the *Examiner*:

The subject of the conversation was the multiplicity of gods and creation. The Hindu Doctor readily admitted the Christian Doctrine of the unity of God, after the exposition of the ordinary arguments drawn from the infinite perfection and absolute independence of the Divine Nature. To bring him to admit the Christian explanation of the creation was more difficult. The philosophers of the country, starting with the principle that out of nothing nothing can be made, admit three eternal elements: "padi" or God, "pasu"



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or the substance out of which God produces souls, "pasam," or the matter out of which God forms bodies. To this theory the Father opposed the usual philosophical argument that if matter or the soul were not created, it would be God; and that if God could not create or make out of nothing, He was not Almighty and consequently not God, for his action like the action of secondary causes, was limited to the modification of existing matter. When this argument had been fully developed and illustrated by many comparisons, the *Guru* acknowledged that the Hindu theory was founded on a false notion of the Divine Nature.

The Saiva Siddhanta of which pathi, pasu and pasam are postulates, has a very elaborate philosophy behind it. The monistic philosophy of Shankaracharya was well-established and had its principal centres in the region where De Nobili worked. "The Guru" who was converted by the casuistry of the Jesuit as stated by the *Examiner*, was a bogus *Guru*. Anyhow the conversion of this man did not affect Hinduism in South India. There can be no better proof of the failure of De Nobili's method than that it has been abandoned by his successors.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARYA ON THE GITA*.

On the morrow of the sweeping victories for the Congress Party in Madras Presidency, which were largely the result of his vigorous propaganda, at the last general elections to the Legislative Assembly, Mr. C. Rajagopala Charya took political India by surprise by announcing that he had decided to retire from politics. He gave no reasons that we remember. It seemed as if he was seized by a sudden revulsion like Arjuna and in somewhat analogous circumstances. For several months he was not heard of in the political world. A few weeks ago came the rumour that he contemplated re-entering the political arena and had, in fact, done so by agreeing to be elected to some local Congress Committee. He went as a delegate to the Lucknow Congress and is now a member of President Pandit Jawaharlal's Cabinet.

When he retired from politics, the only intimation which he vouchsafed to the world regarding his intentions, was that he proposed to devote himself to the study of the Bhagavad Gita. The unpretentious little book of a little over one hundred pages entitled, "The Bhagavad Gita, abridged and explained, setting forth the Hindu creed, discipline and ideals" which Mr. Rajagopala Charya has published for the Federation of International Faiths, may be taken primarily to indicate the sequences in the process, of the author's return to politics after his retirement from it, set up by his study and reflection of the Gita teachings. Perhaps, the stanza which had a decisive influence is that which he has translated as follows: "Impelled by the motion of your own nature, that which from ignorance you desire not to do, even that helplessly you will do." This couplet at a crisis turned the scale in a balance which seemed to be incapable of inclining on either side even by a feather's weight, in the experience of this writer.

Mr. Rajagopala Charya has summed up the teachings of the Gita by commenting on 227 out of the 700 slokas which comprise the text. These 227 slokas include every one which at one time or another impressed itself on this writer's mind in his many ramblings over the Gita. The sloka which Mr. Rajagopala Charya translates at page 100, had long remained undistinguished. Only recently did it dawn on this writer that it contained the whole teaching of the Gita in a nutshell. Mr. Rajagopala Charya translates it thus: "The performance of one's

* *Hindustan Times, Ltd., Delhi, Annas six.*

own duty is worship of Him from Whom have emanated all beings, and by Whom all this is pervaded, and thereby a man attains the goal." Work is worship. The stanza preceding this may be freely paraphrased to mean that every one by minding his own business will best further his own and also others' salvation. The Gita does not obviously think of 'duty' as that which arises from extraneous circumstances or has to be performed because one derives his livelihood from it. It is the "stern daughter of the voice of God" which a man must obey or spiritually perish. The duty which the Gita has in view is the duty imposed on a man by his own nature. That is what is *svadharma* death in which is preferable to success in another's dharma.

Though the Gita thus leaves each man to realise what his dharma is, it also gives some hints as to what it is not. "Let no man who has attained knowledge unsettle the mind of ignorant people who are moved by attachment to the results of action; but himself following the rule of yoga let him render all action attractive." The only way of raising the masses countenanced by the Gita is setting a good example by men of light and leading. For example, if a man thinks socialism is good, he should first socialise himself. (First step in the process is to learn to suffer fools gladly.) Preaching socialism to the masses, and making them discontented with their lot, is not a method which the Gita would sanction. Mr. Rajagopala Charya's book is well written and there is no attempt at mystification, so common in books about the Gita.

THIRD CLASS TRAVEL.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

The income per head is so absurdly low that the wonder is, not that the people do not travel great distances within the country but that they do travel even the short distance they do. Indeed, poverty is the root-cause of many ills in this land. It would be an uphill task for any reformer to raise the status of the masses. Perhaps a sustained propaganda, a persistent policy and a continuous programme may be able to turn the first sod in an extensive field which requires years of active negotiation. And what about the facilities for third class passengers?

The opening of the booking office half an hour before time, though the notice says it is open at all hours, the rush of passengers to the window, the risk of a physical injury or the loss of the little money that one has, the passengers being made to stand all in a disordered state, the forcing down through a narrow gate just before the arrival of the train or if it is at the arrival of the train, the jostling of the crowds getting down from the train, the haste and hurry to get into the nearest compartment which is often over-crowded, the generally crowded condition of almost every compartment, (I am speaking of the M. S. M. Ry., and the S. I. Ry.) the peculiarly narrow width of seats which makes lying down impossible and sitting uncomfortable even for a short journey, let alone, long distance journeys, the wretched condition of some ill-swept carriages and loose planks where bugs feed in large numbers, the absence of adequate facilities for visiting nature in the lavatories—all these can only suggest the picture of third class travel. And here we have not alluded to the treatment given to the third class passengers by the Railway servants.

It is a pity that while the bulk of the coaching receipts comes from the third class passengers, the comforts are not at all commensurate with them. It is unnecessary for any one to suggest that these



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conditions not only hold out an alluring prospect for the men bent on deceiving the company but also compel even some well-meaning passengers to resort to ticketless travel under certain unavoidable circumstances. Anyway these numbers pale into insignificance beside the beggars who are the uninvited guests of the Railway Company. If they are obliged to get down at one station, it is only to get into the next train at the same station or the next station. If a committee were appointed by the Railway Member to investigate into the conditions of third class travel, he will light upon certain facts in the situation of which he would never have dreamt before. I am sure that the number of people who have practised ticketless travel as a fine art, must be so negligibly small that any legislation to check ticketless travel (III class travel at any rate) will be uneconomic, unprofitable, and, therefore, ill-advised. On the other hand, a careful study of the problem will convince any shrewd thinker of the need for better comforts for the third class passenger and for legislation on this account to safeguard his interests. Any one who means seriously to dispute my proposition will do well to travel third class on the S. I. Ry., and the M. S. M. Ry., I presume that the conditions of travel in North India cannot vary widely.

One or two other points deserve our attention. The principle governing Railway rates for goods is to "charge what the traffic will bear." The Railways being a business concern, the basis is reasonable. But the principle seems to operate prejudicially on indigenous industries. It is found that the rates for goods are so determined as to favour long-lead traffic to and from the ports at the expense of short-lead traffic. And the same principle might hold good in passenger traffic too. There is a feeling that the rates in India are lower than in other countries. It might be true, but the rates have to be examined in relation to the income per head, which is admittedly the lowest figure in the world. On this account any proposal to enhance either the rates or the fares might be fraught with undesirable consequences. This has to be kept in mind by the Government of India particularly so, because of the serious competition presented by buses in short-lead traffic both of men and goods.

Chittoor.

A. S. VENKATARAMAN.

HINDU MUSLIM RIOTS IN POONA.

The Director of Information, Bombay, has issued the following details regarding the riot in Poona on April 24th:

The Sonya Maruti Shrine formerly occupied a niche in the wall of a house in Rawivar Peth in Poona City. As a result of road widening, the house was set back and permission was given last year for the reconstruction of the Shrine on a small area of the public road. Prior to the change, the Hanuman Jayanti had ordinarily been celebrated at the Shrine with music.

When the reconstruction of the Shrine on the public way was sanctioned by the District Magistrate it was laid down that there should be no obstruction to the public and the Trustees agreed to give a written undertaking that music would not be played in front of the Shrine. This written undertaking was, however, not received and, when the time for celebrating the Hanuman Jayanti approached, the District Magistrate, on receipt of a request for permission to play music from the 6th April till the 23rd April, passed an order under Section 42 of the Bombay District Police Act prohibiting the

playing of music at the Shrine or at any public place within 30 yards thereof.

Later, the Trustees of the Shrine approached the District Magistrate for permission to worship with music on the last day of the festival only, representing that the feelings of the Hindus had been seriously stirred by the prohibitory order. The District Magistrate invited prominent Muhammadans of the city to discuss the situation. They admitted that no objection had been offered by their co-religionists in the past, probably because the Shrine had not been in such a prominent position. After further discussion and careful consideration, the District Magistrate passed an order on April 23rd permitting worship with soft music on the 24th in front of the Shrine with restrictions as to times of play and on condition that no obstruction was caused to traffic.

On April 24th morning at 9 a. m. when the Hindus commenced worship, Muhammadans collected near the Shrine in increasing numbers but were kept moving by the police. Later, another crowd of Muhammadans came towards the Shrine shouting "Din, Din". On their being pushed back other Muhammadans arrived and commenced flinging stones and bricks at the shrine. More Hindus came on the scene and retaliated by throwing stones. The rival crowds were separated and pushed back by the police out of stone's throw. Members of both sides had lathis and several police were injured. Eventually the Hindus were prevailed upon to discontinue the worship and the crowds were advised to disperse.

At 12 noon the situation became more serious as Muhammadans began damaging the property of Hindus. At one spot a party of Muhammadans met a party of Sikhs armed with drawn swords. The Muhammadans were driven back by the Police after which they attacked a toddy shop. This was followed by an attack by Hindus on a Mosque which, with three adjoining shops, was almost entirely destroyed. Two Hindu shrines were also destroyed by Muhammadans. As the situation was deteriorating, the Military were called out and entered the City at two points at 4 p. m. Their presence was immediately effective and crowds dispersed. Though isolated cases of incendiarism were reported, the evening and night were quiet.

On the 25th extra Police arrived and the situation was almost normal until the late afternoon when the news of the death of a Muhammadan who had been injured the previous day spread through the Muhammadan quarter in Mithi Ganj. Excitement also broke out in the neighbourhood of the Tamboli Mosque when it was observed that a Muhammadan tomb on the Laxmi Road was damaged. Generally, however, conditions throughout the City were practically normal, shops being closed only in areas where excitement ran high. Troops were withdrawn from the City during the morning on the arrival of police reinforcements. Owing to the wide affected area and the fact that numerous injured were not taken to hospital, it has been difficult to ascertain accurately the total figure of casualties. The latest available figure is one hundred and fifty-nine including twenty-nine police. Among this total are many who are but slightly injured and only twenty-six have been detained in hospital. In addition to the death of the Muhammadan already referred to, the death of a Hindu was reported on Sunday morning. Neither the Military nor the Police resorted to firing at any stage. Saturday night was completely quiet and the situation is well under control.

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REMOVAL OF CASTE DISABILITIES.

MYSORE DRAFT BILL.

The Mysore Government have published the draft of a Bill to remove certain disabilities arising from change of religion or deprivation of caste, for general information. All persons interested in the matter have been invited to send their opinions to the Chief Secretary to Government within two months from this date.

The bill reads as follows :

Whereas it is expedient to remove certain disabilities arising from change of religion or deprivation of caste, it is hereby enacted as follows :

1. (I) This Regulation may be called the Regulation for the removal of religious and caste disabilities.

(II) It extends to the whole of Mysore.

(III) It shall come into force at once.

2. No person and no heir or representative of such person shall, merely by reason of his having renounced or being excluded from any religion or of his being deprived of caste,

(i) be divested of any vested interest to or in property;

(ii) be deprived of any right of inheritance or personal right;

provided that no person and no heir or representative of such person shall by reason of this enactment be entitled to retain or acquire any property or right, or to exercise any right peculiar or only appropriate to the religion which he has renounced or from which he has been excluded or peculiar or only appropriate to the caste of which he has been deprived.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

(a) A is a trustee for an endowment of his religion. Out of that endowment he is entitled to provide for his own residence and maintenance. On being converted to another religion, he will cease to retain his interest in the endowment.

(b) A, a Hindu with vested interest in joint family property, is converted to Christianity. He will, on conversion, retain his interest in that property, but without the incidents peculiar or only appropriate to members of a joint Hindu family.

(c) A, a Hindu, dies leaving him surviving a legitimate son B, a converted Christian. A, before his death, has disposed of his property by a valid will. A's property will follow the disposition of that will.

(d) A, a Mussalman, with four legally married wives, is converted to Christianity. A, after his conversion, will not be able to divorce them by ceremonies under the Mahomedan Law.

(e) A, a Hindu with Hindu sons, becomes a Mussalman. After conversion, he will not be able to exercise the right of a Hindu father to give one of his Hindu sons in adoption to a Hindu.

(f) A Hindu Brahmin voluntarily renounces his caste rules and becomes an ascetic. He will not be affected by this Regulation.

3. No person and no heir or representative of such person shall, by reason merely of another person having renounced or being excluded from any religion or being deprived of caste

(i) be divested or deprived of any property, right of inheritance or personal right which he would have held had such other person remained in that religion or caste;

(ii) be forced to any act or to suffer any act inconsistent with or not appropriate to his own religion or caste.

Explanation : The religion or caste of any person shall be presumed to be that in which he was born. A court shall, till the contrary is shown, presume that it is for the advantage of a minor to remain in the religion or caste in which he was born.

(a) A and B are Hindu full brothers and C, their half-brother. A becomes a Christian. B's right of inheritance to A will not be affected by C, becoming a Christian.

(b) A, a Hindu, having a share and a right to live in the joint family house, becomes a Christian. He cannot, contrary to the will of the Hindu members of the family, enforce his right to live himself in the joint family house.

(c) A, a Christian man, has a Christian wife B. A becomes a Mussalman and marries a second wife by ceremonies under the Mahomedan law. A will remain liable for the maintenance of B, and B will retain her right to divorce him, if she chooses according to the law applicable to Christians. But A cannot enforce against her any conjugal rights, nor divorce her, except, for reasons and in the manner allowed by the law applicable to Christians.

(d) A, a Christian man, with minor Christian children, becomes a Mussalman. He will remain liable for their maintenance. But he cannot enforce against them any right of guardianship inconsistent with their religion such as circumcising his minor sons or giving his minor daughters in marriage to Mussalmans with ceremonies which subject them to Mahomedan law.

(e) A, son of B, a Hindu, becomes a Christian, and is consequently deprived of caste. B will have the same right of adoption as he would have had if A had become an out-caste or disqualified son while remaining a Hindu; but the adoption, if made, will not operate to deprive A of property or rights to which A is entitled under Section 2 of this Regulation.

(f) A, son of B, a Hindu, becomes a Christian. After the conversion of A, another son C is born to B. C will have the same rights in respect of ancestral property as he would have had if A had remained a Hindu; but the birth of C will not otherwise affect the rights of A under Section 2 of this Regulation.

STUDY OF BUDDHISM.

Presiding over "the Buddhistic Section of the Indian Cultural Conference" held recently in Calcutta Dr. B. C. Law said:—

It is encouraging to find many people of Asia and Europe interested in the study of Buddhism and Buddhist thought. Buddhism spread almost all over the continent of India as well as far distant countries such as Central Asia, Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia, Java, Korea, Japan, Annam including ancient Champa, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and Tibet. As a matter of fact Buddhist India is Greater India. Much has been said about its importance but here I shall confine myself to a few points regarding the sources for a proper study of Buddhism. The Theravada Buddhism is found in Pali texts and commentaries. The three Pitakas supply invaluable materials for this branch of Buddhism in all its aspects. They are very rich in materials for reconstructing a secular and religious history of India. They also throw a flood of light on the philosophical and cultural aspects of the period with which they deal. We must always remain grateful to the Pali Text Society of England and especially to the late T. W. Rhys Davids and his talented wife Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids for the indefatigable



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labours done by them for printing and publishing a major portion of the Pali texts and commentaries and making them accessible to the reading public. Besides, other Buddhist Societies of Europe, as for example, German Pali Text Society, Buddhist Society of Great Britain and Ireland, American Buddhist Society, Buddhist Society of Copenhagen, did much to further the study of Buddhism and some of them are still doing good works in this field of Buddhism. In this connection we should not forget the labours of Indian, Sinhalese, Burmese and Siamese scholars, some of whose publications may be taken as standard works of Hihayana Buddhism.

In order to arrive at a real significance of Buddhism we have to study carefully Mahayana Buddhist Sutras; and specially such Mahayana works as Vasuvandhu's Abhidarmakosa vyakhiya, Nagarguna's Madhyamikakarika, Lankavatara Sutra, Asanga's Sutralankara, Asvaghosa's Buddhacharita and Saundarananda Kavya, Santideva's Bodhicaryavatara and Sikkhasamuccaya, the Lalitavistara, Mahavastu and Livayavadana. We are greatly indebted to European, Indian and Japanese scholars for their invaluable services to Mahayana Buddhism, but we should not forget in this connection the labours of two Bengalee savants, Rajendra Lal Mitra and Haraprasad Sastri, who devoted their whole lives to the study of Mahayana Buddhism. Jaina Agamas help us greatly in the elucidation of many subtle problems of Buddhism.

Tibetan Buddhism can be well studied by referring to such works as (1) Tibetan Dulva which is not completely devoted to recording the rules and regulations of the Buddhist Order but it contains Jatakas, Avadanas, Vyakaranas, Sutras and Udanas. (2) So-sor-thar-pa or a code of Buddhist monastic laws which is nothing but the Tibetan version of Pratimoksa of the Mulasarvastivadin school. This text has been edited and translated by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Satish Chandra Vidyabhusana. It is well received in Tibet and is recited in every respectable monastery, and lastly (3) to the celebrated Tibetan collection known as Kangyur or Tanjur, a systematic treatment of this valuable collection is greatly desired. The Tibetan Dictionary compiled by the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Das is a stupendous and single-handed work. The late Rai Bahadur rendered a distinct service by founding a Buddhist Text Society for the publication of Buddhist works especially in Sanskrit and Tibetan. The late Dr. Vidyabhusana's Medieval Indian Logio is a valuable introduction to the study of the extensive field of Buddhist Nyaya literature.

As regards Chinese Buddhism, the monumental work by Bunyiu Nanjo known as the Catalogue of Chinese translation of the Buddhist Tripitaka should be in the hands of every student of Buddhism as it is the real guide in the bewildering contents of the Chinese three pitakas. The Japanese Buddhism owes much to India as in Japan Buddhism has been a great ethical, religious and artistic force. All important Japanese sects are Mahayanists. Japan is very much under the influence of Confucianism.

Coins, inscriptions, sculptures, monuments and architecture should not be left unconsidered for a better understanding of Buddha's doctrine. The literary remains of Khotan and Eastern Turkistan must not be neglected as they are of great importance in the cultural history of Buddhism. Traces of Buddhism are also found in Tantras and Mantras. Some subtle points of Buddhism are made clear by a careful study of the Upanishadas and the general philosophical literature of India.

A comparative study of Buddhism is essential and one source is a link to the other; therefore we cannot do justice to a proper study of Buddhism unless all the source are carefully considered before arriving at a real understanding of this world religion.

I must record here our indebtedness to the late lamented Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, the greatest and the ablest Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, who fostered and furthered the study of Pali and Buddhism. His encouragement was a source of inspiration to many students and scholars alike. His death is a great loss to the Buddhist studies in India.

CATHOLIC CONVERSION OF HARIJANS.

(From a Hindu CORRESPONDENT.)

As public interest is being roused with regard to the conversion affair in the Harijan Cheri of the Hemapalli village in Tiruchengode Taluk I visited the village this morning and the following are the details gathered:

The place is a deserted-looking unimpressive village. The very first man I met told me that he and the members of about 60 houses in that cheri had consented to join Catholicism and were attending the catechism classes, in the morning and evening. The classes to these Harijans are held about break of dawn for about one hour and in the dusk time. The rest of the day the Harijans spend in their homes or in the streets. For the time being, they do not go out in search of work nor even to attend to their fields, which many of them own. The man I referred to told me further that since the last two years rains had failed and that their fields lay uncultivated and that they were all in acute economic distress. All Harijans of both the sexes, above the age of seven, are given from annas 8 to annas 12 per head per week. For five weeks this has been done. They said they understood that Catholicism was a better religion, that there was but one God, that the Son of God had come back to life after death and that they wished to try their fate in that new religion, as their lot had not improved in the religion of their forefathers.

At the Board School in the cheri the teacher, Mr. R. Ramaswami, a Harijan, said that the priest of the cheri temple and a few persons besides had refused to change their faith. The temple was common property, he added and had been built at a cost of about Rs. 800. The school was also located in the chavadi. At the other end of the cheri was the tent of the Missionaries.

The temple was locked and it adjoined the school. In front of the two buildings a big pandal had been put up with cocoanut thatches and there it was that catechism classes are held. One of the Harijans said that if all the families there should join the Catholic faith, then it would be easy to sell away the temple to the Padres and to have it converted into a Church. But that was not possible until every family there embraced Christianity.

Out of about 80 families in that cheri, nearly 20 still are holding aloof. The rest are all being given instruction in the tenets of Catholicism. I asked one of the adults who attended the classes what he had learnt. He said that he was being taught "Vedalam."

I also learn that some high dignitary of the Church, from Salem, visited Hemapalli cheri yesterday in the company of the priests, Rev. Hoormant and Rev. Father Mathew Thakkedam of Namakal and that the Harijans were informed that the religious classes would be carried on for two more weeks before baptism would take place. The Ecclesiastical dignitary who came there was called by the Harijans "Andavar".

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To the west of the cheri is the well dug by the Harijan Sevak Sangh last year at the cost of Rs. 150 and declared open by Babu Rajendra Prasad. The Harijans are grateful and they requested that arrangements be made to deepen it. It is the only source of water-supply to the cheri inhabitants.

The Harijans who had already become Christians were given about Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 for each family for cloth and feast expenses. In some cases lump sum payments of Rs. 25 to 50 had been made, as for instance in Meenamapalli, Elanagar, Paruthupalli, Koramangalam and Perunkurichy.

Hemapalli is not the only solitary place which is preparing to receive baptism. Two miles to the south there is the Eramangalam cheri, where about 25 families are being taught catechism and would in the course of a week or two be taken into Catholic fold. Three miles to the west of Hemapalli, there is another Harijan cheri at Kokarayampettai where nearly 80 families are being similarly prepared.

A few yards to the north of the Hemapalli cheri proper, are a few more Harijan huts. One of the men there said that he received Rs. 8-12-0 per week for his family and that he thought that the temporary help given by the Missionaries was a great way towards relieving them in their present plight. I asked him what he would do after the baptism and after the distribution of money stopped. He said that they should again look back to their old ways of life. When pressed to explain what he meant by this he said, they did not know really what would happen.

Three women who were going to Trichengode carrying fuel, just then, said that they belonged to the Hemapalli cheri and that they formed part of the score of huts which had not joined the rest in agreeing to embrace Catholicism. Their men had gone to the plantations on the hills as coolies. The women earned about 6 pies to one anna per day by collecting and selling fire-wood.

At the Kokarayampettai village, Rev. Father Mathew Thakkedam said to me that the Bishop of Salem had received many petitions from the Harijans of these three cheries to convert them to Catholicism. Then the priests were ordered to undertake the work. The usual way of converting others to Catholicism was by giving them an insight into the religion at the outset. A period of preparation was always gone through. It generally lasted from between 40 to 60 days according to the circumstances in each place. Religious classes had been held in these cheris for the last four weeks. The catechists were in charge of the classes and the priests supervised the work.

He denied that money was offered to the Harijans as a means of inducing them to embrace the Catholic faith. During the weeks of preparation, they all had to attend the catechism classes. They could not go to work, they had to be fed and, therefore, the Mission paid each person annas two per day. He had heard that this was alluded to as monetary inducement for conversion purposes. The Catholic Mission did not force any one to change his or her faith. Any one who joined the Catholic fold did so willingly after he had known the principles of the religion. The Mission was engaged only in the glorification of God and in preaching the truths of the religion of Jesus to those who cared to hear it.

The Mission was still receiving similar petitions from other places also. He agreed that the three villages were being prepared at the express request of the adults there. Most of them were no doubt illiterate, but they were taught orally and repeated what they learnt to the best of their ability. He

wished that this affair should be cleared up so that there could be no misconstruing the distribution of the doles.

Mr. K. S. Marimuthu of Salem, Editor of the "Theendadhar Thuyaram" a Tamil bi-monthly paper said, he had himself been converted to Catholicism and had last year, at Kokale village, been taken back into the Hindu fold after 'Shudi' had been performed at the Harijan Conference, presided over by Dr. T. S. S. Rajan, M. L. A., Trichy. He said that he found that Harijan Catholics were treated as inferiors to Vellala or Brahmin Catholics and the evils of the caste system were perpetuated. He, therefore, left Catholicism and returned to Hinduism and he gave a signed statement about the conversion affair. He added he was pained to find that the Goundars of the Trichengode taluk were absolutely indifferent to what happened to the Harijans in their place. It was the harsh treatment of the Harijans by the Goundars and their utter indifference that had made the Harijans lose all hopes. They were in a terrible plight economically. If the state of affairs continued, Mr. Marimuthu thought that in another five years the entire Harijan cheries in Trichengode taluk would have entered the Catholic fold. He hoped that the caste Hindus would now at least realise the truth of the situation and try to retain the Harijans in the Hindu fold by organised action to alleviate their misery which was real.

BOMBING ON THE FRONTIER.

A Conference to consider Frontier problems and policy was held in London on Tuesday last, April 7, under the auspices of the National Peace Council—the representative organisation of the British Peace movement, writes the London Correspondent of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*.

The Conference which was attended by members of a large number of peace and kindred organisations, discussed the use of the air weapon on the North-West Frontier of India and ways and means of advancing constructive and pacific methods as an alternative policy.

Mr. C. Roden Buxton presided and the speakers included Mr. F. G. Pratt, C. S. I., Air Commander J. A. Chamier (who spoke in defence of the use of the air weapon), Captain Phillip Mumford, Sir Francis Younghusband, Sir John Maynard, Lieut-Colonel Roland Hamilton, Professor Amiya Chakravarty, Miss Muriel Lester and Mr. V. K. Krishna Menon.

The Conference was a private one and no statement of policy was issued after the meeting, but it is understood that the Conference was to a large degree united in its repudiation of the bombing policy and in the conviction that the solution of the problems of the Frontier was to be found along the lines of economic and social amelioration. The Conference conveyed to the National Peace Council a recommendation that a special Committee should be set up to consider ways and means of following up the Conference and of giving effect to its conclusions.

No further information was available at the headquarters of the National Peace Council as to the speeches made at the Conference and the views taken up by different speakers. However, I am in a position to say that Mr. Pratt made a detailed statement on the Frontier position as the effect of the air bombing. Mrs. Edith Hunter, of the Friends of India Society, London, condemned, from a pacific point of view, any kind of bombing and the speech of Miss Muriel Lester was a sentimental effort in telling the audience how she loves India and the Indian people. She gave



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them impressions of India formed after her recent visit to that country.

The real die-hard speech came from Commander Chamier. While saying that he did not officially represent the Government of India (at the Conference) which has been responsible for the bombing, the Commander declared that he was responsible for the operations on the Frontier and that his brother was still on the Frontier. In the opinion of the Commander the Pathans on the Frontier liked being bombed and they did not care a scrap for anything else! Commander Chamier also said that the idea behind this policy of the Government was to make the life of a Pathan "uncomfortable."

The Commander boasted to his audience that formerly the aeroplanes could fly over the heads of the Pathans only for an hour but now the situation had changed. "Now we can," he added, "stay in the air for three days, continuously threatening the Pathans who have to hide for that period. That makes their life uncomfortable and we are all along on the top. Yes, we are on the top of these Pathans."

AN ADMISSION.

The Commander admitted that 'delayed action' bombs have been and are being used on the Frontier. He then spoke about the "uncivilised" tribes. In his opinion peace could be brought about on the Frontier only by force. "We are gradually subjugating the Pathans," he declared. He declared that when a Pathan's house was raided, the main beam was first removed and burnt so that the Pathan would not be able to build another house. "They can get mud to build huts, but they have to come down to town to fetch wooden beams to erect those mud huts," he said with a smile on his face.

The majority of those present at the Conference did not share the views of Commander Chamier. They preferred to ignore his bombast. But the Commander was well repudiated by another Army man, Captain Phillip Mumford. Captain Mumford had charge of bombing operations in Kurdistan and his speech in most part refuted the contention of Commander Chamier. Captain Mumford pointed out to the audience that there was danger in this form of bombing. Formerly, he said, whenever there was "trouble" on the Frontier, the civil authorities, if they summoned the Military to their aid, used to abdicate but they did not like that. Therefore, they now avoided calling the Military. What happened now, Captain Mumford continued, was that whenever there was trouble the Civil authorities telephoned for aeroplane bombers. "This is significant for European civilization" declared Captain Mumford.

The Captain admitted that it was quite true that the British authorities had never used poison gas on the Frontier. Yet, in the opinion of Captain Mumford the use of "delayed action" bombs was just as bad.

This pacifist speech of Captain Mumford was received with great warmth by the audience.

NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Bombay-Delhi Air Service:—The Tata aviation department are contemplating an air service between Delhi and Bombay. Negotiations are in full progress and the Company is meeting with splendid response. The route of service is being surveyed and will be finally fixed in a very short time. If the service is established, it will be a time would be tremendous, as Tata's hope to complete the Bombay-Delhi journey in six hours, while the train takes 24 hours. The Tata's present intentions seem to be to run a bi-weekly service, mainly carrying passengers, but incidentally carry foreign mail from intermediate stations

to Bombay or Delhi just to catch the Bombay-Karachi or Delhi-Karachi air service. The Tatas, as is the practice with them, start cautiously and would expand the service as they gather public support, as in the case of the Madras-Bombay-Karachi Service, which is very popular now. Similarly, the Tatas will slowly develop their Bombay-Delhi service, under contemplation, from a bi-weekly passenger service, into a tri-weekly and ultimately, a daily mail service.

King Fuad of Egypt Dead:—King Fuad of Egypt died at 1 p. m. on April 28th. The news of the King's death was communicated to the Premier by telephone during a Cabinet meeting. The funeral takes place on Thursday. King Fuad will be buried in the Elrifai mosque, built by himself at the foot of the Mokattam hills facing the Nile valley and the Sahara. On hearing of the King's death the Premier proceeded to Koubbeh Palace to express the Nation's sympathy to the Queen. As a consequence of the news from Cairo, arrangements have been made for Prince Farouk, heir of King Fuad, and who is at present being educated in England, to return home, says a message from London. Prince Farouk being under age, King Fuad's death necessitates the appointment of a Regency Council. The names of the Regency, which it is understood the late King Fuad approved in 1922, are contained in a sealed document left to be opened after his death. It is understood that if one of the Regents mentioned in the document is unable to assume his duties the Egyptian Cabinet will have the right to appoint some one in his place.

University Hostel for Bombay Students:—The University of Bombay has made arrangements to provide hostel facilities for postgraduate students enrolled in the University School of Economics and Sociology and in the Department of Chemical Technology. Though these institutions have been in existence for some years, the University did not provide hostel facilities for those who took advantage of them. Mofussil students who came to Bombay to avail themselves of the opportunities for higher studies in these subjects have found it extremely difficult to find healthy and congenial lodgings in Bombay. The hostel is to be located in the Taraporewala Building, on Queen's Road, opposite Marine Lines Station. The whole building, except the ground floor, has been rented for the purpose, and is to be adequately fitted up for the hostel by June next when the new academic year begins. This building is situated in a healthy locality; it has an excellent view of the sea, and is at the same time not far from the University buildings. The terms on which the students are to be admitted are moderate, and the University will have to incur a net deficit to run the hostel. But the University has undertaken this venture deliberately as a necessary adjunct to its postgraduate activities. Though the hostel is primarily meant for the students of the University Departments, other postgraduate students reading for the M.A., M.Sc., and Ph.D. degrees may be admitted to the hostel if accommodation is available.

Motor Manufacture in India:—It is understood a meeting of the promoters of the Indian motor manufacturing industry scheme was held in Bombay on the 25th April at which Sir M. Visveswarayya submitted a memorandum setting forth the results of his recent tour in Europe and America and the research work there. It is stated Sir M. Visveswarayya reiterated his view that the time was ripe for India to start a motor manufacturing factory at Bombay with a capital of at least one and a half crores so that India might be able to produce annually 10,000 28-horse power cars and 5,000 trucks for use in India. Sir M. Visveswarayya is also stated to have emphasised the need for Government help and sympathy and maintained that the scheme would prove a success only in case Government at least maintained the present import duties on foreign manufactured motor cars and trucks. The financiers, who were interested in the scheme, after having heard Sir M. Visveswarayya decided to refer the matter to a small sub-committee which is expected to report shortly.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Ethiopia:—After a heroic struggle against overwhelming odds, which, Major Lloyd Jones in the *Times of India* says, will be recognised by historians as an epic before which even Thermopylae pales into insignificance, the Emperor of Ethiopia, finding that it was hopeless to continue it, left his capital with the Empress and their family by train and arrived at Djibouti on the afternoon of Sunday the 3rd May. From there he embarked on a British warship. His immediate destination is Jerusalem. Before leaving Addis Ababa he threw open the doors of his palace and invited the people to enter and take away whatever they wished. The Italian General with his army entered the capital on the 6th. Signor Mussolini announced the event in his usual bombastic style as the victory of the sword. It is really the victory of poison gas against which the Ethiopians had no means of protecting themselves. An ancient Empire thus vanishes from history as the result of an unprovoked aggression of a nation which claims to be civilised. Italy's conduct in the Ethiopian affair has made western civilisation stink in the nostrils of every decent-minded person. The League of Nations' part in the affair can only be described as despicable. The League has proved a veritable deathtrap to Ethiopia. Relying on its highflown claims to provide collective security, Ethiopia had cast herself into this struggle only to find herself betrayed by the Powers whom she trusted. There is talk of reconstructing the League. But we trust that India will make it clear beyond the possibility of doubt that, whatever the Government of India may do in her name, her people are absolutely averse to having anything more to do with this imposture. Of the part of the British Government in this tragedy, no one has any reason to be proud. The President of the Indian National

Congress has called on the country to express its sympathy with Ethiopia by holding public meetings today. We cordially support his appeal.

The Deccan Education Society:—This Society celebrated the completion of fifty years of its unique mission last year. The New English School, Poona, opened in a hired building with 35 students in 1880. Its success during the next five years was so remarkable as to encourage the young men, who had started it as a purely private enterprise, to think of raising it to the status of a College. They had plenty of enthusiasm. They believed as an article of faith that education was the master key to national progress. They were prepared to devote the best part of their lives to the work of spreading higher education in a missionary spirit. Their enthusiasm was infectious. Fifty years ago communalism was not in the air. Wealthy men of all communities and ruling princes contributed liberally to the scheme which took shape in the Fergusson College. Government, too, were then not so suspicious of education as they now seem to be. The Fergusson College was founded in the same year as the National Congress. They were indeed both manifestations of the same idea in closely allied spheres. The Deccan Education Society conducts today two first-grade Colleges, four High Schools and one model primary school with an attendance totalling 5,000 students in all the institutions. A feature of the Society's Report, is that the number of students in each of its institutions is shown with reference to their civil condition. A comparison of the figures given in the Reports for past years, will show how rapid has been the change in the social mind in the matter of early marriage. In the High School stage, practically there is not a single married out of some thousands of boys and in the College stage a very minute fraction only. All the institutions of the Society are co-educational. Maharashtra is solidly in favour of co-education.

Village Improvement:—The Director of Public Information, Bombay, has issued to the Press excerpts from the reports of District Officers on the progress made in the first three months since the Bombay Presidency received its share of the one crore of rupees grant made by the Government of India for village improvement. The Director thinks that the movement made a distinct advance. The Commissioner,



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Northern Division, merely says, that the money spent by Government for welfare of the people will bear fruit in course of time—a safe prophesy. He adds that the people have begun to realise the importance of the moment and “of course, if left to their own initiative very little will be done.” This gives an opening to laud the officers of the Revenue Department “who have all devoted more time to this work than they can really spare, and rightly so.” To what exactly “rightly so” refers, is not clear. The only concrete thing done during the quarter was the introduction of a “Village Uplift Motor Van.” Follows immediately the following consequences: “The system of after death dinners is reported to be generally fading away in the selected villages and the villagers are now inclined to send monetary gifts to schools, dispensaries and other village institutions instead of squandering money on such customs.” The Uplift Lorry is a miracle-worker. Here is a gem from the Report from the Central Division: “In so far as this grant is being utilised for the improvement of the economic condition of the rayats, it will be useful in inverse proportion to the extent to which the rayats are a conduit pipe by which the profits of agriculture reach the money bags of the savkar.” The only thing clear in this sentence is that the writer must have a fling at the savkar who, of course, will not hit back. This Officer does not seem entirely to approve of the Government of India’s grant. He seems to think that it has only roused the cupidity of the rayat. Contrariwise, the Collector of Satara waxes ecstatic: “Words fail him when he attempts to describe the vast benefits conferred by the grant. The Commissioner of the Southern Division reports that “as a lesson of economy in social matters the village improvement committee of Kangrali got six marriages performed in the village under its guidance, each marriage costing only about Rs. 80. The usual lavish expenditure on caste dinners and drinks etc., was dispensed with. Practical demonstrations of this kind in the realm of economy is most valuable.” Are village committees authorised to spend the grant on marriages for demonstration purposes? If so, who were the six families that were selected for this demonstration in Kangrali? Like Ranibennur, Kangrali seems to be a favoured town in the Southern Division. The Live Stock Expert has selected it for a poultry improvement scheme.

Proposed Civil Liberties Union:—Pandit Jawharlal Nehru has published a letter explaining his proposal to start an Indian Civil Liberties Union “the sole function of which will be the protection of civil liberties in all departments of national activity” and which “should be open to all individuals who believe in this fundamental proposition and it should avoid any entanglement on any other political or economic issues.” He trusts it will be possible to build up a non-party and non-sectarian union. We welcome the proposal in so far as it shows

that Pandit Jawharlal realises that the time is opportune to find a ground of co-operation between people and parties of different shades of political opinion. We should much wish, however, that this should be found within the Congress organisation itself. After the suspension of civil disobedience, the only points on which there is difference of opinion between Congressmen and others are the goal of Indian nationalism and the compulsory wear of khaddar by those who wish to take active part in Congress work. The former at the present time is largely an academic question while the latter is comparatively a minor matter on which there should be no difficulty in reaching an understanding. Civil liberties are the very essence of political life. There can be no settled government unless citizens are assured of the preservation inviolate of the elementary rights of persons and property. In the struggle for these rights originated politics and the Congress cannot shuffle off its responsibility in this matter without losing its political character. We are not quite sure that it will be possible to conduct a movement for the preservation of civil rights without reference to other political and economic issues. Is or is not the right to the peaceful enjoyment of one’s property, one of the civil liberties? The Magna Charta laid great stress on it, and the English as well as the American Revolution turned on this very point of the State’s power to tax subjects without parliamentary sanction. Freedom to write and speak without previous license from the State is another and, to our kind, an even more important right than the right to property. Thought cannot soar above commonplace levels unless there is complete freedom of expression. There is much confusion in the conception of civil liberties which should be clarified in order to prepare the ground for a frank consideration of the Pandit’s proposal.

Indian Christians and Scheduled Castes:—The Order in Council relating to the franchise of the scheduled castes, commonly known as the Depressed Classes, lays down that “no Indian Christian shall be deemed to be a member of a scheduled caste.” Notwithstanding this clear direction, the Government of Madras have decided that Indian Christians will be entitled to the special concessions as regards education grants, fees and so on provided for the depressed classes. We do not know if any other provincial Government has done this. The Indian Christian community on other occasions has advanced claims to preferential treatment on the ground that educationally and socially it is more advanced than other communities. It also apparently claims to be treated as a depressed community in order to have the special consideration shown to the scheduled castes extended to it. It is thus at the same time an advanced and a depressed community! The Order in Council says that no Indian Christian shall be deemed to be a member of a scheduled caste. In view of recent developments, it is pertinent to enquire whether a convert to Sikhism or Islam with be



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entitled to the special franchise and educational concessions allowed to the scheduled castes? When Dr. Ambedkar carries out his declared intention to quit Hinduism, would he be entitled to stand for the seats reserved for the scheduled castes? If that event takes place after he is elected to one of them, will he continue to hold it after his conversion?

Fatuous Propaganda:—It is high time that responsible journalists put their foot down on a certain type of news which has been too much in evidence recently. First, we had the canard about the Halifax correspondence with Gandhiji. Then came the story characterised by Pandit Jawaharlal as fantastic about the King having invited him when he was in London for an interview which he declined. More recently, it was announced that Pandit Jawaharlal's book had been held up by the Customs authorities. The authorities have categorically denied having seen a copy of the book, and they aver that the question of banning it has not, therefore, arisen. Advance copies, moreover, have been received by newspapers here. The latest and the most outrageous exploit in this direction is that published, as from the United Press, of an alleged message received by a spiritualist in Jullunder from the spirit of a universally respected lady, whose recent death cast a gloom over the country, about what will happen six years hence. This seems to be the limit. Can we not have the decency to leave the dead alone? Must we drag them down for purposes of political propaganda? If such things are the outcome of a well-meant desire to serve the national cause, they should be deplored as being utterly misconceived. If, as we suspect, they are intended to bring Indian politics and politicians into ridicule, nationalist journals and news agencies cannot be too careful about giving currency to them.

Women "Servants of India":—The institution of Life Members introduced by the Deccan Education Society was later adopted in the Servants of India Society by Gokhale who was himself one of the Life Members of the former. Life Members are pledged to serve the Society in a missionary spirit, that is to say, on a fixed minimum remuneration, for at least twenty years. They charge themselves with the duty and responsibility of organizing, teaching, collecting funds, and general management. Neither the Deccan Education Society nor the Servants of India Society admit women to their Life Membership. To supply this omission, a new Society has been started in Poona exclusively for women who desire to devote themselves to public service. The prospectus of the Society is reprinted in another column.

The Bengal Whipping Act:—When the Whipping Act providing for physical chastisement for persons found guilty of brutal offences against women, was debated in the Bengal Legislative Council, it was fiercely opposed as being a communal measure directed against Muslims. The first case under the Act was recently tried at Rajshahi and the accused who was sentenced

to be flogged was a Hindu. A 17 year old Hindu youth was charged with committing a criminal assault on a girl of 8. The girl identified the accused in court. The Jury returned a unanimous verdict of guilty and the Judge, Mr. A. F. Rahman, sentenced the accused to 20 stripes and a fine of Rs. 200, in default rigorous imprisonment for a year. The monopoly of these crimes does not rest with Muslims as the opponents of the Act unwittingly proclaimed.

A Chinese General on Christian Missions:—Professor Jerome Davis of Yale University contributes to the *Unity* an interesting account of an interview which he recently had with Marshal Fung, the famous Chinese Christian General, who lives in retirement in Taishan, in the Province of Shantung, owing to political differences with General Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Chinese National Government. Dr. Davis in the course of his interview asked the General what he thought of the foreign missionaries and their work. He was thoughtful for a moment and then said: "In the old days the missionaries did a great deal of good. They helped in freeing the peasants from many superstitions such as feet-binding and they also aided in bringing education and medical help to the people. But today their chief emphasis is still preaching, reading the Bible and prayer. These may be important but if they do not respond to their present opportunity they will be missing a great chance. Chinese Christians now often go abroad and then come back and support the tactics of a man like General Chiang Kai-shek, who is really doing harm to the country. The fundamental task of Christianity today should be to educate the people as to the realities of the actual government they are living under, the kind of economic system they are being exploited by, and the necessity of securing social justice." Will Indian missionaries please note?

Ramakrishna Centenary:—The Sri Ramakrishna Centenary celebrations, which have been in progress for the last two months, had their appropriate culmination in the magnificent gathering which assembled in the Cowasji Jehangir Hall on Thursday evening to inaugurate the three days Parliament of Religions arranged by the Bombay Centenary Committee. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, who is leaving India today to take up the Professorship of Eastern Philosophy and Ethics at Oxford University to which he was recently called, presided. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Chairman of the Centenary Committee, in his introductory speech, said that this was the most remarkable gathering which he had seen in that Hall in his experience of many years. He declared that it was a striking proof of the fact that underlying the materialistic activities of Bombay by which superficial observers were often misled, there was a deep appreciation of spiritual values. Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan's address was heard with rapt attention by the immense audience which comprised men and women of all races and creeds.



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BOMBAY, May 9, 1936.

HINDI, THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE.

The address which Babu Rajendra Prasad delivered at the All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan over which he presided at Nagpur, is a model of what such addresses should be. Although he believes that Hindi possesses the requisites of a common language for India, he clearly sets forth in his address the difficulties in the way of its attaining the position. Foremost of these is that Hindi itself is merely the generic name for many dialects. Bihar is taken to be a Hindi-speaking province. But, as the President pointed out, about eighteen different dialects are spoken in the province, only one of which has a script or a written literature. All these dialects are different from the Hindi used in books at the present day. Those among the users of the dialects who are not educated, cannot fully understand literary or book Hindi, judged only by the number of people who understand the Hindi of the books, some of the other provincial languages are more important. It may be pointed out here that it is this book Hindi which is propagated by the Hindi Pracharak Sabha on the ground, among others, that it is the most widely spoken and widely understood language. Babu Rajendra Prasad's observations suggest that before Hindi can lay claim to be an All-India language it should qualify itself for the high role. How can this be done? The distinctive identity of a language is established not by its vocabulary but by its grammatical structure. One can hear every day people speaking in the vernaculars, plentifully interspersing their talk with English words. But we know that they are speaking not English but a vernacular by the linking words, that is to say, the prepositions and conjunctions and interjections which they use. All living languages, as the President said, go on regularly increasing their vocabulary, and their writers and poets use foreign words in their composition. This is true but the foreign words first gain currency in the colloquial, spoken language and it takes a long time before they receive literary recognition, if at all. Greek and Latin in Europe and Sanskrit in India are not foreign languages but the fountain head from which European and Indian culture and civilisation inherited their most important thought-forms. Even in the South, as Babu Rajendra Prasad said, Sanskrit is a medium by which other provincials can make themselves understood because of the depth to which its religious and philosophical thought has permeated. When the late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar was travelling in Malabar several years ago, he espied at a distance from the road the cowering figure of a Nayadi, the lowest of untouchables of Malabar. With great difficulty he persuaded the man to come to the main road and entered into conversation with him.

Sir Narayan was astonished to hear the man speak of "vairagya" and allied concepts of Hindu religious philosophy. That there was a language which was understood all over the country in ancient times cannot be doubted. The inscriptions of Asoka were addressed to the common people from Afghanistan to Mysore. Referring to them, Mr. Radhakumud Mukherji in his interesting article on Asoka in the current *New Review*, observes: "The royal proclamations on rock and pillar which were evenly distributed through the different provinces of his empire, and located at the chief centres of population along the principal trade routes and courses of pilgrimage, of commerce and of culture, must have been read and understood by the masses of Asokan India. They disclose a common language underlying its local peculiarities and provincialisms in respect of the forms of vocabulary and grammar. For the Frontier peoples the language had to be written in their indigenous kharoshti script; but the script did not alter the language, which is found to be even more Sanskrit than the versions at Kalsi or Dhauli."

Babu Rajendra Prasad showed that the problem of developing Hindi into a national language presented two different and to some extent conflicting aspects. If, in order to make the language accessible to the people of South India, Sanskritisation is resorted to on a large scale, it becomes more difficult than it is to make it the common language of Hindus and Muslims in Northern India. Muslims in Northern India, however, if the reasons officially given for compulsory Urdu in the girls' schools of the North West Frontier Province represent their views, are bent upon making Urdu, script and grammar and vocabulary, the national language of the country. For the time being at least, it would be best to suspend the attempt to make them accept Hindi or Hindustani as a substitute and to concentrate on evolving a standard literary language for the Hindus of Northern India. In the course of such evolution it may be possible to establish contact with the South Indian vernaculars through the common underlying ideology furnished by Sanskrit culture. We have come across copies of a magazine conducted by Mr. K. M. Munshi in every issue of which some articles in South Indian vernaculars are printed in the Nagari script. It would be more useful as a means of promoting a colloquial knowledge of Hindi to get some leading Tamil and Telugu newspapers to print occasionally in their vernacular scripts short papers in Hindi on topics of current interest. Incidentally, they will give a fair idea of what Hindi will sound like when it is currently spoken in the South. There will be much "phonetic decay" which, Max Muller held, is a necessary process in the growth of a language. The greatest difficulty in the way of Hindi attaining the position of India's common language is the competition of the English language. Hindi against English in the



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sphere of language, suffers from the same handicaps as khadi against mill-made cloth among textiles and hand pounded rice against the machine ground stuff in the dietary sphere. Then, there is the claim of the vernaculars themselves. Bengali, Tamil, Marathi and other vernaculars have great literatures of their own and cherished traditions. The average man has no need to know two languages. Babu Rajendra Prasad estimated that the average Hindi speaker will use between 2000 and 2500 words. This is a high estimate. 500 words will amply suffice to express the ideas of the average Indian, villager or townsman. The important point often lost sight of is that words have associations and that much of their significance arises from their power to awaken in the minds of the speaker and hearer a body of common associations which stamp them as belonging to a single cultural group. Borrowed words have no associations and are, therefore, for a long time likely to remain a dead weight on a living language. If it is really wished that Hindi should become a spoken language in the South, the readiest way is annually to import two or three hundred boys and girls into Allahabad and Benares and educate them there through the medium of Hindi. Children learn a new language more easily than their elders. Hindi Pracharak Societies may try this experiment along with those they are already trying.

TABOO IN LITERATURE.

Gandhiji in the course of his speech at the Bharatiya Sahitya Parishad held at Nagpur on the 24th April, is reported to have referred to the plethora of highly objectionable erotic literature in evidence in every province. He declared that if he had the power, he would taboo this thing from literature. In the same manner, he would taboo all literature calculated to promote communalism, fanaticism, and ill-will and hatred between individuals, classes and races. The comment of the Catholic *Examiner* on Gandhiji's declaration is as follows: "Catholics will note Mr. Gandhi's approval of the principle on which the Catholic Church acts in forbidding dangerous books to its members. The common law of the Church forbids 'books which expressly attack good morals' and 'books which of set purpose treat of, relate or inculcate lascivious and obscene things.' All such books are forbidden in general. In addition many writers have been placed on the Index on account of their erotic writings." (*Fabulae amatoriae*) The *Examiner* indeed, thinks that Gandhiji goes much further than H. H. the Pope. It continues: "But Mr. Gandhi, who is inclined to severity in these matters, would apparently banish all amatory literature from his Republic, which goes much further than the Catholic law. Would he include the novels of Sir Walter Scott or Miss Austin in his condemnation? In fact, writers of last century could not conceive of a novel or a play without a 'love-interest,' and the flood of amatory fiction finally brought a reaction in the vogue of the detective story. Surely, it is not the subject so much as the way it is treated, that matters. Incessant reading of inferior literature, whether amatory or of any other type, has a debilitating effect on the mind and character. We should all force ourselves to read something better than what merely helps to pass time."

Gandhiji's dictum is also on all fours with the defence of the Press sections of the Criminal Law Amendment Act by Sir Henry Craik in recent session of the Registative Assembly. The Home Member of the Government of India wanted to put down writings calculated to encourage terrorism, communalism and communism. He wished to penalise not only these writings but also obscene and vulgar writings. The Home Member would warmly agree to include erotic writings in the same category. Obviously, freedom of the Press has as little meaning for Gandhiji as to Sir Henry Craik. Nevertheless, it is a very important factor of progress and suppression of it is fraught with greater dangers to the community than all the erotic writings in all the provinces. Much of the world's best literature would have to be taboo'd under the Gandhian regime. Not only Walter Scott and Jane Austin,—the *Examiner* is surely biased against them—but parts of the Bible, Shakespeare, the Vedas and the Upanishads will have to be banned. In the Brihadaranyaka the great philosopher, seer, lawgiver, Yagnavalkya, employs an erotic parallel as the most appropriate to illustrate the union of the individual with the Supreme soul. "As a man, fully embraced by his beloved wife, does not know anything at all, either external or internal, so does this infinite being (self) fully embraced by the Supreme self, not know anything at all, external or internal."

The attraction of sex, call it lust or love, is inherent in the biological process. In animals it lasts only sufficiently long to fulfil its biological purpose. Man, endowed with imagination, idealises it. This is the origin of erotic literature. Over one hundred newspapers from all parts of India are received in this office. There is not much proof in them of Gandhiji's complaint that eroticism pervades the literary atmosphere in every province. He was speaking at a Hindi Conference and probably he was referring to the Hindi provinces and Hindi publications. Even then, there should be some outcrop of it in the books, pamphlets and newspapers written in the English language, unless those who write in English are a totally different class from those who write in Hindi, which is not the case.

The effect of reading erotic (or for that matter communist or communal) literature is often misconceived. Boccaccio's Decameron has long enjoyed the reputation of being one of the world's most erotic books. Most probably it occupies a prominent place in the Papal Index. It should, because Boccaccio made the clergy the special butt of his stories. A copy of this book was in College Library. The Librarian was instructed not to issue the book to any student without the express permission of the Principal. This sort of restriction was itself a challenge to one imbued with the protestant instinct and I applied for it in my early College days. The Principal, an Englishman, was a scholar with the scholar's hatred of censorship. He sanctioned the application and the book was delivered to me. When I was about to leave the College I went to see him. He remembered the incident and asked me what I thought of the Decameron. I told him I was bored by it. He smiled. Take Byron's Don Juan. I doubt if the reading of it made a single convert to Don Juanism.

I procured from a local library for a young relative at his request, the seventeen volumes of Burton's unexpurgated English Translation of the Arabian Nights. He read the book through and found that the most interesting parts of it were the footnotes containing curious information about the habits and customs of Oriental nations of which Burton had made an extensive study. I have always advised



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young people to read every bit of writing they lay hands on. I have myself done so. All knowledge is inter-related and to discover this, is the great joy of uncensored reading. A Tamil sage has advised: "Even thieving learn and—forget."

K. N.

WANTED—A SYNTHESIS OF RELIGIONS AND CULTURES.

(By S. K. GEORGE, M. A. B. I., TRIVANDRUM.)

The threat of the Ambedkars and *Kunjuramans of India to leave the fold of Hinduism, within which they have been loosely held for ages, and to migrate *en masse* to other religious folds for the sake of social amelioration and political enfranchisement, directs the attention of even the irreligious in the land to the question of the relations between religions and the function, if any, of Religion in the modern world. It is said that any group or community within a recognised religion, these days, should be forced to forsake it, because within it elementary rights of citizenship are denied them. Such a religion will have short shrift in a world that is awakening to a sense of social justice and equality for all mankind. The fate of the Russian Church is a warning to all such reactionary bodies. It is true that Hinduism has in the past been responsible for the submersion of no less than a sixth of her population and that there are elements within it that still want to uphold that injustice in the name of ancient traditions. But it is also true that in these days the axe has been laid to the root of that injustice and that its eradication is only a matter of time. As someone has said the future historian will record the victory over this evil as having been won in this present decade, though its fruits may ripen only in those to come. As such the submerged sixth have but to stand their ground and bide their time to see their disabilities removed and feel themselves free within their own ancient settings. It is up to them to stand by and strengthen those who are fighting for the removal of this age-old evil and claim their share of the victory. If it does not mean victory they can be assured of the comradeship of the virile elements in the old faith in a joint effort to give the much deserved quietus that the old lady will deserve, if she persists in maintaining her ancient prejudices in this modern days. That is the solemn pledge that Gandhiji and his valiant supporters in this cause, have taken to their less fortunate brethren in the common faith. And they are no freaks within that religion; rather do they stand in the line of succession to a noble band of reformers, who have seen the need and laboured for the removal of this blot on Hinduism. That is how the situation strikes a sympathetic outsider and it seems that the wisest thing for the Ezhava and the Harijan to do is to trust these friends and press on to a joint victory.

I said it is sad for a group or community in these days to have to forsake one's ancestral religion for the sake of elementary justice, which ought to be common lot of man, irrespective of religions; but

* Mr. C. V. Kunjuraman, veteran journalist and reputed author in Malayalam, is a leader of the Ezhava community, who in Travancore alone number about 9 lakhs. With their kindred in the Cochin State and the Thiyyas of Malabar they form one of the major communities within Hinduism in S. India. They are still regarded as out-castes, though in recent years they have made rapid strides towards progress and enlightenment. They figured prominently in a recent political agitation in Travancore for equal rights with Caste-Hindus. One of their leaders is undergoing imprisonment in connection with that. Political discontent and wounded self-respect at their continued denial of human rights within the Hindu fold are making the Ezhavas think of mass conversion to other religions. The Christians, the Muslims, the Buddhists, and even the Sikhs are making a bid for the winning of this community *en masse*.

it is sadder to see other religious bodies willing or eager to take in such adventurers into their folds. But that is the attitude that Christian and other missionary faiths in the land have taken towards vagrants from Hinduism. There is a comity among certain Christian missions, at least, in India, by which they agree not to infringe on each other's rights or to take in converts from each other without mutual reference and consent. That is because after years of mutual suspicion and futile efforts to oust or swallow one another they have come to agree on a few fundamentals and to agree to differ on non-essentials. I submit that the time is come when such a mutual recognition and agreement is clearly indicated and highly necessary between the different religions working in the land. India is pre-eminently the battle ground between the chief higher religions of the world and she ought to be the scene of their reconciliation in a higher synthesis. I said it is clearly indicated, for India has a genius for comprehension and synthesis. What all elements have already gone into the fusion of her peoples and her culture! But a greater and a newer type of synthesis yet awaits realization. For there have come to us from outside two sturdy strands of human culture, each claiming sovereign independence and refusing to intertwine with each other or with the Central Indian Strand. But yet at times the fusion of the one or the other with India's culture seemed within sight. Such great moments in India's spiritual history were the appearances of a Kabir or a Nanak. But differences between the Islamic and the Hindu cultures, which these prophets attempted to unite, are so formidable and so deep rooted that no mere goodnatured overlooking of them or no linking up of emotional elements in the two could permanently reconcile them. The same is true of the Christian culture, itself a partially effected synthesis of the Jewish, the Greek and the Roman cultures and in these days highly coloured by the scientific outlook of the west.

These different elements in the religions that have thus met on Indian soil have to be coldly analysed, as well as emotionally apprehended, and a synthesis arrived at, which will conserve their distinctiveness while making them converge their light on the forward path of humanity. The prophet of this larger and lasting synthesis has also appeared, as is fitting, on Indian soil. Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, not only delved deep into the doctrines of the different religions, mastering for that purpose the languages of their original scriptures, thereby incidentally laying the foundations of the great science of Comparative Religion, but he combined in his personal religion the fundamental Hindu, Christian and Islamic experiences. He was in fact a multiple personality, the prophet and precursor of coming humanity, nurtured and disciplined by the concurrent streams of diverse cultures. And the society he founded was to be a centre of universal convergence, not a cheap eclecticism that spreads a veneer of emotion over fundamental differences, not a foggy inter-religionism that seeks to copy unreal federal ideas from worldly diplomacy. He recognised and appreciated the different ways of approach to God in the different historic religions and the differences of their emphasis in apprehending and interpreting reality. The Brahmo Samaj is thus a fellowship of the worshippers of the One, Universal God, of the Christian, the Hindu or the Mussalman, each in his own way. Nor was it confined in the idea of its founder to those who accept the strict Theistic position. It was meant to include even those who like the Buddhist and the Jain or the modern Humanist would acknowledge some Principle in the



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Universe and would accept the love and service of man as the guiding principle in the conduct of life. But such a free association or partnership demands that the co-operating religions would shed their exclusiveness as sole systems of salvation. The Rajah fought the claims of each of these religions to such exclusiveness on its own authority and held that in their basic, essential idea they are not exclusive but universal. In this conviction and this effort to remove the germ of intolerance from the great historic religions he yet remains a prophet and a pioneer. It is in this that we in these latter days have got to accept his lead and fulfil his mission. The exponents of the different religions in India are yet at the stage of flying at each other's throats, contending with one another as to who shall hold the field, as if the world is too constricted for more than one faith and as if any one of them has a monopoly of truth. The existence of such contending religions is at the root of most of our communal troubles. Further, they are discrediting Religion itself and depriving it of its power to transform the world.

This last is its true function and only justification. And it is because I believe in this function and in the capacity of Religion to fulfil it, to work out an order of human society where peace and ordered progress will hold sway that I would appeal even to the irreligious in the land, who have no use for the concepts of Religion, to use this present opportunity to root out religious intolerance from among us, and to stand behind those in each religion who are standing for liberty, tolerance and the disinterested service of man. There are those who would advocate the working out of a common religious faith for all mankind. I believe that, with our diverse temperaments and traditions, such uniformity of outlook and expression is far distant, if it is ever attainable. What is possible, what is immediately desirable, is that liberal elements in all religions should declare themselves and should draw together in a common stand against intolerance and, what is more, in a common pursuit of the good life for all.

THE CONGRESS AND THE FUTURE.

Unless the Congress decision to postpone the issue of acceptance of office is to be considered a tactical move, it is likely to fall flat on the ears of the masses. There is a section of opinion which favours the Irish parallel. Whether it will hold good is a postulate which to become true requires a De Valera and an Irish national spirit. The national organizations were so closely parallel that a transference of authority, when it came, was easy. Whether that will come to pass in our country, in the immediate future, as things are constituted at present is more than one can vouchsafe for. Centuries of struggle in Ireland hardened the Irish feeling, stiffened their attitude against the English and strengthened the national spirit which it had brought about. What cannot be achieved by strength may be achieved by sacrifice but the pace is extraordinarily slow.

A wave of socialism has come over the Congress but it is difficult to foresee if much can be hoped for. Whether it will not give rise to another classwar or an acute sacrifice between capital and labour are problems to be deeply pondered over with concern and anxiety. There are some thinkers who see in the Russian experiment a bright vista for the future of our country and there are alarmists who see in it anything but bright or good or hopeful. Institutions cannot be directly transplanted to another soil nor can experiments bear the same results everywhere.

On the other hand the attitude of the Congress Nationalists is not very encouraging. They mean to

establish contacts with other parties, the Liberals and other parties mean to fulfil themselves in different ways. Under different names in different provinces they will seek election and support. The difficulty, however, is that they have less in common with other parties than with the Congress.

The acquittal of the Congress party in the local board elections is noteworthy. Apart from those who have stood by that organization through thick and thin, some of the latest additions to the ranks have to be reckoned among the dark horses for other parties. The volte face of several members defies all calculations of human ingenuity and skill.

The more does one go into the question, the more is one convinced that the Congress has attempted or is attempting a difficult, if not an impossible, task. Its unity is confined to an opposition to an alien rule, and is so far only negative in character. The positive side is an edifice whose foundations have yet to be laid. This may be a painful reminder of our weaknesses but it is good to be self-critical sometimes.

The huge organization is not without its virtues. Its ideals are ennobling and elevating. Nobility, purity, sacrifice and service are ideals which are any day admirable, and if the banner had not been in the hands of tried workers, it must have long ago kissed the dust. But the really selfless and self-sacrificing are fewer in numbers than one should wish for.

Indeed, there are two or three things to which it is as well that the Congress should turn its attention. It is a melancholy spectacle that our villagers are being drawn into the vortex of poverty in their desire to provide their children with Government jobs. What happens is, the lands, the homes are sold or mortgaged. There is no minding the fact that the assets are being liquidated, and the dividend can be declared only in terms of bits of knowledge and bookishness, and they are really coins uncurrent, if not counterfeit. This is a tragedy which has beset many a rural home. The glitter of school and college education, the glamour of the university degree, the polished manners, the hankering after a small pittance with the concomitant evils, the devitalization of youth and the demoralization of society are the only things that can be set down to the balance of advantages. It would be a useful line of activity for the Congress to send out workers into village homes, many educated young men who would pledge themselves not only to preach but also practise the virtues of simplicity, sacrifice and service.

JANUS.

INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES BILL.

The following is the text of the brief speech delivered by Dr. Bhagavan Das (Cities of the United Provinces Non-Muhammadan Urban) when moving the circulation of his Bill:—

I move that the Bill to validate marriages between different castes of Hindus be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinion thereon by the 15th July 1936.

In the very short time at my disposal I will not be able to place before the House my reasons at length in support of this measure. I will therefore content myself to-day—hoping that I will have a more favourable opportunity at a later date of explaining the reasons fully—with saying that the measure is a purely permissive one. It does not compel any one to marry out of his caste against his will. Also, it does not compel any one to maintain social relations against his will with any person who has contracted such a marriage out of his caste. But I do hope that if the Bill is passed by this House it will have the effect of saving persons who have contracted such a marriage



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from being hounded out of caste by any other person proclaiming that he has lost caste. I hope that if this Bill is passed it will have the effect of preventing all such public proclamation on pain of the proclaimer being held guilty of defamation. There are a few scientific principles which underlie what is now known as the caste system. I hope to be able to place them before the House in detail later on. To-day, I will only mention briefly that one of the main principles which underlie the real original vocational-class system, which has been converted into a caricature and is now called the caste-system, is that inter-dining and inter-marriage should be entered into very discriminately. I believe that all such of my learned colleagues in this House as are practising the beneficent profession of medicine will support me when I say that 90 per cent of the disease of mankind are due to mistakes in diet and mistakes in sex relations. The current superstition against inter-dining and inter-marriage between different castes is simply a perversion and misunderstanding of this fact of hygienic and eugenic science. Attention to purity in diet ensures individual health, and attention to parity of temperament in respect of marriage ensures racial health. The perversion and misunderstanding of these two scientific laws has resulted in the ridiculous caricature which is looked at with astonishment and contempt by every outside observer of Hinduism. Hinduism to-day has degenerated into an amorphous mass of nearly three thousand castes and subcastes which are mutually untouchables in respect of dining and marriage. This is due simply to a misunderstanding of the scientific laws which underlie the old ideal of avoiding indiscriminate dining and indiscriminate marriage. The word "indiscriminate" needs to be emphasised greatly. The real meaning of 'a-sa-varana Vivah' is not marriage outside the caste, or between different so-called castes, but marriage between persons of disparity of temperament; 'sa-varna' means parity of temperament and sameness or similarity of occupational and intellectual and emotional interests and tastes, and compatibility of dispositions. This has been perverted into the mere nominal observance of identity of caste-name. I am glad to be able to say that public meetings have been held in various parts of the country which, I understand from the papers, have been passing resolutions in favour of this Bill. At the same time I have received some friendly suggestions and criticisms from persons as deeply desirous as myself of the regeneration of Hinduism and Hindu society out of their present degeneration, to the effect that some provisions should be added to ensure monogamy and the possibility of judicial separation or of divorce in case disparity of temperament develops later on. I will have to place before the House some views on these two matters when the Bill comes up for consideration. In the meanwhile, if the Bill is circulated for eliciting public opinion, different views on the subject will develop themselves and the House will be in a position to consider them all later on. I, therefore, move that the Bill be circulated for eliciting opinion by the 15th July, 1936.

The Bill is as below:—

A Bill to validate marriages between different castes of Hindus.

Whereas it is expedient to validate marriages between Hindus of different castes for the purpose hereinafter appearing: It is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. This Act may be called the Hindu Marriage Validity Act 19...

2. No marriage among Hindus shall be invalid by reason that the parties thereto do not belong to the same caste, any custom or any interpretation of Hindu Law to the contrary notwithstanding.

INDIAN GENIUS IN POLITICS.*

BY SRI AUROBINDO

The Indian thinkers on society, economics and politics, Dharma Shastra and Artha Shastra, made it their business not to construct ideals and systems of society and government in the abstract intelligence, but to understand and regulate by the practical reason the institutions and ways of communal living already developed by the communal mind and life. New development was fixed and harmonized without breaking the original elements. Whatever new element or idea was needed was added or introduced as a superstructure or a modifying but not a revolutionary and destructive principle. It was in this way that the transition from the earlier stages to the fully developed monarchical polity was managed; it proceeded by an incorporation of the existing institutions under the supreme control of the king or the emperor. The character and status of many of them was modified by the pressure of the monarchical or imperial system, but, as far as possible, they did not pass out of existence. As a result we do not find in India the element of intellectually idealistic political progress or revolutionary experiment which has been so marked a feature of ancient and modern Europe. A profound respect for the creations of the past as the natural expression of the Indian mind and life, the sound manifestation of its Dharma or right law of being, was the strongest element in the mental attitude and this preservative instinct was not disturbed but rather yet more firmly settled and fixed by the great millennium of high intellectual culture. A slow evolution of custom and institution conservative of the principle of settled order, of social and political precedent, of established framework and structure, was the one way of progress possible or admissible. On the other hand, Indian polity never arrived at that unwholesome substitution of the mechanical for the natural order of the life of the people which has been the disease of Europe civilization now culminating in the monstrous artificial organization of the bureaucratic and industrial State. The advantages of the idealizing intellect were absent, but so also were the disadvantages of the mechanizing rational intelligence.

The right order of human life as of the universe is preserved according to the ancient Indian idea by each individual being following faithfully his *swadharma*, the true law and form of his nature and the nature of his kind, and by the group being, the organic collective life, doing likewise. The main function of the political sovereign, the king and council and the other ruling members of the body politic, was therefore to serve and assist the maintenance of the sound law of life of the society; the sovereign was the guardian and administrator of the Dharma. The function of society itself included the right satisfaction of the vital economic and other needs of the human being and of his hedonistic claim to pleasure and enjoyment; but this was to be done according to their right law and measure of satisfaction subject and subordinated to the ethical and social and religious Dharma. All the members and groups of the socio-political body had their Dharma determined for them by their nature, their position, their relation to the whole body and must be assured and maintained in the free and right exercise of it; they must be left to their own natural and self-determined functioning within their own bounds, but at the same time restrained from any transgression, encroachment or deviation from their right working and true limits. That was the office of the supreme political authority, the sovereign in his Council aided by the public

* The Modern Review, May 1936.

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assemblies. It was not the business of the state authority to interfere with or encroach upon the free functioning of the caste, religious community, guild, village, township or the organic custom of the region or province or to abrogate their rights, for these were inherent because necessary to the sound exercise of the social Dharma. All that it was called upon to do was to co-ordinate, to exercise a general and supreme control, to defend the life of the community against external attack or internal disruption, to repress crimes and disorders, to assist, promote and regulate in its larger lines the economic and industrial welfare, to see to the provision of facilities, and to use for these purposes the powers that passed beyond the scope of the others.

Thus in effect the Indian polity was the system of a very complex communal freedom and self-determination; each group unit of the community had its own natural existence and administered its own proper life and business, set off from the rest by a natural demarcation of its field and limits, but connected with the whole by well understood relations. Each group was a co-partner with the others in the powers and duties of the communal existence; each executed its own laws and rules, administered within its own proper limits, but joined with the others in the discussion and the regulation of matters of a mutual or common interest and was represented in some way and to the degree of its importance in the general assemblies of the kingdom or empire. The State, sovereign or supreme political authority was an instrument of co-ordination and of a general control and efficiency and exercised a supreme but not an absolute authority, for in all its rights and powers it was limited by the law and by the will of the people and in all its internal functions only a co-partner with the other members of the socio-political body.

This was the theory and principle and the actual constitution of the Indian polity, a complex of communal freedom and self-determination. The supreme co-ordinating authority, a sovereign person and body was armed with efficient powers, position and prestige, but limited to its proper rights and functions, at once controlling and controlled by the rest, admitting them as its active co-partners in all branches, sharing the regulation and administration of the communal existence. The sovereign, the people and all its constituent communities were bound to the maintenance and restrained by the yoke of the Dharma. Moreover, the economic and political aspects of the Communal life were only a part of the Dharma and a part not at all separate but inextricably united with all the rest, the religious, the ethical, the higher cultural aim of the social existence. The ethical law coloured the political and economic and was imposed on every action of the king and his ministers, the councils and assemblies, the individual, the constituent groups of the society; ethical and cultural considerations counted in the use of the vote and the qualifications for minister, official and councillor. A high character and training was expected from all who held authority in the affairs of the Aryan people. The religious spirit and the reminders of religion were the head and the background of the whole life of king and people. The life of the society was regarded not so much as an aim in itself in spite of the necessary specialization of parts of its system, but in all parts and the whole as a great framework and training ground for the education of the human mind and soul and its development through the natural to the spiritual existence.

A PLEA FOR BETTER SERMONS*

JOSEPH ERNEST McAFEE.

Consistently adopted, Jesus' method would challenge, in the light of modern insights upon truth, the now ancient teachings of Jesus himself, just as he was moved to challenge the ancient scriptures of his day; his teachings are now among the sayings of those "of old." Those today who ascribe finality to his sayings, maintaining that they are the last word upon any subject which he touched upon, and that nothing can ever be taken from them or added to them, will not, of course, presume to apply his method of preaching to Jesus' own teachings. But others may see in the method's application a way of highly honoring him and his message. They may construe his use of the method as its commendation to those who carry forward the light which he transmitted.

And, as a matter of fact, a frank and open application of this method in the recent controversy between fundamentalists and modernists would have greatly clarified the situation, and have saved the listeners a deal of bewilderment. These listeners have heard ardent fundamentalists and apparently outspoken modernists preaching opposing doctrines from the same scriptures. The naive hearer knows that both cannot be correct, and he has been inclined, therefore, to discount both, if not to desert all preaching.

The forced ingenuity of modernist preachers in giving old texts a new twist, to derive a new meaning more comfortably or rationally applicable to modern situations, has not proved a source of strength. It is quite possible that the people would have heard them more gladly if they had frankly declared that scriptural teachings, including some of Jesus' own statements, are inadequate and misleading if applied to modern social and personal problems, and had dared to interpret truth for today on the authority of new and enlightened spiritual insights.

The point might be almost endlessly illustrated. It would seem to many hearers much more effective when a preacher is discoursing upon the text "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's", if he would state that on the occasion when these words were uttered Jesus was matching wits with a quibbler. He was refusing to touch an exceedingly hot potato which a heckler was trying to hand him.

For some reason Jesus made no attempt to define the obligations of a citizen; he consistently evaded political issues. When he could no longer escape the tax-collector he sent Simon Peter angling for a fish in the mouth of which reposed a coin of sufficient value to pay off both his and Peter's debt. This procedure can scarcely be commended as a universal solution of the taxpayer's problem today. Jesus left the student of his teachings in confusion even in the profoundest concerns of social organization and social obligation. While many moderns are deriving inspiration for their "social gospel" from repeated references to the kingdom of God and the kingdom of heaven on earth, yet the extreme millennialism of the closing chapters of Matthew's gospel are to be reckoned with. It is impossible rationally to reconcile these two concepts. Only scribes' jugglery can successfully resolve their incongruity, and it is no wonder that the modernist preacher is often driven into a corner by the fundamentalist when the modernist, too, protests his devotion to literalism.

However that matter may stand, it is clear that no such clean-cut demarcation between political

*Unity Chicago.



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and religious obligations in a democratic community can be drawn, as that indicated in Jesus' countering upon his heckler. Nor can the preacher in a modern free society be permitted to evade a clear issue after this fashion. What immeasurable embarrassment and confusion the American preacher of today would be saved if he would boldly adopt Jesus' own homiletical method, and assert the palpable inadequacy of Jesus' teachings in politics, in economics, in social organization, and in countless relations in which the citizen of a modern democracy finds himself! The insights required to guide through the ethical maze thus created must come from a different source, and by a method much more direct and imperious than can be the nice attempts of the scribe to formulate injunctions from ancient scriptures. Jesus did not live in our kind of society, and he could not contemplate the relationships and social obligations involved in a democratic community.

For reasons which may be accepted as sufficient, Jesus personally adopted a mode of life which one of his great admirers, Dr. Frank Crane, was accustomed to declare to be that of "a common, ordinary tramp." I shall never forget the sniff, almost the snort, which came from my much-beloved mother-in-law, when I read one morning in our family circle, the scriptural injunction to "consider the lilies of the field...take no thought for the morrow." She was an eminently devout woman, but she had given birth to ten children, and had been left a widow when half of them were still dependent. She had struggled through the ordeal of providing food and shelter and respectable clothing for her brood in a frontier community. For anybody to tell her to take no thought for the morrow was tantamount to inviting her to join the society of the slovenly tenant farmer's slattern wife who rode about from farm to farm in a ramshackle covered wagon swarming with her rag-tag progeny.

And, as the people's guides in the superlatively important matter of shaping these imperious convictions, we have scribes feebly repeating from countless pulpits the formulas of ancient scriptures! Few of them seem to understand how wearied the average layman is of being assured that our society needs to "get back to God"; of being told that in the teachings of Jesus, stereotyped in the first century, there is to be found the all-sufficient and all-comprehending guide through the mazes of twentieth century problems; of hearing that in their ancient scriptures, signed, sealed and closed to all addition and subtraction centuries ago, are bound up the moral energies designed to serve all generations for all time.

How we do need inspired preachers! Preachers who will know what they are talking about and will say what drives forthright into the living issues of human weal today. Preachers who care less what Matthew, Mark, Luke and John said or did not say in the first century, and who care more what Tom, Dick, Harry and the Hon. John Doe think and say and do in their struggle for the good society of our own time. Preachers who will not exhaust their ingenuity in extracting new and bizarre renderings from ancient scriptures, in the feeble attempt to make them mean something to their hearers in our American churches, but will reserve some of their resources for direct attack upon the social problems with which their hearers are immediately concerned. Preachers who will derive their spiritual insights from first-hand knowledge acquired in fields where technicians stand bewildered before moral problems transcending their technique, and who will help to equip the American public for confident attack upon these problems for which our whole social creation waits with groanings now so loudly uttered that even scribes ought to be able to hear.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.*

The history of Johns Hopkins is a history of great men. Its first was that God-fearing, champagne-loving money grabber, Johns Hopkins. His namesake University would give much this week to find another like him. Son of a Maryland tobacco planter whose quaker precepts made him free his slaves and put his sons to work, Johns Hopkins got no schooling after he was 12. He started his fortune by exchanging groceries and farm products for raw Maryland whiskey, selling the whiskey as "Hopkins' Best." He increased it by shrewd business ventures and hardfisted money lending. Because his only love was a first cousin he never married. He became president of a bank, a leader in insurance, shipping and warehousing, the largest individual stockholder of Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. But to the end of his life he never wore an overcoat, walked whenever he could save money by it, thought long before replacing a threadbare carpet in his home. When he died at the end of 1873, he left some \$7,000,000, nearly his whole fortune, half to found a university and half for a hospital which would be free to all of Baltimore's poor.

In the years after he took his Yale degree in 1852 Daniel Coit Gilman seemed to his friends a young man of great promise who was floundering lamentably in his choice of a lifework. He was building better than they knew. All the time he was wandering over Europe, planning Yale's Sheffield Scientific School, teaching geography there, serving on New Haven's Board of education, he was observing and thinking about education. When he was called from a brief term as president of the University of California to create Johns Hopkins, his ideas were ripe.

The U. S. then had no first-rate graduate. Would be scholars had to prepare themselves at Oxford, Heidelberg or the Sorbonne. Bent on establishing a native centre of scholarship, Daniel Gilman decided that the first essential of a university is not buildings, sites or apparatus but men. For twelve months he scoured Europe and the U. S. for the ablest available scholars, caring not whether they had yet made their reputations. The results were historic. Before he died every one of those first faculty men Remsen the chemist, Rowland the physicist, Sylvester the mathematician, Martin the biologist, Gildersleeve the classicist—had made his own name great, that of Johns Hopkins greater. They and their colleagues founded the first U. S. learned journals in mathematics, chemistry, philology. Famed for their own researches, they attracted and trained such students as Woodrow Wilson, Josiah Royce, Walter Hines Page. With President Gilman always in the van, they set the pattern for U. S. Graduate education, created a tradition of free and fruitful scholarship which remains unsurpassed. Wrote Philosopher Royce: "The beginning of the Johns Hopkins University was a dawn wherein 'twas bliss to be alive."

Hopkins' first financial setback occurred in the 1890's when the bottom dropped out of B. & O. stock. It emerged from that disaster with its original endowment cut almost in half. Never greatly interested in its undergraduate college, and sending its graduates out to seek knowledge instead of money, it failed to accumulate rich patron-alumni. In 1926 an endowment campaign raised some \$6,000,000, but most of it went by its donors' direction to the School of Medicine. When depression set in, small annual deficits in the academic division became big ones.

* The Times, March 23, 1936.



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Prospects for money-raising were still far from bright, but trustees realised that it was soon or never. First, however, with old President Joseph Sweetman Ames nearing retirement, they faced the difficult job of finding in one person an executive who could raise the money to give Hopkins' tradition life and a scholar who could maintain that tradition to give the money purpose. Once again, as Hopkins' trustees had done in its crisis of birth, they turned to a Yale-trained geographer.

The University whose headship, Geographer Bowman assumed was not the unique institution it had been when Geographer Gilman was leading it into unexplored fields of knowledge. Other universities, bigger, richer and older than Hopkins had invaded its realm of higher scholarship, edged it off its throne by sheer weight of numbers. But something more than the enormous prestige of its past still kept Hopkins in the rank of the world's topflight universities. Its graduate departments, though outweighed in numbers by those of other institutions, were topnotch functioning vigorously. And in one notable respect Hopkins could still lay reasonable claim to its once unchallenged supremacy.

In a Baltimore *Sun* article ominously titled "We Who Are About to Die," brilliant outspoken Philosophy Professor George Boas last month discussed what the disappearance of Hopkins would mean to the world. "If the whole matter were to be summed up in a word," wrote he, "it would be the word 'freedom'." The Johns Hopkins University is not a perfect university, but in it there is maximum of liberty. I have worked as student and as teacher at five important universities (Brown, Harvard, Columbia, University of California, Hopkins) and this is the only one I know where a teacher pursues his own way without snooping or criticism or a large burden of committee work, and where the students are judged not by conformity to a set of rules but by their individual attainments."

Faculty freedom at Hopkins means not only freedom of opinion (a Hopkins professor ran as Socialist candidate for Governor of Maryland in 1932) but also freedom from heavy teaching schedules and freedom to rove wherever scholarly curiosity may lead. The average Ph. D. is said to spend his time learning more and more about less and less until finally he knows everything about nothing. Hopkins professors think a scholar who stays in his own backyard a mental cripple. David Moore Robinson started out as a professor of Greek, drifted from eye-work to spadework, won lasting fame by uncovering the buried City of Olynthus. Gilbert Chinard, professor of French, has done outstanding work in U. S. history (*Honest John Adams, Jefferson, The Apostle of Americanism*). Hopkins second-in-command, blunt, bushy-browed Provost and Dean of the College Edward Wilber Berry, famed for his lack of an academic degree, began as a Hopkins professor of geology, invaded botany's province on the trail of fossil leaves, is now a foremost palaeontologist.

Thiyya Converts at Patiala.—The Thiyya converts reached Patiala on the 29th April morning and were given a rousing reception at the station by the public and officials. They were taken round the important places and His Highness though indisposed granted an interview to them and promised his full sympathy to the Sikh mission. He gave five 'Khilats' to the Thiyya converts. S. Jal Singh thanked His Highness the Maharaja for his kind hospitality and warm sympathy and also the educational facilities promised by His Highness for Thiyya youths.

THE POPULATION QUESTION IN SWEDEN*

BY DR. M. BJORKQUIST, SIGTUNA.

The population question imposes upon the whole of Christendom today an immense responsibility. Whereas in the past a series of burning questions emerged in connection with the continually rising birth rate, today we are faced with its catastrophic fall, especially in those countries where technical developments have made the greatest strides. This development is not least being felt in the regions inhabited by the Germanic peoples. Of the northern countries, Sweden and Norway show the lowest birth rates. In Sweden, the problem of the population has in fact become a vital one for the whole nation, and one which is being attacked in all parts of the country. In this conflict the Swedish Churches are to a large extent taking part and are making vigorous efforts to solve the problem.

The origins of this population crisis do not lie so much in the biological sphere as in the tendency to improve the general living conditions for the individual and for the whole community, and to make the economic future sure. From that viewpoint, the large family is regarded as a heavy burden and perhaps even as a definite obstacle. The unrest on the political and economic field, the spread of unemployment, the desire to give children the best possible education, all these are factors to be taken into account. Nor must the practical eudemonism connected with a certain rational line of thought which is extending into every sphere of life be overlooked. Technical developments have revealed new possibilities of subordinating even the procreation of children to a deliberate, rationally calculated plan. The effects of the new Malthusian propaganda, which was originally directed to quite different aspects of the population question, are also making themselves felt, especially among the working classes. It is no longer "modern" to have children, or, at any rate, to have many children.

In such circumstances it is not surprising that the Swedish nation is embarking upon energetic measures to bring about improvement wherever possible, especially as the standard of living is relatively high in Sweden and could without doubt facilitate an increase in the population. On May 17, 1935, the Government appointed a Commission to study the population problem, to examine this whole complex of questions and to submit suitable proposals. This Commission is examining the following questions: 1. Increased maternity support, increased protection of mother and child, the improvement of nursing at confinements. 2. Taxation relief for married couples and further taxation allowances on account of children. 3. Loans and extra allowances to those about to marry. 4. Maternity protection for wage-earners. At all these points special attention must be given to the population question from the view point of social ethics.

With regard to the first two questions, comprehensive proposals have already been worked out and large grants made for the construction of houses and dwellings for people with big families. The basic starting point has thus been that it is to the interest of the whole community that, with every new child, the family should not suffer an all too apparent depreciation in its standard of living, in the same way as it is vitally necessary for the whole nation that the rising generation should be given the best possible start in life. The support offered should be put into effect in a way that is best for the child.

* International Christian Press and Information Service, Geneva.



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In this whole situation, the Church and Christian ethics are faced with vast problems. And the Church must courageously think those problems out anew, discarding all prejudice, but also refusing to yield to the fashionable tendencies of the day. Christian ethics has here, among other problems, to wrestle with an "erotic individualism" which threatens to break up marriage and family life and that at a time when the social sense of responsibility and social thinking is reaching in other spheres a definite climax. The problem of the population is deeply rooted in the question of the family which, on account of industrial development (where work to a great extent takes place away from the family), has once more come very critically to a head. The women's movement, too, has helped to intensify the population crisis, through the claim of woman and, to some extent, of the married woman, to earn her own living and to occupy an independent position in the home. This whole situation urgently demands a serious re-thinking of the entire problem of marriage and the family, a re-thinking which will be free from all false individualism and liberalism, and which will lay stronger emphasis on the rights of the child. The patriarchal family must give place to a type of family in which husband and wife, with mutual respect for each other's personal ways of life, are united in honouring the estate of marriage and all that it stands for. The question of the right of the married woman to earn her own living outside the family must be answered by considering the special needs of each individual case. At the same time, the woman's work in the home must receive a higher, generally recognised value, in particular in the light of its economic effects.

The child has the right to claim the unseparated home life of his parents, and to have brothers and sisters. The whole training of children must be directed towards an inner strengthening of the sense of family fellowship. The more emphasis is laid upon the equality of status between husband and wife, the more necessary does a scrupulous fostering of the fellowship outlook become. In the training of the rising generation this task must receive consideration. Viewing the matter, therefore, as a whole, it becomes a question of a new, healthy social ethics. Since the birth rate crisis has its deepest roots in the whole spiritual crisis of our day, it is a religious renewal, working itself out in the sphere of social ethics, that must bring the help required.

INDIAN WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP OF SERVICE.

A feminine counter-part for the Servants of India Society has been started in Bombay known as "The Indian Women's Fellowship of Service (The Women's Servants of India Society)". In the preamble Miss Godavari Gokhale and Miss Shanta Bhalerao, the organizers say:—Many influences have contributed to the great awakening, which, during the last few years, has taken place amongst the women of India, stirring them to a new consciousness of their place in the nation's life and welfare. Not least of these influences has been the example and sacrifice of great national leaders, who have set forth the spirit of service and devotion, and who have inspired in women a sense of eagerness and responsibility to share in the tasks and opportunities before the Indian people to-day. Believing that the enthusiasm which has accompanied the growth of the women's movement is to find its abiding expression in trained and disciplined work, and being desirous of dedicating our own powers to a life of service, we are conscious of the need for a

fellowship where singleness of purpose, a high sense of discipline in work, and a real willingness to sacrifice would find inspiration and sustaining power.

The justification for forming a new society of women workers, lies, we believe, in the need for women to unite in creating a standard of disciplined service which shall be worthy of the high ideals and deep devotion of Indian womanhood. It is expected that women who come forward for membership will carry out their purpose in a religious spirit, and it is our hope, that we, and those who join us, may be enabled to fulfil our obligations and responsibilities thus.

Of recent years, the field of women's service has greatly widened, and to-day the service of women is called for in nearly every sphere. While the new Society will, therefore, find its richness and its usefulness in the diversity of gifts and the variety of experience of its individual members, we would stress the essential unity of our service. For this reason the cultivation of a corporate life and spirit amongst individual members, will be an important aspect of the new Society's life.

In practice, our purpose is to form a women's fellowship of service on the lines of the Servants of India Society. The constitution and organization of the Women's Society must inevitably have its own distinguishing features, though it is evident that these two bodies would have many opportunities of working together in a spirit of mutual helpfulness and co-operation. The first opportunity for such helpfulness arises while as yet few women are available for full membership under the rules and tests which we propose in the constitution of the new Society. Until women are eligible for membership, and are able to assume the responsibility of senior members the Council of the Servants of India Society is willing to give the newly growing women's Society, the necessary control, oversight and guidance. The period and extent of this control shall be determined according to the needs of the situation, by the Council of Servants of India Society in consultation with the first two members of the Women's Fellowship of Service.

In the commencement therefore, those applicants of whom the Council of the Servants of India Society approves, will enter upon a period of probationship and training for five years. During that period they may continue in some type of responsible work, which, in the opinion of the Council, constitutes a sufficiently valuable experience, and a satisfactory test of their ability, sincerity and dependableness. At the same time, the senior authority for the time being (i.e. the Council of the Servants of India Society) will supplement the probationer's and trainer's experience by directed study and other valuable guidance. This actual period of probationer-ship will last for two years. At the end of this period, those candidates who have satisfied the present senior authority as to their fitness, will become members under training, and as such will be in a position to share in the working of the constitution of the new Society, with whatever continued co-operation and control from the Servants of India Society seems feasible and desirable.

Temple for All Hindus:—Malaviyaji opened a temple at Daltonganj, last week, for the worship of all the Hindus including the Harijans, who expressed great satisfaction. The ceremony was performed in the presence of a large gathering of Hindus including orthodox Pandits. Malaviyaji returned to Benares. He proposes to pay a visit to Ajodhya shortly in connection with religious work.

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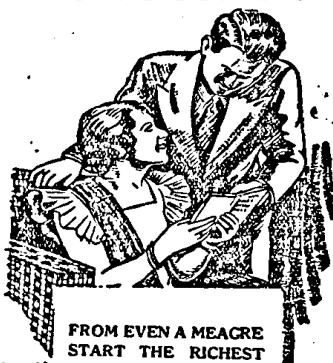
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sibility for the government good or bad, of the conquered territory instead of leaving it to a puppet nominee while the real power is reserved by the conqueror. The League of Nations has not agreed to the Italian demand to drop the Ethiopian representative on the ground that there is no Ethiopian Government and that Italy is in possession of the country. But evidently attempts are being made to come to an arrangements with Signor Mussolini to secure the safety of European countries. The Italian Dictator is said to have promised not to enlist coloured troops in his new Empire. He will keep this engagement only as long as it suits him and not a day longer; and, indeed, there is no reason why if Britain and France can raise coloured troops Italy should not do the same. The discussions throughout have disclosed the fact that the League is more concerned with keeping the European nations together than with what happens to non-European nations who, it is tacitly assumed, exist only to be exploited by the former under the guise of civilisation. Italy, great as her offence is in destroying the independence of an inoffensive people, deserves some credit for tearing the veil of hypocritical pretensions from Colonialism although she herself has not been above using them. Her action has demonstrated that western civilisation is three-fourths window-dressing and that at heart western nations can be as brutal as savage people without the excuse, in the case of the latter, that they know no better. In the proclamation announcing the assumption of the Imperial title, it was mentioned that, following the precedent of ancient Rome, modern Italy will mingle with her new citizens effacing thereby the distinction between conqueror and conquered. Contact with the White races has often spelt extermination of primitive tribes. It remains to be seen, how, it will be with the Ethiopian people who in part have inherited the toughness and vitality of the Hebrew race. By the way, Ethiopia may offer an asylum for some thousands of the Jews who are not wanted in Germany.

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given notice of a resolution to be moved at the next session, recommending the withdrawal of India from the League of Nations. The only voice raised on behalf of the League is that of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, President of the League Union in Bombay. It must be regretfully admitted, he says in a statement issued to the Press, that the League has failed in one of its most important duties in this instance. But he thinks that it is needed to express international opinion in an authoritative way. What good does an expression of opinion do, if those who express it are not prepared to do anything to give effect to their opinion? Sir Cowasji also points out that the League has other functions. It is, he says, the institutional manifestation of a world need for the co-ordination of national activities in the field of health, social amelioration, labour &c. It acts as a clearing house for information in economic matters and, generally, as a focus for internationalism. But surely it can better fulfil these purposes if it is relieved of its political functions which it has notoriously failed in, not only in the Italo-Ethiopian trouble but in all such cases. Let a new League be started after this one is abolished for purely humanitarian work. It need not be so expensive and it need not consist only of representatives selected by Governments.

The Pope's Peace:—Unholy is the voice of loud thanksgiving over slaughtered men, sang the poet. But, if the report be correct, the Pope's message of peace in opening the world exhibition of Catholic newspapers links God with Mussolini's campaign of violence and poison gas in Ethiopia. He said that God had visibly blessed the Exhibition by causing it to coincide with the triumphal joy of a great and good people at having secured peace, which, it was hoped, would be a prelude to true European and world peace of which the Exhibition aimed at being a symbol. He denounced Communism which, he said, threatened the security of civilised life and above all, religion. It is unfortunate that His Holiness did not stop to explain what he regarded as true peace or why Ethiopians should regard the attack of Fascist Catholic forces with less dismay than he himself regards Communism. We cannot help feeling that, if His Holiness could not have said something more appropriate to the occasion, he might at least have spared the world this homily which will jar on every sensible mind.

Imperial Preference:—When the Legislative Assembly rejected the Ottawa Pact and called for its withdrawal, the decision was condemned in certain quarters as likely to antagonise British opinion. The Government of India's action in accepting the verdict of the Assembly was also cited as an instance of their responsiveness to public opinion. But two articles in the current number of *The Round Table* encourage the view that, before the six months of notice of termination given by India elapse, the Ottawa Agreement might be abandoned by Great Britain herself in the interests of

peace in Europe. "If the world could be divided into watertight economic compartments, some of which are able to maintain a much higher standard of living than others, two results are inevitable," remarks one writer; "a continuing series of crises leading to the formation of a military alliance system embracing all Europe, Asia and Africa and ending in another world war, and greater interference by governments in the internal life of their countries, ending in dictatorship or revolution." Another article repeats Sir Arthur Salter's criticism of the Ottawa Pact that it sacrificed the interests of colonies to compensate for concessions to Dominions. "The attitude of mind that regards the colonies as 'our markets' is incompatible with the acceptance of trusteeship. It is equally incompatible with a sincere attempt to strike at the roots of international conflict by removing the just grievances of the discontented Powers. Imperial preference between the self-governing members of the British Commonwealth, each of whom can be relied upon to look after its own long-term interests, is an entirely different matter. As far as subject territories are concerned, there is only one policy consistent with equal access to colonial raw materials and that is the colonial Open Door." Even though both writers seem to look upon colonies as sources of raw materials alone—we see no reason why colonies should not convert their raw materials into manufactured products instead of selling their advantage to foreign exploiters—their views conflict with the ideals of British imperialism, which might consider the grant of Dominionhood preferable to the colonial Open Door. However that may be, the British Government could not very well insist on thrusting the Ottawa Pact on India at a time when its own abandonment of imperial preference is under serious consideration.

The Bolshevik Red Rag:—If Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had developed his views on the future of Indian politics without referring to the Bolshevik example, there would have been more chances of his ideas being considered on their merits by a large section of educated Indians. His reference to Soviet Russia has drawn upon him much criticism which might have been avoided. The essence of his scheme as we understand it, is, that the Indian constitution should be built up from the village community. This is a very ancient institution and there is nothing specifically Bolshevik about it. The Commonwealth of India Bill drafted by the late Mrs. Besant was based on the village community. The British Government had an excellent opportunity of giving India a stable constitution with adult suffrage and indirect election through the village community. It would have been a simple straightforward scheme easily understood by every man and woman in the country and would have obviated the complex provisions for communal electorates and weightages. It would have had in it the potentiality in full measure of natural growth. The resemblance to the



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Bolshevik system would have been superficial. In actual reality such a constitution would prove the strongest bulwark against Marxian ideas. It is not fair to take advantage of Pandit Jawaharlal's allusion to Soviet practice to discredit his ideas out of hand even before he has had the opportunity of embodying them in a coherent scheme. This, we are afraid, is what Sir Sivaswami Aiyar does in his article in the *Indian Review*. "The Pandit is an admirer of the Bolshevik regime of the U. S. S. R.," he writes, and jumps at once to the conclusion that it implies the abolition of private property and the dictatorship of the proletariat. For this and many of the other inferences of Sir Sivaswami, we have not been able to find any justification in the reports that we have read of the Presidential address at the Lucknow Congress.

Civil Liberties :—Mr. K. F. Nariman, President of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, has called an informal conference on Sunday to discuss Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's proposals to form a league for the protection of civil liberties independent of political parties. The following passage from an article in the *New Republic* last year on the subject is helpful as conveying an idea of what exactly civil liberty is : "Liberty is not an absolute, but a relative quantity. In no regime and under no circumstances, is liberty complete. Every society forbids the doing of certain things. What it forbids depends on the nature and aims of the society. Liberty to own private capital and seek profit, for instance, is incompatible with socialism, and no one who favours socialism could believe in it. Civil liberties involve chiefly the freedom of persons in relation to the government that forbids. If people can oppose the government freely, can even advocate with impunity basic changes in its character, and if they are safeguarded, when they become involved with governmental police power, by such things as the presumption of innocence until guilt is proved and all the other appurtenances of what is known as a "fair trial," then civil liberties exist as completely as is humanly possible. Now liberty of this magnitude is rare and always has been. It does not exist a free gift or as divine right, but is won and preserved, if at all, only at a great sacrifice. And it is not a condition precedent but the product of certain other conditions. It can result only from a highly stable regime that is not seriously involved with foreign enemies and in which internal opposition does not threaten the existing order. The moment a government is threatened by civil conflict or war, civil liberties are restricted. This is historically as true of the United States as of other nations."

Social Confusion :—Two recent tragic occurrences in Bombay bring out vividly the social unrest resulting from the varying impact of new ideas at the same level. A young Hindu wife shot herself with her husband's revolver when she came to know that he had married a second

time. This was about three weeks ago. This week the husband and his second wife killed themselves by the same means as they wished to meet and live in the company of the deceased first wife in the other world. The first wife felt that after her husband married a second time there was no joy left for her in this life. The husband, it is obvious, honestly thought that he was not in any way wounding the feelings of his first wife by marrying a second in her lifetime. The second wife, in a letter which she left behind her, declared that she regarded the first wife as her sister and was killing herself in order to meet her. Both of them, she added, would serve their husband with devotion in the next world. These were not illiterate peasants but educated middle class people. Noteworthy is their implicit belief that death does not end, it only interrupts, relations contracted in this life and also opens the door to their resumption in another world.

Sikhism and Untouchability :—The conversion at the Golden Temple at Amritsar of some Thiyya gentlemen from Malabar to Sikhism has been, on the whole, well received by Hindus. One of the Shankaracharyas has actually conveyed his benedictions to the converts and the leaders of the Sikh brotherhood. Conversion to Sikhism does not impinge on the doctrinal background of Hinduism. Practically, it causes very little dislocation of its socio-economic structure. Sikhism as propounded by Guru Nanak is a religion of peace and goodwill towards all. Dire necessity forced the sword into its hands in pure self-defence and the peaceful sect was transformed almost overnight into an efficient fighting force. The Puritan uprising in England and the Covenanters in Scotland are the nearest historical parallels to Sikhism. The adoption of Sikhism by Hindus has as little of the elements of proselytism in it as their conversion from Saivism to Vaishnavism. Our only doubt is—this is a point on which we should like more definite information—whether untouchability has been altogether wiped out of Sikhism as practised in the Punjab. Lingayatism in its social features was uncompromisingly hostile to caste but it has now come to be itself a caste. Even if in the past Sikhism has not been able to shake off the prejudice against sweepers and other menial castes, it may under the inspiration of the movement for the removal of untouchability do so now. If it does, it will be a result, as happy as it was unforeseen, of the awakening social consciousness among Hindus. We are glad to read that the converts to Sikhism were permitted to pass through certain streets in Malabar which were closed to them before conversion and are still closed to their kith and kin. Hinduism has become a rigid system into which direct admission is difficult. But it has always had side-doors through which from ancient times a vast process of assimilation has been successfully effected.

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BOMBAY, May 16, 1936.

A RELIGIOUS SYMPOSIUM.

It was a happy idea of the Bombay Committee of the Sri Ramakrishna Centenary celebrations to devote three days last week to a public exposition of the ideals of their respective faiths by representatives of the principal religious communities of India. The function was termed a Parliament of Religions after the great gathering at Chicago at which Swami Vivekananda, the famous disciple of Sri Ramakrishna, laid the foundation of the widespread Mission of religious teaching and social service, which has now branches in several countries. The Chicago Parliament of Religions of 1893, however, was outstripped by the Fellowship of Faiths inaugurated in the same city three years ago, in that, while in the earlier assemblage Christianity was the host and the other religions, guests, so to speak, in the Fellowship of Faiths all religions met on an equal footing. Still, in the Fellowship as in the Parliament, representatives of different religions were chiefly concerned with exhibiting their respective Faiths to the best advantage by dwelling on their ideals. There was no attempt at stating their difficulties and taking counsel from their colleagues, as to the best way of overcoming them; That is the purpose of a Parliament, whereas most of the speakers in the previous as in the Bombay Parliament seemed to be more intent on warding off criticisms, clearing misunderstandings, and demonstrating that the practice of those who professed a religion too often fell far short of and was in complete contrast to its ideals. No religion is so conspicuous for the gulf between its philosophy and social life as Hinduism. Hindu metaphysics lays the greatest stress on the immanence of God not only in human society but throughout the Universe. God is everywhere, in all things and outside all things. In fact, he is the only Reality. All else is unreal. In the words of Professor Deussen, the Vedanta is morals and metaphysics combined. In it we have the key to the solution of all the problems which oppress humanity. But the Hindus, who are very proud of the Vedanta, are in their social life the worst sinners in contravening its cardinal tenet. The many castes and sub-castes, the custom of untouchability, child marriage, enforced widowhood, animal sacrifices in some temples, dedication of women in some others, an ignorant and venal priesthood, are some of the blank negations of the Vedanta which Hindus tolerate in their midst and even resent any attempt to reform. The caste and custom-ridden system most of them cling to, is as far from the Vedanta as Heaven from Hell. Dr. Manshardt, whose excellent address we are privileged to print in this issue, and Mr. J. C. Kumarappa by their outspoken criticism did much to enhance the great reverence in which

Jesus has always been held by Indian religious reformers.

Principal M. B. Rehman's discourse on Islam was one of the best delivered at the Parliament. He showed that the Prophet of Arabia acknowledged the prophets of all religions and that his own teachings were entirely free from any trace of bigotry or intolerance. Dastur Noshervan Kaikobad's presentation of Zoroastrianism bore the strong impress of the high ecclesiastical position which he holds in that Church. The sacerdotal in every religion is apt to make light of its philosophical basis and one felt that the Dastur's exposition did not do adequate justice to the spiritual side of the ancient religion of Zoroaster. Every religious Teacher primarily addresses himself to improve the religious environment in which his lot is cast; and his warnings and precepts, therefore, should be understood as having been directed to the task immediately in front of him. Zoroaster, like Buddha who was his contemporary, found that religion in his time tended to degenerate into insuane self-torture and he like Buddha emphasised in his teaching that revolting ascetic practices were deviations from the true light of spirituality. Bahaism found an eloquent exponent in Mrs. S. Fozdar and Theosophy in Madame Sophia Wadia who is at the present time the most attractive speaker on non-political subjects in Bombay.

Sikhism could not be included in the programme owing to there being no competent representative easily available. This was regrettable as Sikhism like Islam grew into a political power starting from a religious impulse. There is a tendency nowadays to regard religion as an effete influence making for the enslavement of the spirit of man. Islam and Sikhism give a direct contradiction to this belief. Puritanism in Great Britain was just such a power. It gave not only constitutional Government to Britain but was the foundation of the United States of America. Another notable omission in the agenda of the Bombay Parliament of Religions, was that of the Brahmo Samaj which anticipated and paved the way to the Ramakrishna revival. The Founder of the Samaj, Raja Ram Mohan Roy, drew his inspiration from Hinduism as well as from Islam and Christianity. He was thus in himself the embodiment of the three main religious cultures of the world. In fact, it was in his mind that the idea first originated of Comparative Religion. The Chairman of the Centenary Committee in Bombay, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, in opening and closing the proceedings, made brief speeches much appreciated by the audience which on all three days filled the Cowasji Jehangir Hall (and the University Convocation Hall to which the Conference shifted on the last day) and overflowed into the verandahs. We have reserved to the last reference to Sir, S. Radhakrishnan, whose presiding at the Parliament, at considerable inconvenience as he was leaving for Europe immediately, was certainly the principal cause of the wonderful success which attended it.



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THE TEACHINGS OF JESUS.*

(BY DR. CLIFFORD MANSHARDT)

One of my major reasons for coming to India was the desire to study at first hand the religions of India. In America I had studied comparative religions from books, but I was anxious to check the religion of the books with religion as it is actually lived by its followers. And during my eleven years in India I have not been disappointed, for India is a veritable laboratory of religions. In my quest for religious truth I have been open-minded. I have read widely; I have conversed freely; and have attended conferences of varying religious faiths. I have appropriated much for the enrichment of my own life. But at the same time, removed from an atmosphere where the teachings of Jesus are repeated so often as to seem almost trite, I have been thrown back to a new appreciation of the depth and importance of much of Jesus' teaching.

I am not an orthodox Christian in the accepted use of the term, but I yield nothing to the orthodox Christian in my admiration for and appreciation of the humanitarian teachings of Jesus. And though I regard goods as plural, I am nevertheless glad to share with my friends who profess other religions, those principles of Jesus which seem to me to be of universal value. At the same time, I make no fetish of the teachings of Jesus, feeling as free to reject that which appears contrary to reason as to accept that which gives promise of making life richer.

It is apparent to even the most careless observer that the West has invaded the East. Eleven years ago when I went into a little Indian village for language study, that village was practically cut off from the outside world. Our mail was brought from the nearest railway centre, twenty-five miles away, by a runner. Then came the motor bus, bringing cheap and rapid communication not only to that village, but to thousands of other villages in all parts of India. Villagers, unaccustomed to travel, began to move about. They saw the glamour of the cities, the way city people dressed, and the things they had in their houses. They stood open-eyed in the city bazar and they went back to their villages changed people, with a desire for strange new things.

In a city such as Bombay, the impact of the West meets one at every turn. Speeding motors, tram cars, electric sign boards, lavish window displays, well-stocked shops, sewing machines, bicycles, radios, moving picture theatres, and so on and so on. The East is becoming interested in things—in the pursuit of material possessions.

Jesus, as an Oriental, knew that the happiness of man is not dependent upon things. When Mr. Gandhi declares that the test of civilization is not the way it increases wants, but the manner in which it encourages their voluntary reduction, he is simply emphasizing again the message of Jesus that a man's life cannot be measured by his possessions. A man may be poor in the midst of wealth, for life is more than food and the body is more than clothing. The man himself must both be fed and nourished.

Religion in India is to a considerable degree, a matter of ceremonies. In all the religions, my own included, it is the orthodox formalist who is accounted good. But Jesus had another idea of goodness. It was neither the priest nor the Levite who helped the man in distress—it was the Samaritan. In other words, it is not the meticulous ceremonialist of any

religion who is *per se* to be accounted good. Goodness is found in the most unexpected quarters. The good man is not necessarily the man who makes the loudest professions or who scrupulously conforms. The good man is the man who demonstrates his goodness by his deeds. Just as a tree is known by its fruit, so a man's life speaks louder than his words.

For Jesus, religion was not a refuge. In India today, religion is interpreted almost entirely in personal terms. A few years ago I attended another All Faiths Conference. For three days we listened to no less than twenty speakers representing all the major religions of India. In that whole conference there were but two papers which made any attempt to interpret religion in other than personal terms. Some said this, and some said that, but nothing was said concerning the relation of religion to India's economic and social problems. Jesus believed that the man who attempted to save his life would lose it. For him, religion was an adventure, a call to action, a whole-hearted giving of one's self for the furtherance of good causes.

Jesus assured his followers that they were the salt of the earth. Any one who was present in India during the stirring days of 1930, could not fail to realize the importance of salt. Salt had become a national political issue. There were salt marches, salt meetings, salt raids and salt arrests—until the people from one end of the country to the other became salt conscious. In a tropical country like India, everyone understands the use of salt. It is not only that which gives taste to food, but it is also an important preservative. The religious man, therefore, to be the salt of the earth must not only give an essential flavour to society, he must also be a preservative against social decay.

The humanitarian religionist has a real crusade on his hands as he endeavours to establish a connection between religion and social change. The orthodox of all religions stand ready to invoke religion as the preserver of the *status quo*. But I do not believe that it is this kind of preservation that Jesus was talking about. I believe he had a keener insight. Jesus knew that a society left to itself tends to become corrupt. Its morality might have been adequate for another generation, but a new generation calls for new morality. "You have heard that it was said to them of old time," said Jesus, "but I say unto you." And this, "I say unto you," must be repeated by each succeeding generation. Unless religion is to exist simply as an outworn curiosity it must hold up a higher standard, give a peculiar flavour to society, and protect society from inner decay.

Just as the morality of religion must be a higher morality, so the life of the religious man must be a richer life. Jesus was not interested in the religious man who could not be distinguished from the rest of the crowd. He was not interested in a religion that was simply an average religion. "You claim to be religious," he said, "What are you doing? What do ye more than other people?" It is but natural that religions which place the supreme emphasis upon rites and ceremonies should produce a considerable number of average people. For unless there is ethical challenge in religion, there is little stimulus for a man to rise above the common level. "What am I doing?" "I go to the temple, mosque, or church. I say my prayers; I am ceremonially clean, or a communicant in good standing. What more do you desire?" Jesus' reply would be, "What about your ethical insight? Do you see evils where other men do not see them? Have you a conscience that is attuned to social wrong? Are you content to be simply an average man? There are plenty of good men in the world, but the religious man should

* Paper on "Some Universal Elements in the Teachings of Jesus" read by Dr. Manshardt at the Parliament of Religions, Bombay, May 1.



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be better. What worthwhile things are you doing that other men are not doing? What do ye more than others?"

To hold up high ideals is often costly, but Jesus believed that the process is worth everything that it costs. The man who sold his lesser pearls in order to buy the pearl of great price was entirely satisfied. The religious reformer has a difficult task before him. He not only has to overcome the inertia of the illiterate but also the active opposition of the orthodox. He needs this word of encouragement: "Persist, faint not; the pearl is worth all that it costs."

Some time ago I paid a visit to a famous Hindu pilgrimage centre. Pilgrims were present from all parts of India, bathing in the sacred pools and worshipping in the temples of their favourite deities. A considerable number of those who came to this centre might be classed as sight-seers, but the majority of the pilgrims were seeking after righteousness. "Happy are those people who hunger and thirst after righteousness," said Jesus, "for they shall be satisfied."

It is my conviction that many religious seekers in India have become satisfied. They have attained an inner personal harmony and face the world with a supreme calm. But I cannot help wondering whether the majority of these people really knows what it means to face intense hunger and thirst. I cannot help contrasting those who claim to have found personal peace with Mr. Gandhi, fasting for 21 long days, not for himself, but for the sake of others. Here was a man who underwent a severe ordeal of inner purification, in order to make himself worthy to lead a great movement of social uplift. That is the kind of thing that I think Jesus was talking about. "Happy are they who hunger and thirst after a purified society, a just social order; for if their hunger and thirst become intense enough, they will be compelled to do something about it."

The beauty of this message of Jesus is that it is a message of growth and progress. Through partaking of food, hunger is temporarily appeased. It is satisfied for the present, but it is only a short time until the body hungers again. And so it is with the quest for a purified society. Each achievement may give temporary satisfaction, but it has within it a leading on quality which compels one to undertake new ventures. As long as we continue to live in an unrighteous world the hunger and thirst will be upon us, and happy are they who seek to satisfy it.

The whole world is now acquainted with the principle of passive resistance as it was applied by the Indian Nationalists. "It was the New Testament," said Mr. Gandhi, "which really awakened me to the rightness and value of passive resistance. When I read in the Sermon on the Mount such passages as 'resist not him that is evil; but whosoever smiteth thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also,' and 'Love your enemies; pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the sons of your Father which is in heaven' I was simply overjoyed... The *Bhagavadgita* deepened the impression, and Tolstoy's *The Kingdom of God is Within You* gave it a permanent form."

The "Love your enemies" which Mr. Gandhi felt was speaking to his own soul, is speaking to others. Though few in India as in the West have heard the voice, the message remains. Here is a way out of both internal and international difficulties. "Let your love be so inclusive that it knows no barriers of caste, creed, or nation. Expand your capacity for friendship until it includes all men, even those who are working against you. Love overcomes all divisions.

Put your trust in love." More and more thinking men the world over are coming to accept this position. Their courage will inspire others. Confidence will breed confidence. The way of love will triumph.

Jesus had a passion that every man should be living up to his possibilities. The lost coin should be put back into circulation. The lost boy should be restored to his father. The man who is living at a lower level than his best is not performing his proper function in life. This statement of Jesus is in direct contrast to the widespread fatalism of much of India. Fatalism says, "This is my lot. It is ordained of God, I can do nothing about it." One of the major hindrances to our national progress is just here. Too many of our fellow citizens are content to remain on a level lower than their capabilities might entitle them to attain. The malignant spirit of fatalism cannot be exorcised by a word or by a sentence, but when religion consistently entreats men to come up higher, to live out the fullness of their being, it is certain to have a wholesome influence upon those who hear. The lost coin may still be placed in circulation.

Jesus thought that every man should make the full use of his talents, but the corollary to this teaching is that society should at least provide men with a reasonable opportunity for the exercise of their abilities—and that, as we all know, is a pretty difficult proposition. But religion dare not shy from this task. It must talk social justice in season and out of season, until men actually begin to apply intelligence to the solution of economic problems. This is not a message for India alone. It is a universal message, and India will do well to heed it.

Finally, Jesus recognized his mission as a constructive one. He did not come to destroy Judaism, but to fulfil it. And that same spirit must be the keynote of modern religion. If we see defects in other religions, others see equally glaring faults in our own. He who criticises, should criticise to strengthen. He who observes weaknesses in the religions of others, should also stand ready to correct the shortcomings of his own religion. It is futile to close one's eyes and to say, "Here is all truth." It is futile to engage in sterile conflict with other religions. Faced by the tremendous forces of irreligion in modern life, there is but one reasonable course for men of idealism to pursue. Let each religion strengthen the other. Let each religion purify the other. And let all religions in whole-hearted co-operation, face the world, meet the world, and change the world.

THE WAHABEE MOVEMENT*

(BY ABDUL QAYUM MALIK, B. A., BAR-AT-LAW)

The decadence of Islam as a world system, not only in the realm of politics, but in that of economics, intellect and in all those pursuits which only can render national existence honourable, had become more than apparent in the beginning of the Eighteenth Century. The continuance of Muslim rule in India, in Turkey, and in the vast domain of African continent was not the result of the ability and competence of the Muslims themselves to hold their own against the newborn forces of European advancement, but to the mutual rivalries of the latter and want of co-ordinated plans among them to bring about a fair and mutually satisfactory division of their Oriental spoils. Careful observers of the situation in the East, as well as in the West, had become convinced that the complete disruption of Al-Islam as a world system was merely a matter of days. Whatever the causes

* In the *Islam*, Lahore.

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of this unfortunate state of affairs, it is safe to contend that there was nothing in the teaching of Islam itself that might have helped to produce these results. It was therefore, wrong to assert, as some European critics of Islam are wont to do, that the gradual weakening of the foundations of Islamic polity was the result of defects inherent in Muslim's Faith. Those who gave expression to such views either forgot or refused to believe that it was due to the inspiration of Islam, and to that alone, that the Arabs of Arabia and other communities of the Muslim East who had embraced the most democratic, the most natural and simplest of creeds, were rid of the superstitions under which they had laboured for the past centuries and were started on the highway of their political intellectual and moral regeneration.

The causes of the failure of Mussalmans to continue to achieve results, which adorn the pages of Muslim history were not religious but those which were the most direct anti-thesis of religion. It is undoubted that the entire host of Muslim reformers, to whose passionate evangel much of the Mussalman's present situation is due, were men, who found it extremely difficult to reconcile the pure and simple tenets of their faith with the serious departure from old principles and practices indulged in by ignorant masses and by apathetic rulers, selfish statesmen, and insubordinate generals who dominated Islam's political destiny in later days. As with the motive of the inception and growth of Sufi orders of Islam, which were intended to furnish a sobering influence on Muslim attitude of mind and ambitions in their halcyon days, so with the revivalist movements, which were prompted to awaken them from the lethargy of their latter days' decay.

Consequently, the first man who denounced unsparingly political opportunism and intolerance of progress by religious classes was Shaikh Mohammad Ibn Abdul Wahab, the founder of the body called Wahabees, after his name. Born in 1700, in Arabia, Shaikh Mohammad Ibn Abdul Wahab made many pilgrimages to Mecca, and came away disgusted at the unrighteous practices prevalent under the shadow of the walls of the Sanctum Sanctorum of Muslim Faith. Being of a vigorous and restless bent of mind, the Shaikh could hardly rest at ease in the face of these grave abuses and started an active crusade against the authors of innovations which bore no relation to the original Islam. He travelled extensively in Nejd, his native province, and so effective was his fiery eloquence and the truth and simplicity of his arguments, that within the course of the first ten years of his mission, the whole of Central Arabia, became a throbbing centre of an active reformist movement. Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab achieved his greatest triumph by winning the adherence of Muhammad Ibn-i-Saud to his principles. The missionaries of Wahabee movement penetrated remote corners of the Muslim world and infused new hopes, new aspirations and new ambitions into a numerous body of those whose own misgivings of the misguided and misdirected tendencies of the degenerate Muslims had made them, warm partisans of the new movement. Scores of thousands of men now flocked to the banner of Shaikh Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab, and when he died in 1787, he left behind a huge following, whose representatives in Northern and Eastern India and those in Egypt and Algeria became ardent exponents of the revival of Islam as a symbol of absolute equality and austere simplicity, which had been such distinguished features of Islam's earlier days.

It is a well known fact that the birth of every new movement is always accompanied by a violent

enthusiasm which, while making it an agency of potential good, renders some of its characteristics a source of mixed blessing. While the Wahabee movement led to abiding results in the domain of religious reform, its political tendencies showed it most clearly to be the means of disruption in the field of politics. That the restless Wahabee representatives should be dissatisfied with the want of cohesion, of solidarity and with the lack of sentiments of brotherhood of all Mussalmans irrespective of the privileges of rank and birth, one can easily understand. But what is absolutely incomprehensible was the Wahabee enthusiasm to right all political abuses in one movement. It was good both for the Muslim world and the Wahabee themselves that their Arabian campaigns against the Egyptian forces of Ibrahim Pasha, son of Muhammed Ali, the first Khedive of Egypt, proved abortive and thenceforth rulers of Nejd, which had now become a Theocracy, devoted themselves entirely to the betterment of their spiritual condition.

If unsuccessful in Arabia, Wahabee ambitions to have a say in the amelioration of the political lot of the Mussalmans in other parts, however, did not die a natural death. The expedition led by Maulvi Ismail Shahid of Delhi against the Sikh rulers of the Peshawar province in aid of the Pathans in the beginning of the last century was the last bid of the Reformers to give a practical expression to their political profession. Ever since the Wahabee movement has tended more and more to become purely a religious movement, giving rise to two important schools of religious reform. The Deoband School, which embodies a considerable effort in the conservation of Islamic spiritual learning and research, is the most brilliant example of what religious reform, directed on right lines, can achieve, and no movement could justly be characterised poor, which has produced such men as Maulvi Nazir Hussain, the celebrated Delhi jurist, Maulvi Rashid Ahmad of Gangoh, Maulana Muhammad Quasim, Maulana Anwar Shah, and the eminent divine the late Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan of Deoband. The works of Maulana Kifayatullah, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Mufti Zia-ud-Din of Russia, an alumnus of the Deoband Dar-ul-Uloom, bear the stamp of the Nejd revival. Those who have studied the writings of the late Sir Sayed Ahmad and those of the Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian will discover in them a marked affinity with the principles of the Wahabee revival. Wahabeeism, as such, has ceased to be—but who can dispute the fact that much of the reformed and intelligent interpretation of Islam as an ideal spiritual and social morality, that is now apparent throughout Al-Islam, is for the most part due to the so-called Wahabeeism? By far the largest contribution that the Nejd moment has made to the purification of religious thought in our times and to popular awakening to the need for spiritual and social well-being, is its inspiration for half a dozen other movements in different parts of the Muslim world.

All Burma Industrial Exhibition:—An All Burma Industrial Exhibition will be held at Bassein during the last week of November 1936 under the auspices of Industry & Commerce Society of Burma. The Exhibitions which were held under the above Society in Rangoon, Yenengyaung and Moulmein were very successful. Special facilities will be given to the Indian and Foreign exhibitors from overseas. Usual concessions of passage and freight from transport companies will be obtained. Interested exhibitors are requested to inquire particulars from the Exhibition Secretary, All Burma Industrial Exhibition, No. 282-284 Barr Street, Rangoon.



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LIFE IN NAZI GERMANY.

"Foreign Affairs", New York, publishes three articles on various aspects of life in Nazi Germany from which we take the three extracts published below. The first is on Culture by Dorothy Thompson (Mrs. Sinclair Lewis); the second on Labour by Norman Thomas, Socialist Leader in the U. S. A.; the last on Education by Charles A. Beard. The three articles are valuable estimates of present day tendencies in Germany:—

CULTURE.

The control of every conceivable branch of German culture is complete. It begins, not by censoring what actually appears, but by determining who shall be the creators and transmitters of culture. No publication, no concert platform, no publishing house, no theatre, no gallery, is open to any writer, artist, or musician, who has not first of all run the gauntlet of the Propaganda Ministry.

Now the first result of this, of course, is that a man's degree of mendacity decides whether he lives or dies, produces or starves. In the main, the newspapers and periodicals today are still written by the same men who wrote them prior to March 1933. A vast insincerity, then, lies over the whole of German culture. A shamefaced compromise, an agonized inner cleavage rends the German artist. Day by day he is forced to ask himself; "Shall I compromise or shall I perish?" This, rather than the enforced emigration of those artists who either could not or would not compromise, is the greatest tragedy of German culture. The "alien and disruptive" spirits have departed. The artists are assembled, each in his proper compartment, each properly certified as to ancestry and breeding, competency and ideology, each holding from the proper authority his license to create. No Jewish taint corrupts them; no breath of non-Germanic internationalism, of bourgeois peculiarity, of Catholic obscurantism perverts them.

It appears that the creative process is something quite different. The Spirit of the Times is elusive. Yesterday, in the midst of chaos, one caught a glimpse of her garment. But today she is ordered to appear; her devotees are assembled; and she doesn't show up. In her place comes a marionette. It is properly labelled "Spirit of the Times" or "Life Feeling." The face is her face, but the voice is the voice of Dr. Goebbels. This is not to say that words, plays, pictures, and sculptures are not being produced in Germany today. They are. But they neither speak a language intelligible to the rest of the western world, nor do they passionately incarnate a new German spirit. For the most part they are hack stuff.

It would, however, be presenting a false picture to give the impression that no criticism at all breaks through the crust of licensing and censorship. In the intellectual periodicals, in some German books and verses brave voices speak. They frame their words carefully, they use, where they can, the prevailing idiom, but through them breathes a whisper of an old wind, the wind of Freedom.

Many forces propelled National Socialism into power. But what was that spirit, the spirit which revolted both against communism and against the stuffiness of bourgeois conceptions, which groped for a happier social order, modern, yet rooted in the whole German past? The rebellion against sterile intellectualism, against the mechanistic conception of man a Nietzschean avowal of the heroic as opposed to the secure and rational existence; the desire for the self-disciplined community of free men, rather than the congeries of anarchic atoms of the capitalist-bourgeois state, or the society of regimented masses of the Marxian order; the longing for a

re-established contact with nature and with wonder—all these things are in the German soul, and have found expression in German literature and German art, and in some vague and formless way dominated the Youth Movement both before and after the War. The conception of society not as a machine but as an orchestra, communal yet individual, co-operative yet voluntary, united but not uniform, was breathing through German society years before the Nazis came to power, hindered by organized forms, parties, and system of thought. It was the longing expressed by Thomas Mann in the phrase "the truth for us lies somewhere between Athens and Moscow." And this spirit attracted to National Socialism—and also to the ranks of those who lined up against it—some of the most idealistic youth of Germany. But the National Socialist machine is no less sterile a mechanism because it regiments men under the banners of the will to Bread and Freedom, and the liberation of the Folk-Soul. Allegedly fighting the spirit of Bolshevism, National Socialism has adopted its entire technique. A people which wished to be free has forged its own chains.

LABOUR.

Why did German labour accept, why does it still endure, the Nazi rule? For no reason primarily inherent in German character. And given certain conditions, unless we learn from European experience, the same sort of thing might easily befall Labour in the United States. The German labour movement under the Weimar Republic, though far stronger than the American now is, was not as strong as might appear from the figures. It was beset by many difficulties, among them these:—

1. It was divided, and for the bitterness of that division the Russian controlled policy of the communists was largely though not wholly responsible.

2. It had failed to win the "little men," especially the farmers and agricultural workers. Nothing is clearer today than that an urban proletariat, no matter how well organized, cannot of itself win a revolution so long as the owning class can make an alliance with the middle class followers of a Fascist demagogue or recruit loyal armies from the peasantry.

3. Extensive unemployment, which grew as the world depression deepened, made it hard for the German unions to contemplate a general strike such as they once had made effective against the Kapp Putsch. They were unable to find a way to do anything for the young unemployed; and these Hitler won.

4. But the outstanding lesson of the collapse of the German labour movement was that labour cannot rest on its oars; it must push forward to retain the social reforms already won. Labour can not declare a moratorium, as did the German Social Democrats and trade unionists, on the old socialist idealism and programme without losing the militant loyalty of the masses in the face of Fascism's false but vigorous idealism and its appeal to outraged nationalism. Neither can a communist philosophy be successful if its application, as in the case of Germany, be subordinated to Russian ideals and to Russian national needs rather than to the demands of the local situation.

The mass of workers, in certain circumstances and under intelligent and courageous leadership, can carry on a war or a strike with desperate heroism. But masses as masses will never on their own initiative carry through a revolution under such circumstances as those now existing in Germany. Not while Hitler holds the loyalty of the army, and is able to supply more jobs than could his immediate predecessors.

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Fascism is not, as some writers and speakers have maintained, a conspiracy of capitalists. It is a phase of capitalism, accepted by big industrialists and Junkers as preferable to communism or socialism. It upholds the rights of private property, the class division of income and the institution of profit. But individual capitalists are not the real power behind the dictator. Herr Thyssen aided Hitler; but he does not run Hitler; indeed he travels much "for his health." The employer ("the leader") has his own troubles in a totalitarian state which compels banks and insurance companies to take government paper, imposes "voluntary" special taxes upon business, reserves the right to remove "the leader" of an enterprise, and compels all employers under certain conditions to keep their workers and to contribute to social services for them.

EDUCATION.

"The object of our education," declared Hitler, is to produce "the political soldier." The system of education directed to creating the political soldier "should include all Germans, whoever they are and whatever may be their functions.....Whoever has passed through this system of education is a political soldier. The military man in a strict sense is only distinguished from this soldier by the special instruction which he has received." Any other values that may be cherished are subordinate to this superlative value, and must not weaken or conflict with it. Intellectualism, urbanity aesthetics, femininity, are decadent, says Baumbler; the new Germany represents the virile and dominating principle of life. The Army is the perfect embodiment of this principle. As an inescapable corollary to the exaltation of force and the Army, is the condemnation of everything associated with the advancement of women in civilization and the advancement of civilization through feminine interests and activities.

Women are the servants of men; men are the soldiers of the State; and Adolf Hitler is the State. This doctrine controls the formulation of curricula for the schools. Coupled with the exaltation of force and the Army and the restriction of women to biological functions, is the doctrine of "race." According to this doctrine there is such a thing as a pure German or Aryan race. To this element of race Germany owes her greatness and will owe still greater achievements to come.

Perfect regimentation characterizes all student life. The way to the university and careers is not open to talents on the basis of intellectual powers and attainments. No student can advance in learning without receiving the approval of Youth Leaders and Nazi party officials.

What will come out of education in the Third Reich? The answer to that question is bound up, of course, in the fate of all German economy and foreign policy, and few will be bold enough to declare that fate now. Yet there is no doubt about the tendencies of education in Hitler's State. For faith in independent research, frank consideration of conflicting views, open discussion, judicial temper, the things which mark liberal education, the Nazi system substitutes contempt for all these values. It scorns independent research, save in some branches of natural science. It suppresses conflicting views. It despises open discussion as effete, the judicial temper as a sign of weakness. Its purpose is to turn out a generation of youth drilled in party doctrines and objectives, ignorant of all other considerations, contemptuous of other races and peoples, equipped with powerful bodies and narrow minds for the work of the State—especially its supreme work, war.

As the years pass this iron discipline gains in effect. There has been some resistance from children and parents belonging to certain political and religious groups to the system of regimentation. But as this generation passes resistance may be expected to diminish. If the Hitler regime continues for several years, the German people will be a people almost totally ignorant of the outside world and indifferent to all ideas and interests not contained in the Nazi creed. It is difficult to see how opposing ideas can make any headway in Germany against this system, unless there is an economic crash or a disrupting war. In fact the scheme of education, coupled with other propaganda, is designed to prepare the German people for hunger and misery and to glorify privation in the interest of Hitler's State. The whole case is summed up in the formula: "We can do without butter, but we cannot do without cannon."

Besides bringing up a generation predisposed to war and prepared to serve the military State when it is ready to strike, Nazi education shuts Germany off from intellectual intercourse with other nations. With independence of research and thought destroyed in German universities, students who once flocked there by the hundreds turn elsewhere. Except for branches specifically physical and mathematical, German science sinks toward the level of partisan charlatany. German learned publications which once circulated throughout the world have dropped in quality and lost respect that they formerly commanded. Nor do German students, apart from the exiles, expect to find a friendly reception in other countries or to derive advantages from study abroad. Turned upon themselves, nourishing deep resentments, and lashed to fury by a militant system of education, the German people are conditioned for that day when Hitler, his technicians, and the army, are ready and are reasonably sure of the prospects of success in a sudden and devastating attack, East or West. To cherish any other conception of Hitler's State or of the aims of German education is to cherish a delusion.

THE LATE DR. ANSARI.*

Doctor Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, B.A., M.D., M.S., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., was born at Yousufpur, district Ghazipur, U.P., on December 25, 1880, in an ancient family of divines, qazis, warriors and administrators, famous throughout Northern India. Their skill in medicine begins with Dr. Ansari's brothers. As a child, he was educated in the local Muktab and then in 1887 he joined the Queen's Collegiate School at Benares and passed his middle school examination there in 1893. In the same year he went over to Allahabad and passed in 1895 his matriculation from the Government High School. Thereafter he entered the Muir Central College for Intermediate Science which he passed in 1897. The following year he went to Hyderabad (Deccan) and joined the Nizam's College affiliated to the University of Madras. He took his degree in 1900 with the sciences for his subjects. While in Hyderabad he was a member of the Y. M. C. A. and was always popular with his fellow collegians and hostel mates.

His keen intellect and bright career at the College won for him the Nizam's scholarship for post-graduate studies abroad. He proceeded to England and joined the University of Edinburgh as a medical student. In 1905 he obtained the degree of M. B., Ch. B., came to London and joined the Charing Cross Hospital as a post-graduate student, being demonstrator in the same hospital. He passed the primary F. R. C. S. also. He did not appear for the

* The Hindustan Times, Delhi.



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final. He passed his M. R. C. S. (Eng.) and L. R. C. P., (Edin.) examinations in 1906 as also the examination for the degree of M. D., of the Edinburgh University.

His merits achieved recognition in the distinction, then unique for any non-Englishman, of being House Surgeon of the Charing Cross Hospital in 1907.

In 1908 he was made Resident Medical Officer of the London Lock Hospital and in the same year he obtained the degree of Master of Surgery, of the University of Edinburgh. In 1909 he was appointed House Surgeon of the Lock Hospital for Women and Children, Harrow Road, London.

About the end of 1909 he returned to India and began consulting practice in Delhi from January 1910. But hardly had he settled down when, during the Turko-Balkan War of 1911-12 he organized and led to Turkey as Director the famous All-India Medical Mission. The Mission's splendid work in the service of the sick and wounded and Dr. Ansari's name are still gratefully remembered in Turkey. The Sultan of Turkey in recognition of his services to the sick and wounded decorated him with the highest order given in Turkey to any foreigner, the First Class Order of Medjidia.

In 1916-17 he plunged into active Indian politics and joined Tilak's Home Rule League. He took a prominent part in the Delhi Congress of 1918 and was appointed one of the Joint Secretaries of the All-India Congress Committee, which post he held almost continuously till 1927. He was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Muslim League which also held its annual session at Delhi in 1918. His address delivered in that capacity and subsequently confiscated by the Government, marks the beginning of the Khilafat movement which was to exercise later a deep influence not only on the fortunes of Turks but also on Indian politics in so far as it brought Muslims as a body into the Congress fold. He joined the Satyagraha movement started by the Mahatma Gandhi and, needless to say, was one of the first who responded to Gandhiji's call for non-co-operation. In December 1920 he presided over the annual session of the All-India Muslim League which was held at Nagpur along with the Indian National Congress.

He was Congress Secretary in charge of and a member of the Civil Disobedience Enquiry Committee which toured India in 1922 and issued a divided report, Dr. Ansari advocating the no-change policy. The same year he presided at the All-India Khilafat Conference at Gaya.

He was Chairman of the Special Session of the Indian National Congress which was called at Delhi in September 1923 and helped substantially in bringing about a compromise between the no-change and pro change parties of the Congress.

December 1927 brought him the crowning achievement of his career. The nation signaled its appreciation of his services by bestowing upon him the greatest honour in its gift. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress, Madras, and presided over a session that was remarkable in many respects. He presided over the All-Parties Conference held at Delhi in 1928 whose work was later taken up by a smaller committee that produced the famous document called after the late Pandit Motilal Nehru. He was also president of the two national conventions of Lucknow and Calcutta in 1929.

His passion for Nationalism and inter-communal unity led him to found the Nationalist Muslim Party which, under his leadership, has tendered invaluable service to the cause of Nationalism. His unflinching efforts to achieve inter-communal unity as also

among the various sections of the Muslim community are too well known to require re-iteration here.

In August 1930 he, as Acting President of the Congress and his famous working Committee were arrested at his house at Daryaganj, Delhi, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment. During the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations he played an important part in the achievement of an honourable settlement between the Congress and the Government. He would have been a prominent member of the Second Round Table Conference. But it is a tribute to his patriotism and determined hostility to communalism that the Government were unwilling to invite him and the Muslim delegation of communalists was implacably opposed to his inclusion as a member of the conference.

On Gandhiji's return from London, developments took place with astounding rapidity. What happened is recent history. Dr. Ansari, succeeded Babu Rajendra Prasad as Acting President of the Congress and was arrested and imprisoned for six months. His health had become very poor during the six months in jail necessitating a visit to Europe immediately after release. On the urgent and peremptory advice of a famous heart specialist in Germany and Austria Dr. Ansari had to retire from active politics in 1933, until his heart became fit to bear the strain and excitement of public life.

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION.

Ever since he entered public life Dr. Ansari has been deeply interested in the education of Mussalmans. From 1913 to 1920 he was a prominent and progressive trustee of the M. A. O. College of Aligarh in which capacity he rendered valuable service to the institution. In 1920 the non-co-operating Muslim leaders among whom Dr. Ansari was foremost founded the Jamia Millia, the National Muslim University, an institution run on strictly National lines and independent of Government aid and Government control.

The Jamia originally founded at Aligarh was in 1925 brought to Delhi by the efforts of Dr. Ansari and Hakim Ajmal Khan who was its Chancellor. On the death of Hakim Ajmal Khan in December 1927, Dr. Ansari succeeded to the Chancellorship of the University which post he occupied ever since.

PARLIAMENTARY BOARD PRESIDENT.

In May, 1934, Doctor Ansari was elected President of the Congress Parliamentary Board, and under his able leadership the Congress won the Assembly election throughout the country.

In 1935 Doctor Ansari resigned, because of ill-health, but he continued taking keen interest in the Congress. After a period of rest, he attended the Lucknow Congress, where his advice was sought on every important question.

He was expected to prove a great pillar of strength during the next elections, but his sad death came at a juncture, when he was most needed.

Dr. Ansari leaves behind him his widow Begum Ansari, his only son Harold Ansari, (who is now in England,) and his adopted daughter Zohra aged 18.

WOMEN'S FELLOWSHIP OF SERVICE.

We give below the constitution of the Indian Women's Fellowship of Service:

(1) The Society shall be called "The Indian Women's Fellowship of Service." (The Women's Servants of India Society).

(2) The object of the Society is to form a fellowship of women workers which shall guide and train women as national missionaries for the service of India; and which shall seek to promote by all constitutional means, the interests of the Indian people.

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(3) The Society will consist of a President, Vice-President, members and members under training. The President and Vice-President shall be elected by the members of the Society. They shall hold office for three years and shall be eligible for re-election.

(4) The affairs of the Society will be managed by a Council consisting of the President, Vice-President, and three members elected annually by members and members under training. The retiring members shall be eligible for re-election.

(5) Every applicant on admission shall undergo a period of probationership for two years. At the end of this period, she shall become a member under training, and continue so for a further period of three years. Every probationer, or member under training shall place herself under the guidance and control of the President or senior member as appointed and shall do such work and devote herself to such studies as the President or senior member as appointed may direct. No probationer shall be admitted to be a member under training unless she is recommended by three fourths of the existing members. The name of any probationer or member under training may be removed from the roll, on a recommendation to that effect being made by the President with the concurrence of not less than three-fourths of the members of the Council. The Council will not be bound to disclose the reasons for such removal.

(6) Marriage on the part of a probationer, member-under-training, or member, shall involve resignation. If marriage takes place before full membership has been entered upon, refund must be made to the Society of such proportion of the sum expended upon the person, in fees, allowances, etc., as shall be determined by the Council of the Society.

(7) Every member shall, at the time of admission undertake the following vows :—

(i) My life shall be a life of service and sacrifice dedicated to the common good of mankind and quickened by the faith that love shall permeate the Universe.

(ii) The highest good of my countrymen shall always be first in my thoughts, and I will give them the best that is in me, seeking no personal advantage for myself.

(iii) I would regard all Indians as my brothers, and work for the advancement of all without distinction of caste and creed.

(iv) I will be content with such provision for myself as the Society will be able to make. I will devote no part of my energies to earning money for myself.

(v) I will lead a pure, personal life.

(vi) I will engage in no personal quarrel with any one, and shall seek in all ways to promote the sense of fellowship amongst my fellow-members.

(vii) I will always keep in view the aims of the Society, and watch over its interests with the utmost zeal, doing all I can to advance its work and ideas. I will never do anything which is inconsistent with the objects of the Society.

BYE-LAWS.

(1) During the period of trial, a probationer shall receive an allowance of Rs. 40 with free quarters. During each of the three years following, she shall receive an allowance of Rs. 60 per month with free quarters. On admission to full membership, she shall be entitled to Rs. 80 per month with free quarters.

(2) Travelling allowances, secretarial and office expenses, also grants for special purposes where sanctioned by the Council, are to be made from the funds of the Society.

(3) Leave may be arranged for and granted by the Council. In the case of those probationers or members, employed under outside agencies, the leave arranged for by these agencies must be reported to the Council when sanctioned.

(4) Where free quarters are not available for probationers or members, rent allowance not exceeding Rs. 15 per month in Bombay or Rs. 10 elsewhere will be granted.

(5) The President and Council may grant in special circumstances special allowances to a member or probationer suitable to the requirements of her case.

(6) Provident Fund scheme to be arranged by the Council of the Servants of India Society.

ETHIOPIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Hindu, May 6, 1936.

Simultaneously with the ceremonial entry of the Italian troops into the Ethiopian Capital, the Italian dictator was, as was to be expected, staging a Roman triumph in the Italian Capital. Barring a procession of the vanquished Emperor in chains, the celebrations can be said to have been in the grand old style. The Powers who had prided themselves on their championship of Liberty and suppression of aggression would fain forget the whole thing as a bad dream; but it is obvious that Sgr. Mussolini is determined to force it down their throats and make them swallow his *fait accompli*. Lest they should forget it, he declared that Ethiopia was Italian by right of conquest and "we are ready to defend our victory with the same determination with which we have won it." In these unequivocal terms the Duce has preached to the Powers the law of the jungle—the triumph of might over right.

The Leader, May 6, 1936.

Will Italy flourish after thus outraging the laws of God and humanity? Will the conquest of Abyssinia bring it peace and plenty? From all accounts its internal economic position is desperate. Where will it find the enormous sum of money needed to develop the country which is expected to become a part of the Roman Empire? Will Signor Mussolini, intoxicated by his success, embark, upon fresh adventures of conquest? Abyssinia's natural resources are reported to be poor and are not likely to satisfy the Duce. There is gold in Kenya and South Africa. The latter, as a result of Italian victories, has suddenly awakened to the necessity of strengthening its defences. There are the Sudan and Egypt, which may tempt Signor Mussolini's cupidity. He has been dreaming of a big empire in Africa.

Abyssinia occupies an important strategic position and it can be used by Italy as a base for further military exploits. Far-reaching issues are raised by the Italian victory, and Europe's peace has become still more precarious. This, however, is not so much our look-out. The feeling uppermost in our mind is one of unutterable disgust and of contempt for Europe's pretensions, combined with sympathy for fallen Abyssinia. Of all the nations of Europe, France most provokes our contempt after Italy itself. Europe, and through Europe the whole world, are in for a very bad time.

The Tribune, May 6, 1936.

And now the Kingdom of Ethiopia lies at the feet of Signor Mussolini. The Negus has lost his crown and sceptre. But what matters more is that his country has lost its freedom. The Reuter message which says that the Negus has left Djibouti on board a British warship for an unknown place, adds that "he will continue the fight for the independence of



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his country through diplomatic channels." For decades the world has not been regaled with a more amusing piece of news. But it cannot tarry to enjoy it. For the situation created by the success of Italian aggression in Ethiopia is frightful. The League is dead and decomposed. The system of collective security has gone to pieces. Europe has reverted to pre-War militarism. New problems have arisen in Africa and in the Mediterranean. The atmosphere is filled with distrust, jealousy and rancour and with the rumbling of the approaching storm.

Sind Observer, Karachi.

The Italians and their Duce may rejoice at their victory but they cannot forget that they had used all inconceivable inhuman methods of warfare to conquer a primitive people, armed with very much less effective weapons than theirs, and thus have brought disgrace on Christian civilisation which they profess a wish to propagate. There is no Christianity in all this brutality but inhuman lust for power and expansion.

That is not all. The Negus before leaving his country pronounced the last and final curse on those who despoiled his country that by the same weapons they used against him they will fight and perish in Europe—and for which every country in that continent, America, and Japan are making feverish preparations.

With this terrible act of aggression on the part of an European Power, the League of Nations is as good as dead. It can serve no useful political purpose and the sooner the Geneva show is closed down the better. None can punish an aggressor; nobody has any trust in the League; and it can only live to further disgrace itself. England and France are at loggerheads, and there can be no unity of policy on any question in future at Geneva.

Japan, Germany, and Italy, three aggressive nations, have killed the League of Nations; and the selfishness of England and France slowly prepared its grave.

It only remains for Europe to form open alliances on the old model and when the hour of fatal maturity arrives to end its life.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, May 7, 1936.

Whether this betrayal of a weaker member of the League by the great European Powers will help them to prolong their predatory existence for a reasonable number of years still remains to be seen. Africa and a large slice of Asia have been already parcelled out among the Imperialist Powers; and the supply of weak nations on whom they can safely prey has by this time been fairly exhausted. And yet, Imperialist greed knows no satiety. Increasing rivalry between the Imperialist Powers makes ultimate conflict inevitable and the day perhaps is not far off when, for want of coloured victims, European nations will be compelled to tear each other to pieces. "The West will perish," said the Abyssinian Emperor as he left his native shores, more in sorrow than in anger; and we shall not be surprised if his ominous utterance turns out to be prophetic.

The fate of Abyssinia, however painful, is not without its lessons for those subject races who are at present groaning under Imperialist domination. To count on a change of heart in those who thrive on the exploitation of weaker peoples is worse than useless. It is madness to expect that they will let go their victims in a fit of repentance or compassion. To preach pacifism is only to strengthen the unscrupulous and the strong. Salvation, therefore, can come to the weaker races when they have not only developed the indomitable

will to overcome all opposition, but joined hands with one another in forming a League of oppressed Nations bent on throwing off the Imperialist yoke.

Indian Witness, May 7, 1936.

Italy has prepared the way for taking over the whole of Abyssinia by giving out the report that this will be necessary in order to put an end to the tyranny which exists in that country. It is the same story over again. But it does not sound very well in 1936. There is no need to turn back the pages of history to find what other conquering nations have said under similar circumstances. We do not justify the present by the past. Italy stands condemned before the world today and nothing she can say or do will lighten this condemnation.

MYSORE HINDU WIDOWS' REMARRIAGE BILL.

Permission has been accorded by the Dewan-President of the Mysore Representative Assembly for the introduction of a private bill to remove all legal obstacles to the marriage of Hindu widows in the Mysore State, given notice of by Mr. K. T. Bashyam Iyengar and Brahmachari T. Ramachandra.

The general principles of the Bill will be placed before the Representative Assembly in June next.

In the statement of general principles of the Bill, the authors say:—

Mysore has not as yet a Regulation corresponding to Act IV of 1856 which legalises the re-marriage of Hindu widows and we are therefore certainly behind British India in this respect. The British Act of 1856 was the outcome of the efforts of the late Pandit Iswar Chander Vidyasagar, making it applicable to all Hindu widows who may be so-minded as to re-marry in spite of the traditional interpretation of the Hindu Law or customs to the contrary.

The Bill is purely a permissive measure and aims at removing legal obstacles to the remarriage of such Hindu widows as wish to remarry and at legitimising the children born of such wedlock. It endeavours to meet the growing consciousness of the educated Hindus who believe that the remarriage of Hindu widows is not opposed to the true interpretation of the precepts of Hindu religion but is also in consonance with the principles of justice and equity. It does not affect the right of a Hindu widow who is allowed to remarry by the custom of her community.

The rules of consanguinity and affinity under the Hindu Law are made applicable to the case of re-marriage and the widows' gothram is fixed as that of her father for purposes of her re-marriage. The customary marriage ceremonies generally observed in the case of the first marriage are made applicable to the re-marriages. In the case of a minor widow, the consent of her guardian in marriage is made obligatory except where her first marriage had been consummated.

The right of a widow in the estate of her deceased husband ceases on her marriage and she is divested of all rights inherited from him which then pass on to the next heir of her deceased husband. In the absence of such heir, the re-married widow continues to enjoy them as her absolute estate. The rights acquired by her under gift deed or will from her deceased husband are deemed to be her absolute estate unless there is a prohibition to re-marry in the deed of gift or the will.

A re-married widow continues to be the guardian of her children by the first husband until a civil court appoints another person in her place as guardian at the instance of some interested person.

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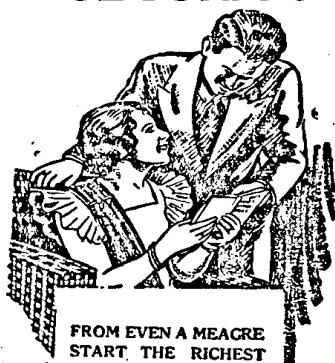
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Businessmen's Manifesto :—The manifesto denouncing Pandit Jawaharlal's faith in Socialism expressed in his Congress presidential address, which certain businessmen of Bombay have felt called upon to issue, is calculated to inflame opinion against the existing system even more than the Pandit's fervent advocacy. To begin with, businessmen are part of society and their interests are, or should be, identical with those of the society of which they are a part. There is no word in this manifesto to show that the signatories realise that the present industrial system, with the profit motive as its central and inspiring principle, has come into universal discredit not only with economists and statesmen but also with moralists and religious thinkers. Leaving aside Soviet Russia, everywhere the State is assuming control over increasing spheres in industrial economics by way of eliminating the profit motive in them. The Conservative British Prime Minister, Mr. Baldwin, announced some time back that the important coal industry in Britain would be taken over by the State and operated as a national enterprise for the use and service of the people. In the United States, another great capitalist country, Government, in the interests of the nation, felt obliged to exceed the limits of the Constitution in extending control over industrial life. The Supreme Court decided that these measures were unconstitutional but the trend of opinion in America is that the Constitution should be changed early to meet present day conditions. Mere denunciation of Socialism will do no good in this country or elsewhere. We heard a rumour that the Government of the United Provinces wished to arrest the Pandit for his views on Socialism expressed in his address to the Lucknow Congress but it was over-ruled by higher authority. Without any hint of an alternative to the Pandit's Socialism, the

Bombay manifesto might be mistaken for a demand for executive action to stop the Pandit from proclaiming his views. Mr. D. P. Khaitan of Calcutta, President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, scents such a danger and has hastened to declare, with reference to the Bombay manifesto that no repressive legislation can cure the malady. He points out the true line of averting revolutionary propaganda when he adds: "Toying with the problem is fraught with grave danger; no time should be lost by the Governments, Central and Provincial, in launching a big drive against poverty and unemployment. Misery is not appeased by a tale of deficit budgets." The signatories to the manifesto must have realised by now that, so far from counteracting, their production has imparted fresh momentum to the Pandit's propaganda. For our own part we do not believe that the root of the evil today is primarily economic as the Aga Khan, Pandit Jawaharlal and the signatories to the manifesto agree in thinking. It is ethical. The nations of the world are dying of spiritual anæmia. Capitalism, Socialism and Bolshevism are symptoms. Economics, originally handmaid of Ethics, has usurped the domain of her mistress and has sought to flourish by defying her authority. The salvation of society lies in her returning to her natural allegiance. To do this of her own free will is the best and wisest method of avoiding revolution. We cannot help regretting the unfortunate resemblance of the language of the manifesto to the articles of the *Whip* circulated by the Publicity Department of the Government of India, to which we refer in a leading article.

Proscription Order Modified :—A Full Bench of the Allahabad High Court have modified an Order of the Government of the United Provinces proscribing two books, being translations into Hindi of Lenin's "Imperialism, the highest stage of Capitalism" and of the Communist Party Manifesto prepared by Marx and Engels in 1843. The Criminal Procedure Code authorises a Provincial Government to proscribe books which are seditious or tend to create class hatred. The High Court found that neither of the publications can be said to be seditious as they were not directed towards the Government of India. Observed their lordships: "As the authors of both these books did not have His Majesty the King Emperor or the Government established by law in British



India particularly in mind and were attempting to deal with certain supposed conditions prevailing in the entire world, it was very difficult to hold that these books brought or attempted to bring into hatred or contempt or excited or attempted to excite disaffection toward His Majesty or the Government established by law in British India. It was possible that such writings might have the remote effect of causing some disaffection but it could not be said that there was any such intention directly implied. Both these books seemed to be directed against supposed capitalists who exploited the working classes. Without unduly stretching the meaning of words, it was not possible to bring these publications within the scope of this section." The Judges also found that Lenin's "Imperialism" did not promote feelings of hatred between classes of His Majesty's subjects in India. They therefore disallowed the proscription of that book. As regards the 1843 manifesto, they held that it directly aimed at promoting class hatred and upheld the proscription. We reprint in another column, from Karl Marx's *Capital* his appreciation of the Indian village community. It does not seem likely that in the Manifesto which he drafted 90 years ago, he was thinking of present-day conditions in India. The document today is one mainly of antiquarian interest.

Closed to Christianity:—Commenting on the fact that ten countries of the world with a population of 190,000,000 are closed to Christianity, the *Catholic Leader* observes that "fear and prejudice are the chief causes of the ban in Asiatic countries. Fear lest Christianity should introduce the foreign element into the country eventually depriving it of freedom and independence; and prejudice that Christianity is an alien and denationalising faith which overthrows traditional and ancient institutions and customs." The *Catholic Leader's* assurance that Christianity is a supernatural religion, foreign to no country or race and equally at home in every land, will convince no one. Writes Pearl S. Buck in "Missionaries of Empire": "It is no idle accusation which Orientals make when they associate Christian missions with Western imperialism. It is true that the two are part of the same aggressive movement." Can Asiatic nations struggling hard to preserve their independence be condemned if they seek to exclude such missions from their lands? As for the denationalising nature of Christianity, the *Catholic Leader* seems to ignore history when it asserts that it is equally at home in all lands. The fact that Christian ritual is entirely alien to India was admitted by Father Heras when he drew up an elaborate scheme for an Indianised Church and Indianised methods of worship. And the mission school is no less devoted to the worship of Western culture. Mr. H. E. Allen in his *Turkish Transformation* tells us what Christian mission schools taught in Turkey and it is true of all mission lands. He quotes from an editorial in a Turkish journal: "These schools are institutions which

by their lessons, by their training, turn Turkish youth away from the society to which they belong to another society and carry them forward toward a foreign ideal. The conversions which occasionally take place openly are the high points of the indirect influences which are at work every day and every hour upon Turkish students in these schools." The *Catholic Leader* significantly enough is silent on the anti-Christian policy of Republican Spain, once considered the citadel of Catholicism. Here, if anywhere, one might expect Catholics and nationalists to work together. But apparently because of their past experience, the republican leaders feel it necessary to put down the priests. If the workers in the Christian churches would give up political activities and intrigues against progressive forces in non-Christian lands, there would be little objection to their remaining for educational and social work. So long as they are not prepared to do this, the ban will remain.

Sikhs and the Depressed Classes:—Master Tara Singh, the Sikh leader, who is touring Malabar in connection with the movement among certain of the depressed castes to change over to Sikhism, has issued a statement containing his estimate of the situation. He concludes with the following words of warning: "We have been told many things about the leaders of the Depressed Classes. We have no reason to doubt their sincerity so far. It must be made known that the Sikhs are themselves a comparatively poor people in point of finances. They are not in a position to offer allurements of material benefits to the converts, nor would they do so even if they could. Such benefits degrade both the giver and the taker. We want only people who, after studying Sikhism and the world, feel the call and the urge. We would like people to stand on their own legs, nor do we want people who will come over simply out of hatred for or a negative attitude towards Hinduism or for the matter of that towards any religion. The people cannot rise by mere conversion. Sikh faith can certainly elevate the depressed as well as those oppressing but that only if the Sikh spirit of self-sacrifice is imbibed. The Sikhs are prepared to put at the disposal of Malabar the simple teachings of Guru Nanak and the spiritual alchemy of Guru Govind Singh which raises all to one height, decimates all differences and makes of them an organised body of servants of humanity."

Indian Christians and the Scheduled Castes:—The *Guardian* of Madras is a broad-minded Christian journal and it is not often that we find ourselves in serious disagreement with its judgment on public questions. But, in the matter of accepting the special concessions, made by the Madras Government to the depressed classes, for Indian Christians, it has not shown its usual perspicacity. The average Christian missionary's position is that Hinduism is responsible for the plight of the depressed classes and that conversion to Christianity



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would transform their moral and material condition. By asking for the special concessions given to the "scheduled castes," it is admitted that conversion has failed and that education is the only solution of the untouchables' problem, whether Christian converts or Hindus. This is the fact. Still the missionaries are proceeding with mass conversions. The State grants in these cases although nominally for education are indistinguishable from subsidies for proselytising. The *Guardian's* plea that the express direction in the "Order in Council," that no Indian Christian shall be deemed to be a member of the "scheduled castes" applies only to the special franchise provided for these castes, is, of course, correct. But the principle underlying should apply equally to all other special concessions to the depressed classes. The *Guardian* drags in the Muslims and Sikhs quite gratuitously into this discussion. The "Order in Council" does not say that no Muslim and no Sikh shall be deemed to be a member of the scheduled castes, for the obvious reason that neither of them is likely to lay claim to be so regarded. We may add that Muslim and Sikh missions are not financed or controlled from abroad.

Catholic Comment on Parliament of Religions :—The *Examiner* in a gingerly reference to the Parliament of Religions recently held in Bombay, remarks that no Christian Church was represented in it. The Anglican Bishop of Bombay who was personally approached, frankly declined. The Catholic attitude is well-known and it would have been sheer waste of time to expect any representative of that denomination to join such a gathering. But these two bodies represent a small fraction of the Indian religious population and if they hold aloof from the main currents of religious thought, the loss is theirs only. As a fact, "the Religion of Jesus" had two representatives while most other religions had only one. The *Examiner* says one of them said he did not believe in Jesus. This is entirely incorrect. Both Dr. Manshardt and Mr. Kumarappa expressly declared that they were believers in Christ though not orthodox Christians. Christianity and the teachings of Jesus are not identical. We published Dr. Manshardt's paper last week. We print the first half of Mr. Kumarappa's paper, as also Dr. Rehman's on Islam, in this issue.

A Useful Innovation :—The telephone directory often serves a purpose which was not originally intended. As it contains the addresses of prominent residents and business firms in the city, it does duty as a directory. But in a country like India, there are many towns which are not covered by telephone directories. In order that residents in these small towns might not be left out by the direct advertiser, the Indian Posts and Telegraphs Department has prepared for each province a "guide" to the more important residents classified alphabetically according to professions. If the bigger commercial firms think it worth their while, the small townsman

will be inundated through the post to buy their products. The innovation will have the direct effect of creating new markets.

Mangoes and Cholera :—A Press Note of the Bombay Government says: "In order to minimise the danger of an outbreak of cholera during the coming Ashadhi fair, the District Magistrate, Sholapur has forbidden the import and sale of mangoes and water melons within the Pandharpur Municipal limits from June 17 to July 7." Are mangoes carriers of cholera germ? How is it that though millions of mangoes are consumed in Bombay, no cholera cases have occurred?

An Indian F. R. S :—Dr. Birbal Sahni of Lucknow University, son of Prof. Ruchiram Sahni a well-known social and religious reformer of Lahore, has been elected Fellow of the Royal Society of England. He is the fourth Indian F. R. S., the other three being Sir Jagadish Bose, Sir C. V. Raman and Dr. Meghnath Saha of Allahabad University. The late Mr. Ramanujan was also a Fellow of the Royal Society.

The Late Sir Mocherla Ramachandra Rao :—Sir Mocherla Ramachandra Rao whose death took place in Bangalore on Saturday was one of the most respected publicists of our time. His instincts were all constructive. In the days before the introduction of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms when the Brahmin-non-Brahmin controversy in Madras had not blinded partisans to all merit, Sir Mocherla was a prominent figure in the Legislative Council and earned for himself the well deserved compliment of "Gokhale of Southern India." He was earmarked in the first diarchic administration for a Membership of the Executive Council but political considerations prevailed and he was left out. One who was his colleague in Madras politics and who rose to be a member of the Government of India told this writer that Ramachandra Rao was the only Liberal leader who did not get his reward under the Montagu scheme. For a time Ramachandra Rao remained in the background. But his public spirit would not allow him long to brood over his disappointment. He joined the Co-operative Movement and rendered valuable service to it. Workers in that movement very soon find that the greatest obstacle to its expansion is the liquor policy of the Government. Ramachandra Rao was no exception. He became the first President of the Indian Prohibition League. Another movement in which he played an important part was the Indian States Peoples' agitation for constitutional rights. He was instrumental in enlisting the sympathy of some liberal-minded Chiefs to a moderate programme in this direction. But he could not and would not go all the way with the more ardent leaders of the movement. Towards the end of his life, his services met with tardy recognition in his nomination as a Director of the Reserve Bank of India. His death leaves a gap in the ranks of India's elder statesmen.

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BOMBAY, May 23, 1936.

SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's presidential address to the Lucknow Session of the Indian National Congress has given fresh life to the interest in Soviet Russia in this country. It is, therefore, necessary to know what exactly has been achieved in Soviet Russia. The best authority on the subject is, of course, Mr. Joseph V. Stalin, Dictator of Soviet Russia. He told an American journalist two months ago that Communism has not been achieved in the Soviet Union so far. "It is not easy," he went on to say: "But your term 'state socialism' is not exact. Many people refer to a condition as state socialism when a considerable amount of national wealth passes to government ownership, sometimes for military advantage, even though the majority of wealth remain in private hands." In this sense, state socialism already exists to a large extent in India where the land is owned by the State. Not only land but railways, irrigation works, telegraphs and now the wireless are all state-owned. Mr. Stalin pointed out that the social order which they have built up so far in Russia cannot be termed state socialism in this sense. "The Soviet system is fundamentally socialistic because there is no private ownership of factories, land, banks, railways, mines, etc." he observed, "Our system, which has not yet been quite completed, is socialistic because the foundation of society is common state ownership, ownership by the people or ownership by co-operatives and collective farms." He went on to explain clearly the difference between Socialism and Communism. "Under Socialism certain inequality concerning property remains, but there is no more unemployment, exploitation or oppression of one nationality by another (in Russia). Everybody is obliged to work and is compensated not according to his needs but according to the quantity and quality of the work. That is why wages have not been equalized. Only that Society can be called Communistic in which people are compensated, not on the basis of the quantity or quality of the work produced, but on the basis of their needs."

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his presidential address, every word in which he would have carefully considered, as also in his more casual speeches on subsequent occasions, has not spoken of Communism but only of Socialism as the key to the solution of India's social and economic problems. He has referred to Soviet Russia as an example, not to be blindly followed, but as affording glimpses of what might be done. This is consistent with Mr. Stalin's opinion quoted above that they have so far not achieved the Communistic State of providing for every one, not according to the quantity and quality of his work but according to his needs. We reproduce from Karl Marx's *Capital* a remarkable appreciation of the old Indian village

community based on this principle which is also the principle enunciated in Jesus Christ's parable which has become the text of Christian Socialism. According to Mr. Stalin, Soviet Russia is still only in the socialistic stage of paying each one according to the quantity and quality of his work, and, therefore, there are in it inequalities of wages as under the capitalist system. That socialism does not have for a basic principle even economic equality, is made clear by Viscount Snowden's emphatic statement in his biography. "I have never regarded," he writes, "socialism as a cut and dried scheme of social organisation to be applied indiscriminately to the country's industrial and economic life. Socialism to me has been a principle, the principle of co-operation as opposed to competition. The form which socialism will take must be determined, and is being determined, by considerations of expediency. The old idea that socialism meant that the Government will undertake the management of all industry and the regimentation of all the people has been abandoned, if it were ever held. Socialism will take various forms according to the nature of the undertakings to which its co-operative principle will be applied." Again, "A socialism which standardised everybody and everything would have no attractions for me." Here is a very important confession of Lord Snowden's creed: "The material aims of socialism have never appeared to me to be an end in themselves, but only a necessary and inevitable means towards the liberation of human beings from grinding toil, from poverty and insecurity, that they might have leisure and opportunity for the higher end of the development of their intellectual and spiritual life." Lord Snowden's Socialism is obviously different from Mr. Stalin's. To the latter it is a step to Communism. To the former it is essentially a step towards the attainment of individual perfection.

From Pandit Jawaharlal's frequent and appreciative references to Soviet Russia, it might seem that his Socialism is rather of the Stalin than of the Snowden type. But in several of his more recent speeches, he has frequently used language in explaining his position, which can not be made to fit in with Soviet Socialism. There is no need, therefore, to take fright from the mere mention of Socialism. It covers a wide range of ideas. That its central idea namely, the substitution of co-operation for competition, is the key to human progress will be accepted by individualist and socialist, by communist and capitalist. That was the principle on which the ancient institutions of India, village community, caste and joint family, were based. These institutions have themselves been affected by the competitive principle and have, therefore, ceased to serve their original purposes and have even become obstacles to progress. Efforts of Indian reformers should be directed to reform and adapt these institutions to our present-day needs.



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GOVERNMENT PUBLICITY.

What are the functions of a Government publicity department? Too often in the past in India, the Director of Public Information has felt it his duty to furnish newspapers with propaganda for the administration. The material has, and this is specially true of the past few years, been more of an editorial than a news nature. It was natural, therefore, that such material was welcomed by, and later perhaps sent only to, pro-government papers. Lord Linlithgow, however, assured the country in his first broadcast address that he would give the press such assistance as properly he might. In defining that assistance he clearly laid down that "such help as my officers may find it possible to give to the press will be confined to facts, that these will be presented in a fashion entirely objective, and that the material available will be at the disposal of the press as a whole without distinction or discrimination." The first two of these "directions" to the Publicity Department related to the internal work of the department, the last to the method of distribution of material. Many Indians felt it to be a condemnation, however mild, of existing methods. Mr. M. I. Stephens, Director of Public Information, on the other hand, seems to have accepted Lord Linlithgow's criticism as regards distribution but not so far as the material itself is concerned. "India and Communism" (reprinted from a Bengal Weekly, the *Whip*) which he has sent us in pursuance apparently of the new policy of impartiality to the press, is not confined to facts, is not objective in the least, and, as propaganda against Communism, is worse even than any original work by the department could have been in the past. The *Whip* articles are so crude in their attack on Communism that any thinking man will be nauseated by them. They are in fact better propaganda for Communism than anything emanating from Moscow.

Why then did Mr. Stephens select these articles for translation into four vernacular languages and circulation throughout India? Even if the Government has not subsidised the reprint, the Public Information Department has undertaken its distribution. A cursory glance at the articles will show that their intrinsic quality has nothing to do with Mr. Stephens's selection. Propaganda against Communism is not wrong in itself for a capitalist state, even though there is much more important work to be done in India than to prove that Russia has not fulfilled what she set out to do. But need it be the *Whip's* method of refuting Communism? The journalist responsible for these articles knows nothing of Communism, little of India. He seems to be theoretically Communist but doubtful of the practicability of this creed: "For that which in theory is represented to be a creed of universal brotherhood and economic equality is, in practice, no more and no less than a scheme to favour a handful of its adherents. On the face of it Communism

spells the greatest good of the greatest number but the theory and practice of Communism are as far apart as the two poles." He writes that the villages are self-sufficient economically and culturally but yet believes that they will be drawn to Communism by "wandering men and pedlars" who pass through them. We have only to transpose two complete sentences in the pamphlet to get the following absurdity on religion in India and Communism: "In no country in the world does religion play a greater part in the daily lives of the people than it does in the Brightest Jewel in the Crown. The atheistic part of the Communists' doctrine is perhaps its most dangerous in so far as it affects India." He seems, strangely for a protege of Government publicity, to indite the Government by admitting India to be a fertile field for agitation. And here is the conclusion, typical of the whole reprint: "Communism spells destruction, despair, death. Communism means the rooting out of all religion. Communism entails the complete elimination of culture. Communism robs the people of their land, their jewellery, their money and all their earthly possessions. Communism turns boys into thieves and murderers; it makes prostitutes of the nation's girlhood. The Great Moghul caused to be inscribed on a marble tablet in his Dewan-i-Khas: 'If there is a Paradise on earth, it is here, it is here.' Of very truth may it be written of Communism that:—'If there be a hell on earth, it is here, it is here.'" Obviously regarding attack as the best means of defence, the writer asserts that few if any countries enjoy greater freedom than India today. "The Nazi regime in Germany, the practice of Fascism in Italy, the Dictatorship in Spain, the control of all activities by a small band of financiers in France, the N. R. A. of America, the conscription for military service of Japan, as well as of almost every other country,—from all of these India is free." We are surprised that freedom from having to make up her mind on important national questions has not been added to these.

This kind of rubbish, the introduction to the propaganda leaflet informs us, was turned out by a journalist who had made a special study of Communism, particularly in its relation to Indian conditions. Did Mr. Stephens decide on circulating this reprint through Government's publicity department after reading the introduction alone? Or did he feel obliged to do so because of the official patronage it enjoys? For the *Whip*, although practically unknown and little valued in its own country, enjoys the support of "His Excellency Lord Willingdon, Viceroy and Governor-General": His Excellency Sir John Anderson, Governor of Bengal; the Marquess of Zetland, Secretary of State for India; and many ex-Governors of Indian provinces, ex-Viceroy, and Sir Samuel Hoare; it has won the good opinion of the *London Times*, the *Statesman*, the *Review of India* (of the European Association), the *Star of India*, and the *Planters' Journal*; it was once referred to



by a member in the House of Commons; its editor, Mr. R. S. Sarma is nominated member in the Legislative Assembly, representing Indian journalists though he speaks and votes in support of press laws. This information from the introduction is valuable both in dating the pamphlet as well as in defining the niche which the *Whip* occupies in Indian journalism. It also indicates the difficulties which Lord Linlithgow will have to contend with in developing his ideas on publicity work. Impartial treatment of the press and an objective presentation of facts mean nothing short of a revolution not only in Mr. Stephen's department but in the minds of higher officials as well.

WAR AND THE INDIAN PHILOSOPHY OF LIFE.

A few days ago the world has witnessed the most tragic drama enacted in human history. A backward race—may be backward only in material equipment and power of organization—has been mercilessly butchered by a power intoxicated, aggressive, defiant, an arrogant nation of the West—flouting the conscience and the reasonable judgment of the whole world in its march of systematic and methodical madness. The funniest part of this tragic drama has been that after this most inhuman and barbarous act of destruction has been carried on defiantly by poisonous gas and hundreds of innocent people been killed, His Holiness the Pope has spoken in praise of "Peace." But alas! the pious eulogy of His Holiness on "Peace" comes only after thousands have been sacrificed at the altar of greed and unmitigated ambition of domination.

The Indian leaders of public opinion have in one voice condemned this act of brutality and have pointed out that such philosophy of aggressiveness is a standing menace to humanity especially so when such atrocities are done in the name of carrying civilisation to backward races. Even a baby can understand the absurdity of such utterances. Of course Europe has the distinction of fighting nine wars out of ten in the world's history. And it is futile to expect Europe to give up this creed of militarism and aggression so long as the basis of her civilisation and the philosophy of her life remain what they are. It is in the very nature or *svabhava* as we say in India, of Western civilisation. And unless there is a root and branch reform and a change in the outlook of life no one can expect the possibility of such occurrences minimised to the lowest degree. Now can war be fully eradicated from human life and civilization? What have the philosophers and thinkers in the East and the West thought about it?

Of course both in the East and the West the philosophers have recognised War as a fact of human life and history which can not be totally eradicated. But there are differences in concepts. This is again due to fundamental differences in the concept of man and his philosophy of life and the world.

The West in spite of her creative genius is fundamentally physical and realistic in outlook. It is true Jesus, the Prince of Peace, preached a basic spiritual philosophy but it is no better to call Europe Christian than call a red linen white.

As such, western civilisation has always idealised war and physical heroism and has found satisfaction in developing the titanic nature of man. Nietzsche preached the gospel of war and the creed of old teutonic hardness. Ruskin tells us that war is

the foundation of all arts and high virtues and faculties of man. And Count Moltke said 'Without war the world would stagnate and lose itself in materialism.' We also know from the contemporary political philosophies which have developed in Europe today as a reaction to democratic ideals of the last century that they are fundamentally based on a philosophy of manhood which distinctly avows the creed of a "warrior man." With these guiding philosophies of life it is moonshine to think Europe will keep in rest and maintain peace as an ideal of civilization though hundreds of peace pacts may be signed. In the Bhagavat Gita Sri Krishna has said "*Prakritim yanti Bhutani*"—Man is impelled to action by his inner nature. Only through higher nature of man can be changed the outer chaos of war and aggression minimised. Does modern Europe value this spiritual growth of man or will future Europe pay any serious attention to this aspect of human progress and evolution? On the answer of this question depends the prospect of peace and war. Because what is within man, must sooner or later find expression. It may be asked "Were there no wars in India?" It is true the Indian thinkers are not fanatically pacifists and are not blind to the forces that are working in "Nature."

The world, as Indian philosophy says, is the play of three gunas—i. e. *Sattva*, *Rajas* and *Tamas*. The world, as it is constituted, cannot entirely be made free of war—an act of *Rajasic* force. But with the growth of *Sattva* or the spiritual factor—the second constituent factor in man and the world can be brought under control. This is the central problem for man and the world. The Indian civilization emphasising the ideals of simplicity and plain living and high thinking and allocating the duty of protection to a group of limited persons—the *kshatriyas*—has proved that man after all is not born for strife only with his fellow brethren. He has greater philosophies and purposes in life. And it is for this spiritual idealism the Indian civilization is great. But modern Europe believes very little in the spiritual value of life and the individual and collective efforts of Europe are therefore all directed towards self-assertiveness, grabbing of power and madness of conquest. Will Western civilization after the bitter experience of the last war outgrow the vandalism of war and accept *Ahimsa* as a creed and philosophy of life? Therein, only, lies the future not only of Europe but of all humanity.

AN INDIAN.

MAN VERSUS THE MACHINE.

To see "Charlie" Chaplin again after five long years is in itself an event*. It recalls all the happy memories of the early days of the cinema when films were "silent" and "Charlie's" face and walk and antics amused and delighted us. But though the technique of film production has been completely revolutionised during the last ten years, "Charlie" refuses to change and accept the altered scheme of things. It is as well. For, although evolutionists say that on the material plane, the species which refuses to adapt itself to its environment dies, "Charlie" is on a sphere and has a personality which can defy circumstances and face bravely a mad new world. "Charlie" is still loyal to the original conception and purpose of the "pictures": he still believes that the language of the film is not that of words but of movement and gesture and dumb action. And of the art and philosophy of this medium, he is unquestionably the supreme exponent. Since he is the story-writer,

* Modern Times featuring Charlie Chaplin.



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producer, director and actor all rolled in one, he is at once a Charles Dickens and a character out of a work of Dickens. Looking at him one feels as though a character of Dickens has come to life. He has that extraordinary mixture of humour and pathos, that realisation of the truth that there is a tear behind every laugh which makes us both weep and smile with Mr. Micawber and Sam Weller and a host of other men and women in the world of Dickens; no one perhaps on the stage or the screen expresses so vividly the deep significance of Shelley's profound observation that our sincerest laughter with some pain is fraught. Like Falstaff or Don Quixote or Mr. Pickwick, this "Charlie" has truly become a legend.

The new Charlie Chaplin film is more purposeful than his previous productions and yet not less funny. That in itself is a remarkable achievement. "Charlie" has, indeed, always been the embodiment of the free human spirit battling against the rigid "systems" with their vain powers and dull routines; he has rebelled against petty tyrannies, outwitted the myrmidons of society, baffled his overbearing opponents and still, in the end, he is never fully triumphant in the conventional sense. Always is he left stranded, alone and single-handed, in a world of mighty forces—defeated yet indomitable.

But *Modern Times* is no mere sentimental picture depicting the fight of a hero with villains. It is the protest of an individual against the mechanical civilisation which has overwhelmed and threatens finally to destroy us. He is a mere cog in a vast machine: the slave of a system which wants more and yet more production regardless of the cost, human or aesthetic; the victim of a soulless "law and order"; in brief a creature of the modern times. This system does not and cannot care for the feelings and troubles of the humble and the meek. The anarchic and wilder sides of life are incompatible with the precision and regularity demanded by machine. Indeed, there could hardly be a more biting and yet hilarious parody of this "machine-age" than the episode in which the midday lunch in the factory is sought to be "mechanised" through "Charlie" being automatically fed by machinery in order to save time as a worker and enable his employer to make more money. Witnessing this subtle, moving and yet strangely enough, extremely amusing and almost boisterous satire on the machine menace, one cannot wonder at the hostility of men to machines. I remembered the words of Ned Lud in Ernst Toller's "The Machine Wreckers" where he indignantly observes, "They would put us in irons and chain us to a monster. A spindle driven by steam that clutches men and whirls them round and slings them into hell!" For, men who live differently react differently. We tend to become automatons: those who cannot have to pay the unflinching penalty. And "Charlie" pays it. Because "Charlie" is individual and even erratic, he becomes a "misfit" in this scheme of things and is thrown on the scrap-heap again and again; because he is humble and poor, he has to come back in search of bread again and again. For such a one, even the prison is a better place to live in than the so-called "freedom" of civilised society which has little to offer to the mass of people save hunger and penury and strife with fellow-men. He tries and fails; but his failures, one feels, are more heroic than the petty successes of social climbers and the worldly triumphs of the big and the great. At last, cast away and rejected by the social order, he trudges along a lonely road, turning his back to all of us who laugh and weep with him and disappears in the dark unknown from

whither he comes and whither he again fades away: but this time accompanied by a companion who is equally poor, and equally in want. It is the unsolved dilemma of the under-dog, the poignant riddle of the have-not. "Charlie" does not provide an answer: it is not his business. Like an artist, he has again put a question-mark. It is for the social philosophers and reformers and the "leaders" of mankind to answer this challenge thrown out with such admirable mirth and such tender pathos.

GAGANVIHARI MEHTA.

THE TENETS OF ISLAM.*

(BY DR. M. B. REHMAN.)

As you are aware, we are celebrating the centenary of the great sage, Ramakrishna, and in view of his teachings and doctrines, one could congratulate the organisers on setting up this Parliament of Religions. The great sage preached that "Truth is one" and it is really interesting to study the different faiths in the light of this doctrine. I propose to put before you the fundamentals of Islam which has over 300 millions of followers in the world and, in establishing its tenets, I will mainly depend upon the Quran.

Before I tell you what Islam is, I will invite your attention to one aspect of the career of its great preacher—Mohammad. He always emphasised the fact that he was a mere human being like any one of us. As a matter of fact, it is a part of the creed of his followers that Mohammad is not only God's messenger but also His servant. The human element and ideal of service are the key-notes in the concept of Islam.

Mohammad regarded religion as a straight natural law wherein lies no perplexity or ambiguity. Perhaps he was the first person to discover that "Truth was one and sages call it by different names." He believed that all the children of men would follow the same straight way were it not for the corrupting influences of the environments which set unnatural examples for them to follow. According to him, religion is the natural bent of a free and unbiased mind, that the principles that he preached stand forth free of all mysteries and dubious articles of faith. To Mohammad, the religion of the former prophets was not a creed-bound dogma but a life of earnest and faithful work; in an endless succession, they were the propagators of the Divine message of wisdom and truth.

With convictions of this nature, Mohammad could preach no new religion and he claims that his work lies only in restoring the primitive faith of the prophets and preachers of the by-gone ages to their original purity and simplicity. It is not for the Moslem to ignore any of the great teachers who have long since done their work and retired from the world. He dare not utter a word of disrespect towards them. Speaking of the prophets of the house of Ishmael, the Quran says—

"Say ye, we believe in God and what has been revealed to us and what was revealed to Abraham and Ishmael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and what was given to Moses and Jesus and what was given to other prophets from their Lord; we make no distinction between any of them and to Him we submit."

And it is not to Moses, Jesus and Mohammed that a Moslem owes allegiance but to all the prophets of all the nations who have appeared in the different ages of the history of mankind. Thus along with a thousand others, Rama, Krishna and Buddha of

* Address delivered to the Parliament of Religions, Bombay, May 7, 1936, by Dr. M. B. Rehman, Principal of Ismail College, Andheri



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India, Zarthushtira of Persia and Confucius of China, have alike a place in the hearts of the followers of Islam. This belief links the Moslem with the whole humanity, and leads him to treat his Lord's creation as one vast brotherhood. Islam has thus destroyed all barriers, racial or otherwise, and divisions on grounds of religion are not recognised.

To the Moslem, this wide world presents a vast field for co-operation in the struggle of life. His religion leads him to seek the welfare of humanity in the co-operative spirit as it were rather than in the competitive. He may with a quiet conscience eat and even intermarry with any class of human beings. Mohammad, himself strictly opposed as he was to the religion of idolators, gave three of his daughters, Zainab, Rauqayya and Umm Kulthum, in marriage to them and this principle he established in spite of the fact that in the early stormy days of Islam, the experiment proved disastrous. Such is the practical brotherhood of man that knows no colour and no creed and which bade men to meet on the common platform of humanity and humanity alone.

The claim of Mohammad to be a servant of God has made Islam a religion of service. The service of men and seeking the good of humanity constitute pre-eminently the service and worship of God. In this connection I will quote the following two verses:—

"All the creation is the family of God and of all creation, the most beloved of God is one who does good to his family."

"God will not be merciful to one who is not merciful to men."

A selfless life of love is the life of a Moslem and in these words the Quran appeals to humanity to sink the petty differences.

"For every people God has appointed rites and ceremonies which they observe; let them not, therefore, dispute with thee in the matter." The great brotherhood which is the ideal of Islam cannot be achieved without utmost toleration and this is thus preached by the Quran:—

"Say thou—O ye who believe; I worship not what you worship and ye worship not what I worship, nor will ye worship what I worship, Ye have your religion and I have my religion."

This liberal attitude and the broad-mindedness, nay, the respect for the views and beliefs of others, accounts for the best of relations that the Moslems have always had with their neighbours. They have an open mind to learn and imbibe from all those with whom they may be in contact. The establishment of the academy of sciences (Bait-ul-Hitmat) at Baghdad in the days of Al-Mamun bears witness to this fact. The followers of Islam proved themselves excellent pupils and it was something far above toleration that made them not only the inheritors of the wisdom of the world but also its propagators. Not only their arts and sciences bear a strong and deep impression of the foreign influences, even their religious beliefs accepted such truths as were preached by others. To illustrate my point in the very short span of time allowed, I would direct your attention to the creed of the Sufis. In Sufism, which at one time became the accepted creed of the Islamic people, can be traced the influences of the Vedantic thought of India, the Neo-Platonic philosophy of Greece, the occult sciences of Egypt, the mysticism of Syria and the trism of Persia. Such were the principles of not only "live and let live" but also of "give and take" that Mohammad preached and these alone are responsible for the immense following that Islam has even today. I resume my seat with the hope and wish that the followers of this great religion keep up the spirit which Mohammad rose to inculcate.

THE RELIGION OF JESUS.*

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA.)

Before we consider our special topic for this evening you will bear with me if I state clearly what aspect of religion I propose to discuss. The word religion is often used to connote many social systems and organisations working towards different set goals.

In the early stages of evolution of Society, crude superstitions were bound together with inhibitions and prohibitions to regulate the primitive man and his dealings; his failings were thought to be visited with punishment from on high and his obedience with reward. Fear deterred him in his selfish ventures and avarice and desire for pleasure made him consider the welfare of others.

Later on, we find national codes of laws bound between social sanctions with a religious colouring. In the case of martial peoples, we find God exercising a tribal patronage and authority. Here too, man was kept to the "right path" by an external power invested with a jealous spirit to guard its rights and with vengeance to visit the iniquity of the fathers to the third and fourth generations of them that hate it and doing good to thousands of them that fear it. In this stage there is a definite desire on the part of the people to try to increase the numbers owing allegiance to it. Such efforts are expected to be rewarded.

In addition to these man uses religion in an organised form to preserve, propagate and consolidate a culture evolved by him.

With the advance of civilisation religion has become a respectable code of behaviour, with recognised customs and manners. People are expected to follow certain rituals and thus retain respectability in society.

These four forms may be grouped as organised or institutional religions. Most ancient religions have gone through some or all these stages, and bear the marks to some extent of each of them. None of this interest us at the present time. The Christianity of the Western people partakes of the nature of many of these forms.

As the authoritarian religion, God in Christianity is depicted as a strict Accountant, keeping a record of all we do in a book of faith and visiting our lapses with uncompromising justice. Fear of God is said to be the beginning of wisdom. If you behave you go to Heaven, if not you go to Hell.

Since the day Peter sought comfort and warmth by fraternising with the servants of the great ones of earth, and was thus led into denying the Lord, the militant churches of various denominations have followed the example of their foundation stone and have been sycophants in the courts, courtyards and lobbies of the Rulers. We find them still there today. They are seeking their own warmth and comfort and are led into a continual denial of the Lord, not merely before the cock crows, but all the time. The churches are being used by the States as a convenient form of holding the people down. We find in the course of history this leads to bitterness. We see Russia estranged from all spiritual values because of the part the Church had played in keeping the people enslaved. Such Churches are necessary adjuncts to Imperialism. We need not stray as far as Russia. Christian missions in our land and all other "Heathen" lands fall in this group naturally. It is painful to see adherents of Christianity rushing to interview disgruntled members of other religions to recruit them into their fold. They

* First part of address delivered to the Parliament of Religions, Bombay, May 9, 1933.



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—sing a song of civilising the savage and end up by slapping his blood, by exploiting his labour and annexing his territory, as in Abyssinia today.

During the dark ages in Europe we saw Christianity functioning as an ethnical religion marshalling its forces on a crusade against the Saracenic and pagan world. The desire to bring light and learning to those who sit in darkness arises out of the ethnical forms of religion with an admixture of the imperialistic militant spirit.

Today we need no evidence of Christianity functioning as a social religion. If you want to get into the upper circle of Society, membership in a Church of England chapel goes a long way. It is a sign of respectability. Even a Jew as a Viceroy had to be respectable by attending the Church of England services on State functions.

We are not going to consider Christianity in this light. Our purpose is not sociological or political. Although I do not deny that these forms of religion have served and are serving a very useful purpose in a world peopled by individuals in different stages of evolution, yet I find no evidence of Jesus having founded a religion which will fall under any of the above groups. If modern Christianity finds a place amongst them it is a sign that Jesus had nothing to do with it in the form in which we find it today. Jesus says "My doctrine is not mine but his that sent me." If those principles are from the one God then the religion of Jesus is as universal as that God himself.

My object in touching on these primary functions of religion is to show how far Christianity has fulfilled these. In addition to these there are also a few denominations like the Society of Friends and particular individuals who practise the principles of Jesus in an unorganised way. As we shall proceed to examine presently these principles, we shall notice that such pure interpretations of the Life of Jesus are merely the exception in the religion as developed in the west.

In another and true sense religion is the relation that governs a man's personal attitude to God, his ideals, his fellowman, to society and to the world. What I want to consider today is Jesus' religion in this sense. That is to say, the personal relationship of Jesus to these. When He walked on this earth, (1) What was His religion? (2) What was His attitude to God? (3) What was His conception of Himself? (4) What was His relationship to His parents and elders? (5) His contemporaries, His brothers and sisters? (6) to society and to the State? (7) to material possessions? (8) to human values and (9) to other religions?

In this form of a personal spiritual union with God and the world, the religion of Jesus forms the culmination of the evolution we find in Judaism. This is pure religion with no sociology or politics mixed with it. Some years ago Dr. J. N. Farquhar published a book, "The Crown of Hinduism" where he sought to establish Christianity as the ultimate attainment of Hinduism. He tried to separate the pure religion of Jesus from its parent sociological root Judaism—and to graft it on to the sociological past of Hinduism forgetting that all pure religions are personal. For the sake of convenience we may group common experiences under a common category, but individual religion knows no label. The personal religion of Dr. Radhakrishnan, that of Pandit Madan Malaviya and that of Gandhiji may be grouped as Hinduism for convenience, but in reality they are three different religions, with the impress of the personality of each with God. Like a pebble thrown on the bosom of the ocean causes ripples on the

mighty expanse of water, a man, however small he may be, causes his impressions to be set on the Infinite.

As long as we grant that an individual has a personality of his own, his intimate relations with everyone else will be stamped with his individuality. It is futile to expect millions to follow one type of relationship with everybody. Can the friendship between any two humans be the same as the friendship of any other two? Each relationship stands on its own. They may all be called friendships for convenience, but each friendship between two personalities entering into a particular friendship provides the attributes that make that friendship. If you remove any one of them the relationship ceases to be the same. There can be no converts to a religion in this sense. If Dr. Radhakrishnan and I are friends we cannot convert any others into that friendship. Similar friendship may exist, but identical ones cannot. It is from this point of view that we wish to study the religion of Jesus.

In the accepted meaning of the term the religion of Jesus was no religion at all as no two persons' religion can be identical. No man-made rule can bind him down against his convictions. Man was not made for Sabbath. He condemned institutional religion when it was made a means of exploitation, and in no uncertain terms he denounced the stalwarts of institutional religion. Yet, in another way, we may say that the religion of Jesus was universal in as much as all religions have God as a common factor and each person as a variant. Here it is that all religions meet, and Sri Ramakrishna might well say, "All religions are one." To the frog in the well, its well is the only chosen well in which the sun, moon and stars are reflected, its atmosphere encircled by the walls of religious ritual is peculiarly its own, and is different from the other wells, and a zealous frog will try to recruit more companions. But to an eagle soaring the sky, all atmosphere is one, and there is room in it for all and sundry, and it realises there is only one sky with the same sun, moon and stars for everybody.

In regard to Jesus' relation to God, we find scattered throughout the Gospels, evidence of the religion of Jesus being a very personal religion. "When thou prayest enter into thy closet and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret." We see that Jesus had no ideas of exclusive worship. "Ye shall neither in this mountain nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Fatherthe true worshipper shall worship the Father in Spirit and in truth."...God is a spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in Spirit and in Truth.

Those who set high values on ritual to be followed by everybody deny the religion of Jesus. Spirit knows no ritual. It is a personal contact with God. What form it should take remains with the devotee. What suits one person will not help another. It is futile to lay down set forms and ceremonies. At the same time we have to recognise that the experiences of others are helpful to us and there are several spirits quite close in their make up to be able to fall into convenient groups. Such groups may get together for common worship, for mutual aid and help, but such common forms are definitely sinful when they assume an exclusive aspect. No church or religion has any religious sanctions from Jesus to say, "Unless you do as I do, you will not be saved." "He that is not against us is for us" is the broad principle laid down by Jesus.

God is a Father, and all men are brethren. This was Jesus' ruling relationship to his fellowmen. He did not regard any as an outsider. His was a



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universal religion. Every child born of woman, immediately attained fraternal relationship with Jesus by the very fact of its belonging to the human family. He had not to wait till the child was baptised to receive it into any group. Will any church dare deny entry to one whom Jesus claims as His brother? Where then is the foundation for conversion or closing the doors of any church against non-Christians? The so-called Christian churches that claim exclusive rights have drifted far from the religion of Jesus. "All that the Father giveth me, shall come to me, and him that cometh to me I shall in no wise cast out." In the Christian churches even today we find distinction of colour and race made among its own members. Even after death the body of one who was a member in his lifetime of a church but who had a dark skin, cannot be buried alongside the body of another member of the same church but who had a white skin. Is it not blasphemy to call such churches Christian? Such may be "white clubs" but not churches of God.

If we wish to trace the origin of the missionary spirit in what is called Christianity we will find it goes to St. Paul, the child of Imperial Rome and not to Jesus the Nazarene. When Jesus sent out His disciples His charge to them was "Go not into the way of the Gentiles; and into any city of the Samaritans enter ye not but; go rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." If we paraphrase it today it would read, "go not to the distant parts of the world to those professing other religions, but go rather to your own neighbours and teach them the right path." Our missionaries conveniently turn literalists when it suits them and leave out passages for a generous interpretation when it goes against them. If literal interpretations there must be, I submit, the injunctions to the disciples should be followed by preference, "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purse, neither scrip for your journey, neither two coats, neither shoes nor yet staves, for the workman is worthy of his meat." I would commend the missions accepting this as a test to see how near to the religion of Jesus they approximate.

How shall we know whether our relationship with God is of the right sort if each individual lays down his own standard and attitude? "By their fruits ye shall know them" not by their professions nor their formal following of ceremonies. "Let your light so shine before men that seeing your good works they may glorify your Father in Heaven."

Jesus considered himself a tool in the hands of God. "My meat is to do the will of Him that sent me and to finish his work" and again He says "I must work the work of Him that sent me." We find what He conceives to be the will of the Father in the instructions He gives to His disciples while sending them out. "Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, raise the dead, cast out devils." That is Jesus' idea of our mission in life—service of our fellowmen in need. This was not merely a precept. His short life was one of intense active service. He wished to be known, not as the Son of David, but by the service He was rendering. When John the Baptist sent enquiring who Jesus was, the answer was "Go your way and tell John what things ye have seen and heard, how that the blind see, the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, the deaf hear, the dead are raised, to the poor the gospel is preached." Here is a testimony of a man's religion. When we are asked what religion we follow can we Christians say, "Look at my Western clothes, look at my cropped head, look at my western manners, my table is laden with beef and pork, and my house is decorated with things gathered from the four corners of the earth. I go to church on Sundays and have a pew in front, our

names are drawn from the saints in the Bible. I wear a cross round my neck and read the Bible morning, evening and night, and pray to God that the hungry may be fed." Will not Jesus say, "I know ye not, not everyone that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but He that doeth the will of my Father which is in heaven." In regard to his mission he says, "To this end was I born and for this cause came I into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth."

KARL MARX ON INDIAN VILLAGE COMMUNITIES.

The small and extremely ancient Indian communities, which still exist to some extent, are based upon the communal ownership of the land, upon a direct linking up of agriculture and handicraft and upon a fixed form of the division of labour which is adopted as a out-and-dried scheme whenever new communities are founded. They constitute self-sufficient productive entities, the area of land upon which production is carried on ranging from a hundred to several thousand acres. The greater part of the products is produced for the satisfaction of the immediate needs of the community, not as commodities; and production itself is therefore independent of the division of labour which the exchange of commodities has brought about in Indian society as a whole. Only the superfluity of products undergoes transformation into commodities, this being in part a primary result of the activities of the State, to which since immemorial days a definite proportion of the produce has gone in the form of rent in kind. In different regions of India, we find different forms of such communities. In the simplest form, the land is communally tilled and its produce is divided among the members of the community, while every family carries on spinning, weaving, etc., as an accessory domestic occupation. Side by side with the masses who are thus employed one and all in the same avocations, we have the following persons; the headman, who is judge, policeman, and tax gatherer rolled into one; the book-keeper, who keeps the farming accounts and registers everything relating thereto; a third official whose business it is to prosecute criminals, to protect travellers from afar, and to escort them to the next village; the ranger, who keeps the bounds between his own community and neighbouring ones; the overseer of the waters, who distributes to the tillers the water that has been stored in the communal reservoirs; the Brahmin, who conducts the religious services; the schoolmaster, who, on the sand, teaches children to read and write; the calendar-Brahmin, who functions as astrologer, determining the times appropriate for sowing and harvesting, and making known which are lucky and unlucky days for various agricultural operations; a smith and a carpenter, who make and repair agricultural implements; a potter, who fashions all the earthenware utensils needed by the village community; a barber; a laundryman; a silversmith; occasionally a poet, who in some communities replaces the silversmith, in others the schoolmaster. This dozen or so of persons is maintained at the cost of the community at large. If the population increases, a new community is established upon virgin soil, after the model of the old one. The mechanism of the community is one characterised by the purposive division of labour; but a manufacturing division of labour is impossible, seeing that the market for the work of the smith, the carpenter, etc., remains fixed; and seeing that at most, if the village be a very large one, there may be two or even three smiths, potters,

* Marx : Capital. Allen and Unwin pp. 377 ff.

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etc., instead of one. The law that regulates the division of the labour of the community operates here with the inviolable authority of a law of nature. Each of the handicraftsmen, such as the smith, etc., works in accordance with traditional custom, but independently, and without being subject to any sort of authority, performing in his own workplace, on his own initiative, all the manipulations proper to his speciality. The simplicity of the productive organism in these self-sufficient communities—which continually reproduce their kind, and, if destroyed by changes, reconstruct themselves in the same locality and under the same name—this simplicity unlocks for us the mystery of the unchangeableness of Asiatic society, which contrasts so strongly with the perpetual dissolutions and reconstructions of Asiatic States, and with unceasing changes of dynasties. The structure of economic elements of society remains unaffected by the storms in the political weather.

BOMBAY BUSINESSMEN'S MANIFESTO.

A joint manifesto by 21 leading business men of Bombay, states:—

Pandit Jawaharlal in his presidential speech at the Lucknow Congress said:

"I see no way of ending the poverty, the vast unemployment, the degradation and subjection of the Indian people except through Socialism. That involves vast and revolutionary changes in our political and social structure, the ending of vested interests in land and industry, as well as the feudal and autocratic Indian States system. That means the ending of private property except in a restricted sense, and the replacement of the present profit-system by a higher ideal of co-operative service."

This has been described as a new civilization, and illustrated by what is happening in Soviet Russia to-day.

We have no hesitation in declaring that we are unequivocally opposed to ideas of this kind being propagated, as, in the present condition of widespread economic misery in the country, they are likely to find ready, though unthinking, reception. We are convinced that there is grave risk of the masses of the country being misled by such doctrines into believing that all that is required for the improvement of their well being is a total destruction of the existing social and economic structure. The inculcation of any such ideas into the minds of unthinking millions of this country would lead to a situation in which not only the institution of private property, but the peaceful observance of religion, and even personal safety are likely to be jeopardised.

The business community and the propertied classes of this country have played not a small part in the furtherance of the National movement for the achievement of political freedom, and have supported all practical measures for the amelioration of the lot of the toiling masses of this country, and for the correction of inequalities of wealth by taxation of the basis of ability to pay. Whenever the larger interests of the country have demanded alterations in the existing laws, they have co-operated with other sections of the community in bringing about the necessary changes in consonance with the need of the times. But reforms, in order to remove known evils are quite different from a destructive and subversive programme which declares to every man with a stake in the country, whether small or large, that it is wrongful for him to own business or other property, and that he is rendering no service to the community which would justify him in the expectation of legitimate protection of his interests by the State.

We also consider it necessary to declare it as our firm opinion that such an ideal, apart from creating disorders in course of time, cannot but result in causing further divisions in this country, and impeding the achievement of the common purpose of all patriotic Indians, namely self-government for India.

The following are the signatories:—

Sir Nowroji Saklatwala; Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas; Sir Chimanlal Setalvad; Sir Phiroze Sethna; Sir Cawasji Jehangir; Mr. V. N. Chandavarkar; Sir Shapoorjee Billimoria; Messrs. Walchand Hirachand; Mathradas Vissanji; A. R. Dalal; Rahimtoola Chinoy; Chunilal B. Mehta; K. R. P. Shroff; Ratanjee Hirji Govindji; Ranchhoddas Jethabhai; Khimji Vishram; Haridas Madhavdas; Dharamsey Mulraj Khatau; Ishwardas Lakhmidas; Sir H. P. Mody; and Mr. A. D. Shroff.

EDUCATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT IN U. S. A.

The estimate of Aubrey Williams, director of the National Youth Administration, that over 5,000,000 young people from 16 to 25 years of age are neither working nor attending school, that almost 3,000,000 young people are on relief, that 700,000 young people had to quit high school last year because they could not afford to go on, and that hundreds of thousands graduated from high school and college into a labour market greatly surfeited indicates that this "is a cold and unwelcome world,.....our young people are entering."

When President Roosevelt officially recognized the inauguration of the National Youth Administration in June, 1933, he declared that something must be done "for the nation's unemployed youth because we can ill afford to lose the skill and energy of these young men and women. They must have their chance in school, their turn as apprentices, and their opportunity for jobs—a chance to earn for themselves." Those who understand the youth problem, regard the appropriation of \$ 50,000,000 to help the large number of young people needing it, as a mere gesture toward carrying out the lofty purpose expressed by the President. In fact the President himself declared "that the final solution of the whole problem of unemployed will not be attained until there is a resumption of normal business activities and opportunities for private employment on a wide scale." Furthermore, one of the most serious questions facing the country is how many of those now unemployed, but employable, will still remain idle if business reaches the levels of 1929 and previous years.

The inadequacy of the \$ 50,000,000 appropriation, the small scale of payments to young people, and dissatisfaction with the administration of the National Youth Administration has aroused many organizations representing American youth to action. These organizations are affiliated with the American Youth Congress and they are demanding legislation which offers some hope of coping with the youth problem. Their programme has been incorporated in a bill which was introduced in Congress January 14, 1936, by Congressman Amlie.

The bill would authorize and require the Secretary of Labour and the Commissioner of Education to establish a system of vocational training and employment on public enterprises for the purpose of providing regular wages for young people between the ages of 16 and 25. Wages must be equal to prevailing wages established by recognized labour organizations in each community and in no case less than \$15 per week plus \$3 per week for each dependent.



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For needy students in high schools and vocational schools the wage is the average of their weekly living expenses plus fees and it must not be less than \$15 per month exclusive of all fees. The wage would become effective when they enter school and would be paid "throughout the entire year" (calendar year rather than academic year).

The Secretary of Labour and the Commissioner of Education must also establish a system of regular employment on college projects for needy undergraduate and graduate students. The projects must be of "academic nature in accordance with the educational purposes of the institutions of higher learning." Regular wages must be paid equal to prevailing wages in the community as established by local labour organizations or by local youth commissions described below. In no case must the wage be less than \$ 25 per month, paid throughout the year.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the Liberator.

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NOTES

Democracy and Civil Liberties :—Civil liberty is no more safe under a democracy than under an autocracy or bureaucracy. In fact, when a democracy feels itself threatened it is capable of more arbitrary interference with liberty than the autocrat who is never altogether free from the fear of a popular rising or the bureaucrat whose main preoccupation is to keep things going smoothly. It is curious that civil liberties in India have been more exposed to restrictions since the introduction of popular Legislatures than before. We have ourselves more than once remonstrated against the attempts of popular leaders to dictate to the Press. When Pilate asked the Jerusalem mob whom it would like him to release on the eve of the Passover, Jesus or Barrabas, the mob shouted Barrabas who, by the way was the leader of a nationalist revolt though he is designated a robber, just as Chinese who resist foreign exploitation are branded as bandits or Ethiopians who persist in fighting the Italian invader even after the Emperor has left the country, are shot down as brigands. Last month, three small school children of ages ranging between six and nine, in Massachusetts, were committed to the Reformatory for refusing to salute the American flag in pursuance of the order of their father, a member of a sect known as Jehovah's Witnesses, which holds that such salutations are contrary to true religion. The *New Republic* pertinently asks: "Does Judge Mason, or any one else, believe that a child of six deserves to go to the reform school for obeying his father on a question of deeply-felt religious principle? Is patriotism worth having when it is enforced by measures of this kind? Does not love of country imply a reciprocal obligation that the country shall treat the individual in such a way as to make love and respect possible?" Distinguished educationists like President Hutchins of Chicago University, President Graham of North Carolina University and Professor Charles

H. Judd, have been the target of attack because they refused to submit to interference from outside interests in their educational work. Genuine regard for liberty is always the result of deep reflection by minds trained to look beyond immediate results. It is always, therefore, the possession of the few. It is fortunate for a nation when its destinies are in the hands of some of these few.

Milk for Babes :—The Simla Municipality has started as an experiment free supply of milk to 120 school children—one pound of milk each a day. The experiment is to be continued for a period of three months in order to observe its effects on the physique of the children. They are to be selected from those whose parents cannot afford to procure milk at their own cost. His Excellency the Viceroy personally attended at one of the distribution centres and praised the action of the Municipality and laid stress on the maintenance of correct records of the results of the experiment. With great respect for the earnestness of Lord Linlithgow's observations, we fail to see that there is any need to demonstrate the good effects of feeding children with milk. The experimental method has been the means of advancing knowledge in many directions but there are many things which are self-evident and need not be proved by experiment. Indian children do not get enough milk not because their parents are unaware of its value as child-food but because milk is dear and they are poor. Pure, cheap milk such as can be had in many European countries and in the United States, is a rarity in large parts of this country. The Simla experiment may lead to the rise of the price of milk in Simla and thus make it less accessible to children who are not among the one hundred and twenty selected ones. Apart from the difficulty of selecting children according to their parents' earnings, the pound of milk, unless consumed on the premises and in the presence of an official, is sure to be shared with the brothers and sisters of the selected, who are probably more under-nourished. We may add that the Simla experiment has been long part of the routine of maternity and child welfare work in many cities. The provision of an adequate supply of pure milk for the children of India is primarily a question of providing adequate pasture. Lord Linlithgow has initiated a movement for improving the quality of milch cattle. His Excellency presented three stud



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bulls to Delhi soon after his arrival. His example has been followed by a few others in different parts of the country, including, we note with interest, the *Times of India* whose Delhi correspondent was inclined to be facetious in his account of the Viceroy's presentation. Better cattle would require better and more fodder. The deterioration of Indian cattle is mainly due to want of adequate grazing. It is to be hoped that Lord Linlithgow will not allow his attention to be distracted by local needs from the larger problem as it affects the whole of India.

Central Advisory Education Board:—The Provinces of British India were granted autonomy, among other subjects, in Education under the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The Central Government, however, was loth to take its finger from the pie and devised various indirect means of retaining, in part at least, its right of interference in educational administration. An Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, was appointed. He, without any responsibility for administration, felt himself free to offer advice and criticism to Provincial Ministers which, more often than not, had as much effect on them as water on a duck's back. He conceived the idea of a Central Advisory Board of Education. It has met with a cold reception in the country. The Simla correspondent of the *Times of India* reports that many of the Provinces have not even replied to the Commissioner's offer to let loose on the country a number of experts from England at the expense of the Government of India, though they were all represented at the Conference held some months ago at Delhi. Lord Willingdon gave the suggestion a parting benediction in the ambiguous style of Delphic oracles. Meanwhile four eminent educationists, including the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastry, have been added to the Board. After the scurvy treatment meted out to him in connection with the Round Table Conference, it is an act of truly Brahmanical self effacement on Mr. Sastry's part to lend the prestige of his name to save the Advisory Board from collapse. A Central Advisory Board was started soon after the introduction of the Montagu Reforms but was abolished after about a couple of years on the ground that the money expended on it might be spent more usefully. This argument will gain and not lose weight by the statutory autonomy into which the Provinces will enter in about twelve months' time. There is already another institution, known as the Inter-University Board which, judging from its last annual report, has to display much ingenuity in making work for itself. Many of its advisory resolutions are recorded without comment by member Universities. The Bombay University seems to make a point of not taking any notice of them, not even to the extent of saying that they will receive careful consideration. In respect of only one recommendation of the Board, that there should an inter-borrowing of books

between different University Libraries, did the Bombay University care to reply and it was a blunt statement to the effect that the proposal was unworkable. The Calcutta University also turned it down as impractical. Madras did not reply. The newer Universities, whose libraries are yet in the making, approved of the suggestion. The Dacca University did so on condition that "no library request the loan of any fiction book or any book or journal which is not rare or out of print." The Inter-University Board, so far as we can see, serves no useful purpose. It may be left to the Universities to convene a Conference to consider specific questions as they arise.

A Concocted Murder Case:—The Punjab High Court in acquitting Sharfn and Nikka of murder of which they were found guilty by the Sessions Judge of Lyallpur and for which they were sentenced to death, expressed surprise that neither the committing Magistrate nor the Sessions Judge noticed that the post mortem report of the Civil Surgeon on the body submitted to him as that of the murdered person, completely contradicted the statement of the approver on which the accused were convicted. The approver who alleged that he was one of the participants in the crime, had stated that the body was dismembered. The Civil Surgeon's report, which he personally explained before the High Court, found the body intact. "One of the amazing facts of this case," observed the Chief Justice and Justice Munroe who constituted the Appellate Bench, "is that this complete contradiction was not noticed in the lower courts either by counsel or by the learned Magistrate or Judge, or by Counsel in this Court. It sometimes appears to us that Judges in the lower Courts look upon themselves as mere recording machines and fail to take an intelligent interest in the cases before them or to ask necessary questions to clear up doubtful points." The whole case was fabricated. "There is a clue in the Police diary of the investigation which tends to show how this invention arose," observe the Judges. "It is stated therein that the Chaukidar came to the police and reported that "a cut up body" had been found. No one except the Civil Surgeon noted the truth and the Civil Surgeon's post mortem report was not understood by the police. We are forced to the conclusion that the approver's evidence and the police diary have been fabricated to correspond with this initial fatal error. Those who dug this gallows pit have fallen into it." The case recalls another recorded by Sir Bampfylde Fuller in his reminiscences, which he had to try as a young Magistrate somewhere in the Central Provinces. The Police produced a skeleton as that of a woman said to have been murdered. When Fuller was inspecting the place where the murder was said to have been committed the woman whose "corpse" had been exhibited, to the consternation of the Police, turned up and identified herself. It turned out that the



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Police had "assembled" the skeleton from a charnel pit into which several dead bodies had been thrown during a famine several years previously. But this was half a century ago and one would have thought that such a thing was impossible now. Incidentally, it may be worth the while of the Home Member of the Government of India to know that Police reports on which people are detained in custody without trial, are not always as reliable as he takes them to be.

Arab Revolt in Asia Minor:—In the beginning of this year the French Mandatory in Syria had great trouble in dealing with a rising of the Arab population, Nationalist rioting in Damascus, Aleppo, Beirut, Homs, Hama and other places, writes Mr. Robert L. Baker in the *Current History*, resulted in a total of twenty-six dead, hundreds wounded and injured, hundreds thrown into prisons and considerable damage to property. A general strike, which reached its forty-second day on February 29, kept business at a standstill. The effort of the French Mandatory to crush the uprising by force, says the same writer, failed utterly. A few days later, the policy of force was openly abandoned, and a Nationalist Ministry was appointed. The new Cabinet was informed that France was ready to negotiate a Treaty with Syria, similar to that by which Great Britain recognised Iraq's independence, and to propose Syria for membership of the League of Nations. Meanwhile the trouble has spread to Palestine where the position is complicated by the Balfour Declaration to provide a National Home for Jews in the land which they deserted two thousand years ago. Since the advent of Herr Hitler to power in Germany, and owing to his strong anti-Jewish policy, the number of European Jews who have to find a home in other parts of the world, has increased. The German Government does not allow Jews to take their capital out of Germany. They can take only goods made in Germany and dispose of them elsewhere. This, of course, would be assisting the German Dictator, which Jewry is in no mood to do. At a Conference in New York attended by Sir Herbert Samuel and two other leading British Jews, it was decided to collect 15 million dollars to expatriate 100,000 young Jews from Germany. As, owing to the depression and other causes, many countries would refuse to accommodate the emigrants, it was planned to settle 50,000 of the young German Jews in Palestine. This would require the British Government to raise the quota considerably and it seems to have been assumed that this could be done. Apart from that, the Zionist Organization has been complaining of British backwardness in giving effect to the Balfour Declaration. The Arab population has evidently been alarmed by the prospect of an increasing influx of European Jews with serious consequences to its religious, social and economic future. Sympathy in India is with the Arabs. Many Englishmen also feel

that the Balfour Declaration has committed their country to an unjust and impossible policy. The Jews have a widespread organisation and means of propaganda, and, what is more, they control finance in many countries. On the other hand, behind the Palestine Arabs, is the sympathy of three hundred million Muslims of all nations and behind it is the sympathy of Asia and Africa. Between the two, Britain has a difficult choice to make.

Zanzibar Indians' Case:—After an unconscionable delay, the Government of India have acted on the suggestion of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association to send out an officer of standing to help the Indians in Zanzibar to place their case against the Clove and other anti-Indian decrees before the British representative who has been deputed to enquire into the economic position of the administration. Mr. G. S. Bozman, Deputy Secretary in the Education Department, left for Zanzibar on Wednesday. He is an able officer and may be relied upon to do full justice to the task which has been entrusted to him. But we are afraid that, before he reaches Zanzibar, the British delegate would have nearly finished his work and formulated his decisions. We have, of course, the right to appeal to the British Government before any decision is finally made. If, as has been surmised, Mr. Ormsby-Gore becomes Secretary of State for the Colonies in place of Mr. Thomas, India may expect from him fair dealing. He is well acquainted with the Indians' difficulties in Africa and has before this shown himself to be above racial bias. But the task of the Secretary of State would have been facilitated if the Indian case had been placed before the enquiry at the earliest moment. In this case, the Government of India have not shown their accustomed alacrity in dealing with the grievances of Indians Overseas. Now that the National Congress has opened a department for Overseas Indians, Government will have to meet a type of criticism very different from that hitherto offered by the Imperial Citizenship Association, which has regarded co-operation with Government a cardinal principle of its policy and methods.

Nazi Methods in India:—"We learn with dismay," writes the *New Statesman*, "the news that Mr. Subhas Bose, lately Mayor of Calcutta, has been rearrested as a *detenu*, without charge or trial, on his return to India after absence in Europe. These are Nazi methods." The *New Statesman* is unfair to the Nazis. This particular method has been in use in India long before Nazism was thought of. The Regulation under which Mr. Subhas Bose is detained is more than a century old. By the way, Mr. Subhas Bose who was confined in Yerravda prison has been interned in his brother's home at Kurseong, a hill-station near Darjeeling. He was removed there early this week. It is a brilliant idea to make one's brother one's keeper.



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BOMBAY, May 30, 1936.

NO MORE IMPERIAL CONFERENCES?

The Indian Legislature passed a resolution on March 30 this year recommending the termination of the Ottawa Agreement to be followed by a Government survey of India's trade with various important countries. The Assembly contemplated the negotiation of bilateral treaties "whenever and wherever possible to bring about the expansion of India's export trade." This resolution, and even more Government's decision to abide by their previous promise to be guided by the Assembly's decision on this issue, was regarded by national parties as a triumph for Indian opinion. Mr. Satyamurthi addressing the open session of the Lucknow Congress pointed proudly to the Ottawa Resolution as an achievement of the Congress majority in the Assembly and asked whether anyone would question the advisability of Council entry after that. It must have been a shock to many, therefore, to see the Dominions Secretary using almost the very language of the Assembly Resolution in explaining Britain's future economic policy within the Empire. The United Kingdom, said Mr. Malcolm MacDonald in reply to a question in the House of Commons, did not propose to call a Conference to consider the Ottawa Agreements. Each Agreement would remain in force unless after February next year six months' notice of denunciation was given by any party to it. Mr. MacDonald thought that it would be most appropriate to deal with individual Governments as occasion offered. What has led British statesmen to look upon the Ottawa Conference as an experiment not to be repeated? The explanation is obvious. The self-governing Dominions taken together are too difficult to negotiate economic pacts with. Ottawa was entered on as an emergency measure; it was utilised by the Dominions as an opportunity for pressing their demands on Britain; and the British delegates submitted to Dominion exactions because they dared not let the Conference fail. As compensation the colonies were to provide Britain with markets and raw materials—a policy which later roused the envy and hostility of less fortunate European powers. Imperial Conferences, therefore, are less advantageous to Britain than negotiations with individual governments. That has been the bitter lesson of Ottawa.

For the Ottawa Agreements have, generally speaking, brought no advantage to Britain. Canada, as Lord Snowden remarked in the Lords' debate on Ottawa in 1932, raised duties on certain articles to eighty and ninety per cent before the Conference and then offered to take off ten per cent for British goods. More than this, the Canadian Premier decided after Ottawa to levy a duty of twenty per cent on British goods which had entered free before the Pact, on the ground that the relevant part of the Ottawa Agreements related only to existing duties and not to fresh ones! Canada has done well for

herself. She has sold more to Britain in the Ottawa period, thus compensating for the chaos then prevailing in the United States. Now that the U. S. A. markets are more stable, Canada has negotiated an agreement with the United States which must react on her inter-imperial trade relations. The Australian Government has maintained throughout a high duty on cotton goods; in 1934 acting with New Zealand it threatened to default on Dominion loans held in Britain if their farmers were denied free markets in the United Kingdom. It is significant that the one country where the Ottawa arrangement was 'really beneficial to Britain, was India. The period before Ottawa was one in which the boycott of British goods was intensely practised. During and after the boycott period, the Indian consumer, when he had to use non-Indian products, rarely bought British. That British products should have found a good market after Ottawa in spite of this feeling indicates the importance of the preference enjoyed by them over other foreign articles. Even if foreign countries did not retaliate, India sold less to them because she bought less from them. "The basis of Imperial preferences from the point of view of the colonies," writes the *Round Table*, "is that the more they take of British goods the more they will be able to sell in Great Britain; the converse, taking colonial trade as a whole, is equally true—the less they take of foreign goods the less they will be able to sell in foreign countries."

The diversion of trade from foreign countries to Britain is not necessarily bad. But in India's case it is so, because her loss has been greater than her increased trade in the Empire. "The only true criterion of success," wrote Sir Arthur Salter in the *Political Quarterly* in 1931, "is whether or not Ottawa results in an increase in the total volume of trade, imperial, internal and external together, in the total mass of profitable inter-changes. To change the direction, without increasing the total, of our trade, is no success. To increase one section at the expense of greater loss, direct or indirect, elsewhere, would be failure." Judged by this standard the Ottawa Agreement has failed in India and the popular demand for its denunciation was a sound one. But it was opposed by the Government because officials here did not sufficiently appreciate the fact that Britain too had not, as a whole, gained from the Agreements, whatever she might have obtained out of India. The Government resolution to refer the question to a committee was, as one member shrewdly suggested, an attempt to eke out the life of the Indian Agreement to the full period of the Dominion ones. However one might condemn this method of evading direct action, there would have been some point in it if the various units of the Empire were to have met at the end of the period. It becomes meaningless in view of the Dominions Secretary's declaration of Britain's loss of faith in Empire Conferences as a means of solving economic problems.

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NOTES ON THE WAY.

Scapegoat Thomas: The case of Mr. J. H. Thomas has our sincere sympathy. He has fallen a victim to the prejudice of the governing classes of Britain against the intrusion of outsiders into their preserves. Joseph Chamberlain had to meet the accusation that he had a pecuniary interest in some firms which had contracts with the British Government during the Boer War. But he was a strong man and, besides, he had the chivalrous Arthur Balfour for his chief. Balfour threatened that he would resign if Chamberlain left the Government. Lloyd George had to answer for the Marconi scandal. He too was a dynamic personality and he too had for chief, Lord Oxford, a statesman of great courage and loyalty to his colleagues. Ramsay Macdonald when he became Prime Minister in the first Labour Government was attacked for accepting the present of a motor car. The Opposition leaders in Parliament, however, declined to associate themselves with the intrigue and there the matter ended. Mr. Thomas' position has been greatly weakened by his defection from his old Party which would have stood by him. He was a Minister of State by sufferance. Mr. Baldwin, unlike his predecessors, has a habit of saving his Government by sacrificing his colleagues. He threw Sir Samuel Hoare overboard some months ago and he has accepted Mr. Thomas' resignation with the consoling remark that he would himself have done the same in a similar position. What is that position? Mr. Thomas maintains that he did not breathe a word about the Budget proposals to anybody. He has been Cabinet Minister for several years and there is no reason to think that he had on this occasion forgotten the obligations of that position. That certain persons took out insurances against increase of taxation does not necessarily show that they did so on information improperly furnished to them. The alternatives before a Finance Minister, faced with a situation like that before the British Finance Minister, are always extremely limited. Any intelligent man who keeps touch with political and economic trends can easily guess them. Merely because people talked in the City of one particular Minister, it does not follow that they were right. Neither is the connection of the Minister's son with some of the transactions, indubitable proof that the father had a hand in them. If the Prime Minister had stood by his colleague as Lords Balfour and Oxford did by their colleagues, Mr. Thomas ought not to have had to resign. Mr. Baldwin's authority in his Party, however, has been steadily on the wane for over a year. But sacrificing a colleague on such flimsy grounds as in this case will not raise his prestige.

Which Socialism? Sir Chimanlal Setalvad was one of the signatories to the Bombay Businessmen's Manifesto published in the *Reformer* last week. He seems to have quickly realised that the omission to offer an alternative scheme was a vital defect and he hastened to supply it in the shape of a statement to the Press issued on the day after the publication of the manifesto. In it he says: "I am sure most people will welcome Socialism as it is understood and practised in some of the countries in Western Europe. If Socialism means the more equitable distribution of profits between Labour and Capital, the securing of a reasonable minimum standard of living for all and, even under certain circumstances and conditions, the nationalisation of some key industries, many of those who are denouncing the Pandit's propaganda will be for Socialism." If this passage had been inserted in the Businessmen's

Manifesto, of which Sir Chimanlal was a signatory, it would have added much to its weight. The fact that it was not inserted and that Sir Chimanlal had to issue a separate statement embodying it the day after the publication of the Manifesto, shows that he was unable to obtain the assent of his co-signatories even to the mild type of Socialism which he favours. Pandit Jawaharlal is wrong in saying (in the *Chronicle* interview which we reprint this week) that Socialism and Communism both accept the general philosophy of Marxism in regard to the interpretation of history and current events. Lord Snowden, who believes as fervently as the Pandit that the organisation of the State and Society on Socialistic principles offers the best hope for the future of humanity, writes in his autobiography: "I may make a confession which most Socialists would make if they had the courage to do so. I have never read Karl Marx...Neither Keir Hardie nor William Morris derived their Socialism from Karl Marx." The early Socialist movement in Great Britain, he says, derived its inspiration far more from the Sermon on the Mount than from the teachings of the economists. But whether derived from Karl Marx or the Sermon on the Mount, Socialism postulates much more than would be acceptable to Sir Chimanlal. The Sermon on the Mount Socialist, who can not be accused of undermining religion, is often a fiercer advocate than the Marxist. Asked at a Glasgow meeting whether he accepted Marx's theory of value, William Morris said: "To speak frankly, I do not know what Marx's theory of value is, and I'm damned if I want to know. I am, I hope a Socialist none the less...What we Socialists have got to do is to work together for the establishment of a system of co-operation where there shall be no masters or slaves, but where every one will work jollily together as neighbours and comrades for the equal (not equitable) good of all." The Pandit and his opponents forget that Bolshevism is the logical corollary to Tsarism and wherever and to whatever extent Tsarism prevails, Bolshevism is sure to follow.

Christian Communism-or-Capitalism:—In this connection the following plan of a Christian Communism and a Christian Capitalism drawn up by the *Catholic Worker* of New York of working peacefully together, is interest both as showing a way of reconciling seemingly opposite principles and as illustrating that the conflict is not confined to the political or economic sphere and that religion claims to have the deciding voice.

With this the fourth anniversary number of the *Catholic Worker*, writes that journal, it is proper again to state our stand and our opposition to the industrial system, to military preparedness, to inter-racial injustice.

We are writing as Catholics and as Americans. We do not believe that the two positions are incompatible.

We are accused by false conservatives who do not know what they want to conserve, of being Communists. And we are accused by Communists of being Fascists.

So we restate our position and the positions of both communist and the fascist-minded opponents.

Communists believe in State Socialism as a step to Communism.

We believe in widespread private property, the de-proletarianizing of our American people. We believe in the individual owning the means of production, the land and his tools. We are opposed to the "finance capitalism" so justly criticized and condemned by Karl Marx, but we believe there can be a



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Christian capitalism as there can be a Christian Communism.

The Communist believes in the necessity of achieving State Socialism by class war. "How are you going to convert the wicked capitalist, the speculator, the banker?" he says. And his answer is "by liquidating them."

We believe in using the following means: Indoctrination by using all the propaganda means at our disposal: by the individual practice of the works of mercy: by farming communes which will provide work for the unemployed and leadership for those who are anxious to undertake the job of building up a new social order.

The Communist is Atheist. "Atheism is an integral part of Marxism," Lenin says.

We believe that we are all members or potential members of the mystical Body of Christ, and that we must show that faith by translating the spiritual into the material. All men are our brothers, Jew or Gentile, white or black, since God created us all and since His Son died to atone for the sins of all men. Since Christ is our Brother, all men are our brothers—the communist, fascist, the red baiter and the "capitalist."

We oppose the "finance capitalism" of the American industrial system because it is as truly materialistic and hence atheistic as Marxism. And we believe that only Fascism which denies all human liberty can keep it alive.

We are opposed to "social planning" because it will lead to servitude, and because we believe that "Society is a spiritual organism and not an economic machine."

We believe that all the hundreds of thousands of workers marching throughout the industrial centres to-day are justly criticizing the present social order as debasing and degrading.

We believe that they are braver and more honest men and women than those large masses of indifferent and comfortable materialists who close their eyes to the misery and degradation of the American people, or those others, the rabid red-baiters who, in opposing the communist solution, uphold the present materialist system.

We do not believe that sharing the wealth, a reformed monetary system alone, old age pensions and epic plans are practical or fundamental. We do not believe that legislation is going to bring us out of the morass we are floundering in.

We do believe that the problem before us of working for a social order in which the way of life will enable man to save his soul, is a moral one which must engage the minds and energies of all Catholics.

All Americans indeed should wake to reality, and in recalling what Thomas Jefferson stood for in the minds of his countrymen, look around them and contemplate the state we are in today.

Inasmuch as we do not concern ourselves with such conditions, we are responsible for them.

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of them ye have done it unto Me," Christ said.

Third International Conference of Social Work:—The Third International Conference on Social Work is to be held in London from the 11th to the 18th July. The topic for this year's conference is "Social Work and the Community." Any interested persons who are to be in London at this time will be welcome at the Conference. Complete information may be obtained from Mr. Clifford Manshardt, the Indian representative of the Conference, care the Nagpada Neighbourhood House, Byculla, Bombay.

THE RELIGION OF JESUS.*

(By J. C. KUMARAPPA.)

If we look upon religion as a close form of "Friendship" between God and man, the seniormost place is given to God, to whom man owes unconditional obedience, and every other relationship has to be subordinated to this. This subordinating does not lead to any conflict, but is a natural outcome of it. If I am in close friendship with a personality like Gandhiji, that friendship is of no value unless it is reflected in all my other relations. This cannot be helped. In the same way if we are in close communion with God, all our activities will bear the hall mark, and our faces will be transfigured. If God claims the first place, all others come afterwards. The child Jesus can say with no disrespect to his parents: "Wist ye not that I must be about my Father's business;" and the young man, Jesus, can say to his mother, "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" Jesus never followed customs just because of their age-old authority. We frequently hear, "It was said by them of old time...but I say unto you." If the God relationship is a living one no other authority can supersede that; no human being, father or mother, old or young, can stand between us and the realisation of our ideals. "He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me."

There is a converse to this: Those who are in a senior position should know that it is not their due to obtain servile obedience from their juniors. The personality of each individual is sacred and has to have its own development. There can be no human authority which can claim unquestioning obedience: Churches that profess to be the conscience-keepers of its devotees will find no support in Jesus, who seeks to establish direct individual touch with the Divine.

We have to find God in the service of our brethren. We cannot play the role of interceders and raise holy hands in prayer, and ask God to relieve the suffering of others. "Simon, lovest thou me feed my sheep." We have to render neighbourly service. "For I was an hungered and ye gave me meat, I was thirsty and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was in prison and ye came unto me." This does not stop with mere supply of needs. We have to be careful of our action that we do not lead others into the wrong by them. "It were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and be cast into the sea, than that he should offend one of these little ones."

I am afraid, Christian churches have not been mindful of these instructions. In their great hurry to make the world worship as they do, they have disregarded all other religions where they have not actively persecuted them. Jesus would have them consider all legitimate prejudices of our neighbours. Some of the rituals now practised by the churches are revolting to the fine sentiments of the people amongst whom we live. Is it so essential to the propagating of the religion of Jesus, that amongst a vegetarian people who refrain from eating even roots that grow below the surface of the land, as such roots have more life, to practice a ritual in which the blood of the founder is symbolically drunk and his flesh is ceremonially eaten, nay, in some, they claim, to consume the actual blood and flesh? These gruesome practices would have no weight in the religion of Jesus.

Jesus the compassionate, who says to the woman taken in her sin, "Neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more", will not condemn those who are earnestly seeking to walk with God. The religion

* The second and concluding part of the address delivered to the Parliament of Religions, May 9, 1936, Bombay.



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of Jesus is not a measuring rod for the "Pagan" but a helpful ladder at the disposal of everyone who wishes to use it. Wherever there was hope Jesus would encourage the struggle regardless of man-made labels. "A bruised reed shall he not break, and a smoking flax shall he not quench."

From the time the church entered into an unholy alliance with the State and became its handmaiden, it has enjoined unquestioning loyalty to it. As far as we can see this was not Jesus' attitude and is not in keeping with the highly personal religion he practised. As we have seen, Jesus gave the first place to his ideals. If the State or Society went against it, then the ideals had to prevail nevertheless. The blood of martyrs through the ages will bear witness to this. He repeatedly taught those around him that man's needs were above all institutions. He openly challenged the Pharisees in regard to adherence to customs and tradition irrespective of the claims of those around. In so far as the State was working for the welfare of the people, and the people co-operated with it, it was the duty of the citizen to do his share. The State has to perform certain functions and the citizen has to find the means for it. "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's and unto God the things that are God's." When the power of State or society becomes tyrannical Jesus revolted against it. When Herod misused his power and position Jesus called him "That fox" and condemned the "devouring of widows' houses" in the name of religion. He has always given the first place to the needs of the people, and in so far as the State served them he extended his co-operation as when He asked Simon to pay the tribute money "for me and thee."

Men have tried again and again to formulate definite forms of Government from Jesus' words, but have made gross blunders, as Jesus only laid down principles and expected everyone to decide his course of action for himself. We cannot excuse ourselves from taking part in politics. As we have already seen if our relationship with God is vital, it will make itself felt in all our relations. As long as we are members of a gregarious society we must be related politically to those among whom we have our being. To say that any religious man can promise to keep out of politics is to make a plaything of religion. Can a trained bacteriologist say he will promise to have nothing to do with the sanitation and hygiene of the village in which he lives? What use then will be his knowledge? If you are in close communion with a just God, will it not be impossible for you to shut your eyes to injustice to your fellow-men? Conscience cannot be locked up in steel cases at our convenience.

A missionary friend told me that if any of them protested against any political wrongs they will be sent back by the next boat, and asked me what will become of their work. Is the God we serve impotent without us? "God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham." If his work is worth doing He will see to it. All that we are asked to do is to do the will of the Father in Heaven. The consequences need not deter us.

Although Jesus Himself did not formulate any political theories etc., it is simple to apply his religion to modern requirements of Statecraft.

He lent co-operation to authority in so far as it lay along his principle and he did not hesitate to cut across all regulations when they were inimical to human interests. "Sabbath was made for man" will be the motto of civil disobedience. Where the situation called for it the religion of Jesus enjoins direct action against man-made codes of Law. "Laying aside the commandments of God, ye hold

the tradition of men—making the word of God of none effect through your tradition." After warning his disciples of the leaven of the Pharisees he says, "Be not afraid of them that kill the body, and after that have no more that they can do."

When the means becomes the end there is a danger of the goal never being reached. Jesus valued material possessions only as a means of achieving his ideals. He found the money to pay tribute, "lest we should offend them." The moment we set our hearts on the means—property becomes an evil. It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of heaven. When property makes us lose all sense of proportion it becomes a danger. For one who has to work for the kingdom, property is a hindrance and one has to relieve oneself from it just as a swimmer casts off all unnecessary garments. The casting off of the garment itself is no virtue, but lightens our burden on the way. We earn no merit by asceticism itself. He reminded those who sought him for worldly benefits that "foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests, but the son of man hath nowhere to lay his head." This ought to be the answer to any who wish to embrace Christianity for worldly considerations. The one danger of material possessions is the feeling of satisfaction one seeks in it and the way its acquisition absorbs all thought and action. "Where your treasure is, there will your heart be also." What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul. We are so built that it is not possible to divide our attention equally to worldly matters and to spiritual claims. We cannot serve God and mammon.

When we talk of religion we often lose sight of our physical side. The religion of Jesus is quite alive to the needs of the man. In dealing with the soul the body is not forgotten. Jesus does not deal with men in bulk but applies his general principles in relation to each individual. The principles of themselves possess no virtues but assume importance only in relation to particular human beings. We see Jesus watching the gifts cast into the temple treasury. He values the two mites of the poor widow more than all the others. He goes by the relative values or as an economist will put it by the marginal utility. Our gifts and services are valued by the purity of their motives. In the parable of the talents the same principle of valuation is shown. Every man is judged and dealt according to his several ability. While this may be a consolation to some, to others it is a grave situation, for "unto whomsoever much is given, of him much shall be required." This principle cuts at the root of uniform religious observances and emphasises the personal aspect of religion. The religion of Jesus is not an impersonal set form of conduct, but adjusts itself to the ability of the individual to see God. Therefore, none of us can have any grounds to condemn anyone else. It is impossible for us to judge who will go to heaven and who to hell from merely the conduct of the individual. There are no absolute standards to go by. Rules and regulations which are intended for the conduct of the people, are subordinated to the needs of the individual. In the observing of the letter of the law we ought not to cause offence to any of our brethren. The main thing is the fulfilment of the spirit in relation to the needs of the people. The right of way is to human needs. Life is more than meat, and the body more than raiment.

In the religion of Jesus there is no intolerance of other forms of religion. He was very impatient of over-zealous Jews, because of their narrow religious



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outlook. He himself sent his disciples to the lost sheep of the house of Israel and not to the Gentiles. He denounced the scribes and Pharisees "for ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte and when he is made ye make him twofold more the child of hell than yourselves."

The religion of Jesus was not exclusive, "I say unto you, that many will come from the East and from the West, and shall sit down with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven, but the children of the kingdom shall be cast out."

In the parable of the Good Samaritan, Jesus gives the place of honour and esteem to one who is not a Jew but the Harijan of the day. It indicates Jesus' desire to bring forward such despised people.

What weighs with Jesus is not the allegiance of any individual to any particular religion but the individual's attitude to his fellowmen.

In the earlier part of the address I had referred to Dr. Farquhar's "Crown of Hinduism." Now that we have analysed the Religion of Jesus we can understand why Dr. Farquhar was looking for a head to place the crown on. Although we said that Christianity may be looked upon as the Crown of Judaism yet we cannot accept the personal religion of Jesus such as the one we have formulated here, as the crown of Christianity. Christianity has developed into a smug, comfortable, selfish and individualistic religion seeking for its own gain. While the religion of Jesus requires for its growth a background of a collective social order such as we find Hinduism has developed in India. To cite one instance, take even the joint family system where the fit and the unfit, the rich and the poor, the gifted and the incapable, all live together and share a common purse. This system has its weakness but it is distinctly an attempt towards loving thy neighbour as thyself. Again amongst the Musalmans there is neither black, white or brown, Prince, peasant or pauper, they all practice a democracy which puts to shame the race for the high places in Christianity. We can see Dr. Farquhar was conscious that there was need for a head fitted to receive the Religion of Jesus and found it not in Christianity but in the social order evolved by Hinduism. Of course the pure personal religion of Jesus needs a sociological order suited to it to take root. As we have noticed except in cases such as that of the Society of Friends it does not find a congenial well-prepared ground to germinate in western forms of modern Christianity.

We have looked at the religion of Jesus from various aspects. When we study the pure form, we notice in every feature of it a similarity to the culture of India. On the other hand, Christianity, as we see around us, is totally foreign to our culture. The gorgeous ceremonies, the dependence on the priesthood, the aggressive proselytising spirit and the obeisance the church pays to the state are not found in our land. Amongst us, individual or family worship, with simple forms and rites, performed by the devotee himself, without the intervention of a priest, commonly in the home itself, is the general form of worship. Westerners have centralised even their religion. In every walk of life our ways are decentralised, so was that of Jesus. The religion of Jesus was highly individualistic, while the Christian churches are masterpieces of centralised organisation and administration. Many of the prelates spend their time not in prayer and meditation but in care of administration. They have turned Marthas; Marys will flourish only in the religion of Jesus. Even for the worker the way prescribed by Jesus is much the same as is practised today in India. "Into whatsoever city or town ye shall enter,

enquire who in it is worthy, and there abide till ye go thence." To this day our social workers depend on such hospitality. Can the churches afford to follow Jesus literally here? In India it is nothing strange. Poverty prescribed by Jesus is honoured in our land. The churches cannot carry on their work on that basis. All these variations prove how far from the religion of Jesus the churches have drifted. In the Indian culture the fields are ready unto harvest for the pure religion of Jesus, but there is no room for modern Christianity.

Thus we find that Jesus practised and preached a personal religion which derived its characteristics from his attitude to God, and his conception of his mission. The greatest had to be the servant of all. No human need was to be sacrificed to rule and order. We act as trustees with regard to material possessions committed to our charge. If the greed for worldly goods and acquisition could be neutralised we can do away with war and all the attendant evils. The personality of an individual counts above all tradition and custom.

Will it be too much to expect that the religions represented here will extend towards each other the same spirit of mutual respect and tolerance that Jesus evinced towards those of other religions, and thereby help us to usher in the enunciation to the shepherds, "Glory to God in the Highest, on earth Peace and Goodwill towards men."

HARIJANS AND CHRISTIANS IN MYSORE. (FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

I have been much interested in reading the communications that have appeared lately in some of the vernacular newspapers regarding a well in a village of Mysore District of the State. For years the Hindu Adi-karnatikas (Panchamas) and their Christian relatives in the village have been using the well in common, and there has not been the slightest trouble. But of late the Hindu Adi-karnatikas, stirred up apparently by outsiders, have been objecting to their Christian neighbours drawing water from the well, for the construction of which the Government or the District Board made grants, and to which the Christians have a longstanding right.

Without discussing the details of the case I may say that the Taluq Magistrate has now ordered the Christians not to draw water from the well. Thus by a stroke of the pen this officer of the Government has taken away the rights of the Christians who for years have had a free access to the well, both before becoming Christians and after receiving baptism.

It seems to me a very serious matter thus to deprive a minority community of rights which the Government should specially guard and protect against the unjust demands of a majority. It is also entirely contrary to orders, which are before me as I write, previously issued by the Government, in similar cases, in which it is emphatically laid down that a change of religion cannot deprive a man of a right he previously possessed. The order then passed is perfectly clear. It runs as follows:

"It is repugnant to the policy of any enlightened Government that change of religions should involve the forfeiture of any civil right previously enjoyed." Also:

"The Government has no hesitation whatever in giving the assurance that Christians who before baptism had the right to use a public well will after baptism have the same right and be entitled to exercise it to the fullest extent possible."

After such an explicit statement of its policy one would have thought there could be no doubt as



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to what attitude a Government official should take up in such cases.

The order now passed by the Amildar Magistrate has been based on the report supplied by the police, that there was a danger of a breach of the public peace. The idea that a handful of law-abiding Christians would take any action that would lead to a breach of the peace is absurd. Such officials need to be reminded of a significant paragraph in the order passed by the Government in a similar case some years ago. It runs as follows:

"The Deputy Commissioner has too readily accepted the Police Inspector's statements as to the probability of a breach of the public peace. There is no ground for apprehending a breach of the public peace and the decision in the case cannot be based upon any such ground."

There has been similar trouble about wells and tanks in different parts of the State of Mysore during the last few years. I believe that invariably the trouble has been stirred up by outsiders who interfere for reason best known to themselves, and who seek to destroy the harmony that has hitherto prevailed among the different classes and which the Government is so anxious to promote. Why should not the Government once for all put a stop to all such trouble by passing an order that when they dig a well, or give a grant towards the construction of a well, all classes of the people should have the right to use the well if they care to do so?

The case in question throws a rather interesting light on recent movements. The Adi-karnatikas are everywhere demanding the recognition of what they consider to be their rights. They are insisting that Brahmans and other caste people should admit them to Temples, although it is acknowledged by all that they have never had the right to enter them. Moreover, from various motives their supporters, are doing their utmost to get the Temples thrown open to them. Yet when a village well is concerned these people are refusing to others, a minority community, the right they claim for themselves and their supporters, who cry out for right of temple-entry, are helping them in their most unworthy and selfish policy of excluding others from the wells.

To a large extent I, with others, have been in sympathy with the Untouchables, in their aspirations and desires, but if this is the spirit they intend to manifest to others our sympathy with them must necessarily lessen. However that be, having regard to the well difficulty that has caused trouble in several parts of the State it seems to me that the Government will be advised if they pass an order making their wells as they have already made their schools, free to all classes of the people, thus settling the matter once for all. Also they should see that their orders are carried out impartially by all their officers so that the rights of minority communities may be adequately protected, according to the Government's definite orders.

India and the League of Nations:—The following is the resolution which Mr. Aiyangar proposes to move in the Simla Session of the Legislative Assembly to which we referred in an editorial note recently:—

"Whereas the League of Nations has failed to prevent the destruction of Abyssinia one of the members of the League by taking proper action in due time, but has on the other hand, done positive disservice to Abyssinia by feeding it continually on false hopes of help and as it (the League) does not promise to be of any use to save weaker nations from the aggression of the stronger ones, even in the future but has only become a costly show, this Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to take early steps to withdraw the membership of this country from the League and to discontinue the payment of the annual contribution thereto."

MARY CHESLEY.

Miss Mary Chesley, an English woman, came to India in 1934 when the Congress was in session in Bombay. As soon as she landed she came to my hut in the Congress Camp and told me she knew Mirabeau and had expected to come with her but somehow or other she had preceded her by a week or thereabout. Her desire was to serve India through her villages. She did not prepossess me by her talk and I thought she would not stay in India many months. But I was wholly mistaken. She had come to know of Miss Mary Barr who had already commenced village work in Khedi, a village a few miles from Betul (C. P.). Miss Chesley found her way to Mary Barr. Mary Barr brought Mary Chesley to Wardha and we were together for a few days. Miss Chesley showed a determination that surprised me. She began work with Mary Barr in Khedi, adopted the Indian costume and changed her name to Tarabehn and toiled at Khedi in a manner that alarmed poor Mary Barr. She would dig, carry baskets full of earth on her head. She simplified her food as much as to put her health in danger. She had her own handsome income from Canada from which she kept only a paltry sum of about Rs. 10 for herself and gave the rest to the A. I. V. I. A., or to Indians with whom she came in contact and who seemed to her to give promise of being good village workers and who needed some pecuniary help. I came in closest touch with her. Her charity was boundless, she had great faith in the goodness of human nature. She was forgiving to a fault. She was a devout Christian. She belonged to a Quaker family. But she had no narrowness about her. She did not believe in converting others to her own faith. She was a graduate of the London School of Economics and a good teacher, having conducted together with a companion a school in London for several years. She realised at once that she must learn Hindi and was regularly studying it. For being able to pick up conversational Hindi she lived for a few months in the Wardha Mahila Ashram and there with two members formed a plan of going to Badrikeder during summer. I had warned her against the adventure. But it was difficult to turn her from such adventures when once her mind was made up. So only the other day she started with her friends on her perilous pilgrimage. And I got a brief message on the 15th from Kankhal saying, "Tarabehn expired". In her love for India's villages she was not to be excelled by anybody. Her passion for India's Independence was equal to that of the best among us. She was impatient of the inferiority complex wherever she noticed it. She mixed with poor women and children with the greatest freedom. There was nothing of the patron about her. She would take service from none, but would serve anybody with the greatest zeal. She was a self-effacing mute worker whose left hand did not know what the right had done. May her soul rest in peace.

M. K. GANDHI (in the *Harijan*.)

Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Examination:—With a view to diffuse the knowledge of Hindi in non-Hindi speaking areas, particularly in Orissa, Bengal, Assam, Sindh, Bombay, Barar and Marathi C. P., the Hindi Vishwa Vidyalaya of Allahabad, established by All-India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, conducts a Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Examination every year at different Centres. The Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Examination will commence on 24th September 1936 this year. The last date for sending the application form for admission to this examination is 1st August 1936. A new centre for this examination in non-Hindi speaking areas can be opened at any recognised school if at least five candidates are available.

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A PICTURE OF INDIGENOUS EDUCATION.*

(BY KSHITIMOHAN SEN).

India has always been animated by an eager desire for wisdom, and in the Upanishads and other ancient records we find ample evidence of the keenness with which knowledge was sought in those days. We also come to know of a succession of renowned teachers; with different systems of philosophy living in the several forest hermitages, where women also had free access. At that time, moreover, we get glimpses of the rise of Kashi, Videha, Panchala and other places as centres of popular culture—fit seats for the future universities.

And, in fact, Jain and Buddhist monastic universities later came to take the place of the forest hermitages. Both in the previous age, with its characteristic quest for Brahma, and in the succeeding secular age of Buddhism, the educational methods were alike based on spiritual rapport between teachers and pupils of whose livelihood the entire burden was borne by the people at large; knowledge not being looked upon as a commodity to be bought and sold by individuals but as an achievement of common endeavour.

With the decline of Buddhism in India these Buddhist universities also decayed. Thereupon the work of the teaching was carried on, much in the same way, by teachers belonging to the Shaiva, Shakta, Vaishnava and other sects, in their respective seats. Eventually the culture, handed on, found refuge in institutions known as Chatuspathis, wherein the torch of our ancient lore has been kept alight during the last few centuries.

The imparting of knowledge continued to be looked upon as one of the most important of religious observances and so, as in the case of centres for the distribution of food to the hungry and water to the thirsty, the foundation of a Chatuspathi for the maintenance of a teacher as well as a free teaching establishment, was accounted a meritorious act by the wealthy. Life in these Chatuspathis was mellowed by the reverence of the pupils for the teachers, and love for the pupils of the teachers and their wives; it was outwardly meagre, but full of an abundant vitality within. Of this life how few of us know anything at all to-day?

Somewhere about 1800 A. C. an Englishman named W. Ward wrote a book entitled *History, Literature and Mythology of the Hindus*. Though the author appears to have had but scant sympathy with Hindu culture, he nevertheless refers with respect to these Chatuspathis as colleges, and enumerates eighty-three of them in Kashi, and over a hundred in Navadwip, Calcutta and its neighbourhood, omitting East Bengal and Mithila of which he seems to have had no knowledge. He has naturally described only their external features, it not having been possible for him to have any acquaintance with their internal affairs.

When in the middle ages, the pristine light of wisdom that had illuminated Kashi became dim, attempts were made, chiefly by two remarkable widowed queens, Ahalya Bai of Southern India, and Rani Bhabani of Bengal, to revive its lustre by founding new Chatuspathis. And, as a result, 360 teachers' houses, with lands sufficient for their upkeep, came to be endowed by each one of them, thus procuring for Kashi the services of so many excellent Pandits, whereby it was able to gain new life, besides a number of free dormitories for the pupils. The deeply learned successors of these pandits have, to this day, kept alive the spiritual inheritance of

*The *Vivasa-Bharati*, May 1936.

India. In what extreme poverty these devoted teachers live and work, very few have any idea; in such contrast is it with the flourishing temple priests—the *Pandas* and others—who fatten on the gifts of blind present-day religiosity, dragging down the devotees on whom they thrive to the depths of their own degradation.

Any how, even today there are any number of Chatuspathis in Kashi, situated in it several sections, each section being under or affiliated to a particular temple, as its *antargriha*. The old rule was that the Pandits belonging to the different *antargrihas* should meet together from time to time, in order to apportion the times and subjects of teaching between themselves, so as to bring about a co-ordination of their work; and the pupils were thus enabled to take up the subject in which they were interested by attending in turn the lessons given by different specialists; each period being indicated by the ringing of the bell of the temple concerned.

In spite of the poverty in externals, the heart-felt relations between the teachers and pupils, and the numerous festivals that punctuate the course of the year in Kashi, keep its academic life from becoming dry. True, subjects like formal logic and grammar have but little interest for others than the students proper, but lessons from the *Puranas* and other devotional *shastras* are also daily given in an appealing manner, suited to outsiders as well, so that the principles inculcated may be reverentially accepted and assimilated in their lives by a wider audience. A living connection is thus kept up, quite naturally, between the learned and the laity. It would be well worth our while, even in these modern days, to study the working of such indigenous educational institutions in Kashi and other places of pilgrimage. In Bengal the teacher's own dwelling house used to serve as a Chatuspathi, in which the students also lived during the period of their studies. The master was a father to his pupils, and his wife was as a mother. The peaceful life of the village that went on around them kept their minds and hearts full of human interest. Though teachers and pupils were alike poor in material resources, the store of love and wisdom in their little households was full to overflowing. So attached did the pupils become to what was for them a veritable *alma mater*, that when the time came for their return to the homes of their parents, they were moved to tears.

The master would sit at meals with his pupils as well as his own children, and his wife would make no difference in the helpings she served to them. The pupils would rather freely pester her with all kinds of affectionate importunities, like as petted children do in their own homes. If any newcomers hesitated to do likewise she would remark: "They still look on us as strangers!" As a consequence, the feeling of belonging to the master's own family, and the spiritual and intellectual lineage thus established endured through generations. Among the various touching stories of village life that have become traditional, these relations occupy a large place. It is a great pity that such stories are all but forgotten now-a-days.

I still remember the wife of such a teacher of Bikrampur, who came of a well-to-do family, and being unused to such strenuous housekeeping, at first felt put out by the goings on of her husband's pupils. When the Pandit's mother saw this, she admonished her thus: "Look here, my daughter, these children have left their own fathers and mothers to come to us. This is now their home. Let them look on themselves as children of the house, and bother you with their demands; it

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will help them to forget that they are away from their own homes." This good lady herself, in her old age, told me this story of her youthful impatience by way of deploring her own shortcomings.

In Kashi there was a teacher named Keshava Shastri, a Maharashtra Pandit. He was a childless widower, and his sister, who kept house for him, was called Aunt by his pupils. He was a pandit of great renown, and presents of sweetmeats and other dainties used to be constantly coming in from all quarters, with which his larder was always full. If we ever neglected to do our part in looting these stores, our "Aunt" used to complain: "What are the children coming to these days?—and they can't make themselves at home. In the old days my pots never could be kept full so long!"

This was the kind of feeling that prevailed in all the teachers' households. After my return home from Kashi a report got abroad that I had died. When the news reached Kashi that this was not true, one of my old teachers wrote asking me to pay them a visit. And I can never forget the unaffected joy that my arrival occasioned—how all the old venerable teachers flocked round me, like fond mothers stroking my head and body, blessing and caressing me as a long lost son.

The love in the hearts of these worthy pandits was only equalled by the depth of their learning and their devotion to duty. Young Dhundaraj, son of the world-famous Gangadhar Shastri, was a great friend of all the pandits' pupils. The poor boy suddenly died after a short illness, without our knowing of it at the time. But our Pandit took his class as usual, though we noticed that he looked aged and worn. After lessons we went about calling for Dhundaraj, whereupon his father remarked: "He has gone where your voices will not reach him." The pandit said this so quietly that at first we could not understand. When at length his meaning dawned on us, one of us exclaimed: "But why, Sir, did you not stop our lesson?" "How could I, my son?" replied he. "So many of you have come from far-off places. I have no right to waste your time. My sorrow is my own affair. But this search for knowledge belongs to all of us, and it would be wrong of me to impede its progress." His simple steadfastness staggered us.

PANDIT NEHRU REPLIES TO BUSINESS MANIFESTO.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in a special interview told the *Bombay Chronicle* representative:

I am afraid that owing to a very busy time in Bombay I have been unable to read fully the various statements that have appeared in the Press regarding my advocacy of Socialism. I should like to examine them in some detail, but I cannot do so at present during the few minutes at my disposal before I leave Bombay. I should like to make it clear, however, that I stand by every word of what I said in my Presidential Address at Lucknow. Criticisms of it are based largely on an astounding ignorance of Socialism and Communism. They are also based, so far as "Big Business" is concerned, in this city as elsewhere, on the instinctive desire of the big vested interests to prevent any change, however beneficial it might be for the country, if it affects them. The Irish Poet Yeats once said: "There is nothing so passionate as Vested Interest disguised as an intellectual conviction."

We have seen some of this passion and prejudice amongst big captains of industry in Bombay, though the understanding of the problems is singularly

lacking. Some signatories of the Twenty-one explained Socialism to me in language which would have astonished any person who possessed a glimmering of economic knowledge. This manifesto itself shows where passion leads one to. They talk of religion being in danger. I did not know that the Twenty-one were the High Priests or the Arch Exponents of Religion in the city.

To talk in this way is to display to the world that they have no valid argument to advance. There is no question of religion when we discuss economic doctrines. Religion should have the fullest freedom provided it does not take the form of vested interest and does not exploit others under this guise. The bringing in of religion in this manifesto shows once again how the vested interests have exploited it to their advantage.

The second argument is an equally surprising one. We are told, that the personal safety of the Twenty-one is in danger. All the world knows that those whose personal safety is in danger in this country are the advocates of Independence and Socialism—not those who champion valiantly the cause of Vested Interest or British Imperialism.

Socialism and Communism, so far as ideals and objectives are concerned, are identical or almost so. The differences come in regard to the various methods of approach to the problem. Both accept the general philosophy of Marxism in regard to the interpretation of history and current events.

I accept the general philosophy, though I do not accept every Communist dogma in relation to it. I want to apply the philosophy in India, to understand what is happening here and to fit it in with the peculiar conditions and the historical outlook of the Indian people. I want to fit the methods to that outlook. I want to avoid violence. I should like to convert a great majority of Indian people by peaceful persuasion to this doctrine of Socialism.

The Manifesto objects not only to the doctrines, as it has every right to do, but also to the propagation of ideas in regard to it. That is a very serious matter, for it infringes the most elementary rights of Civil Liberty. The coming of Socialism will inevitably be a lengthy process and it will involve many factors including the education of people to that end. It cannot obviously come to India so long as the British Empire has possession of India. Therefore, our first problem is one of political freedom. After that the people of India will have to decide what form of economic and social organisation they desire in this country.

The Manifesto as well as Sir Chimanlal's statement refers to the intolerance of the Congress and I shall be happy to know in what this intolerance consists apart from our criticism of their policies and activities which we consider to have been eminently injurious to the national cause. They have every right to criticise us as aggressively as they like. We stand for freedom on both sides to spread our ideas and to criticise.

But when some people actually go to the length of giving their support to the Ordinances and otherwise side with British Imperialism, when vast numbers of their countrymen are fighting a life and death struggle, it is a matter of far graver import. If it is a question of intolerance, I should like to ask if the Manifesto shows tolerance when it talks of the suppression of certain views which it does not like and goes to the length of inviting the Government to suppress them. It comes to this that, in the final analysis, these gentlemen stand with British Imperialism and are opposed even to democratic freedom or Civil Liberty. Nothing could be



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clearer and more explicit than Sir P. S. Sivaswamy Iyer's statement on this issue. He has told us that in his opinion there has not been any progressive suppression of Civil Liberties in India and, so far as he is concerned, he stands shoulder to shoulder, as apparently the Twenty-one do, with British Imperialism. The question thus is a much wider one than one of Socialism which is not an immediate issue.

It is one of our national political freedom itself. People may differ about methods, but if such differences mean the continuous support of British Imperialism in and out of season, inevitable inferences from this would have to be drawn.

How far I am justified as Congress President in 'airing' my views on Socialism is a matter for my Comrades of the Congress to consider; it is an impertinence for those who are outside the Congress and oppose it, to talk about it.

I take my orders from the Congress and from no other authority.

CIVIL LIBERTIES.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

You have done a distinct service to those that think about Pt. Jawaharlal's contemplated Civil Liberties Union, by quoting from the *New Republic* what exactly civil liberty means. The sponsor of this proposal, Panditji, has not defined it still, and naturally, as he is still feeling his way to forming it. But the air is thick with hasty suspicions about how he will be feeling, and it is no unexpected thing to see that the Liberals, one by one, are proclaiming their disbelief in a union with men of Panditji's belief or the Congress, in running the proposed Union. Some of them have gone as far actually as to blame the Congress for the very existence of a problem about Civil Liberties in India under the British rule of law.

Now I feel, Sir, it is the party axe that they are grinding when they say this. Because it amounts to saying that the Congress created troubles by resorting to civil disobedience. I know they believe so. But I think, it is irrelevant talk when a non-party union is proposed and the hand of Co-operation on that basis is proffered. I shall let alone the queer logic contained in that remark which, will ultimately go to justify that escape from a problem is the best solution thereof, as it raises no situations; our one business is to escape or ostrich-like hide one's face underground. My point is this: The Congress thought to take a particular line of action, for securing a purpose, however partially or in a special manner, which all of us love to serve. Naturally, those against the purpose retaliated. No one may say anything against it. One may even keep calm over it and over the Liberals saying that the Government had a right to do so, though it becomes quite a different matter to side with the Government. The question is not that. And it is here that our Liberal friends discreetly evade the issue.

The question is this: What are the laws or limitations of such relation? As we have international laws of civilised violent warfare, can there be similar laws of civil liberties or limitations to state retaliation of civil opposition? In other words, how far and in what manner can a state suppress a peaceful (i.e., which is not aimed at the person of anybody, which is not hate, which bases its claim on justice, equity and a sense of common weal) opposition even against itself, from its own people for whose service

it stands? Or taking it out from that special limitation and generalizing it, what are the minimum essentials of civil liberties a citizen is entitled to have in a modern state? And I think, if at all a non-party C. L. Union is possible, it can be so only on this line of thought.

And why should the Liberals themselves not take up its formation, if they like it? It seems they fight shy of the very Congress. It is as if the inferiority complex that they are labouring under in Indian politics is taking away the very best of them. Why do they allow themselves to be put in a wrong box? Why should they not come forth with their own view of such a union and frankly state their own apprehensions as also be prepared to hear them from other quarters, told by Congressmen? Is not a rapprochement on these lines worth attempting? The other day there was a talk of united action for the Congress and the Liberals. Is this not an attempt on however mild a scale, in that direction? The Liberal bug-bears of Khadi, etc., are not here. Under such circumstances, the Liberals' 'no' to join the attempt for the establishment of a Union, is tantamount to showing that their talk of joint action was mere make-believe. Anyway, they are putting themselves in the wrong before the thinking public.

One more thing and I have done. The *New Republic* quotation has in view only the liberty against the encroachment of the state. And generally it is right. But we have the misfortune of seeing in India the encroachment from sections of the people themselves on the Civil Liberties of some other sections. The Harijan problem is a notable instance in point. Here the Government even sneaks away—at least it looks so—under the cover of the so-called religious neutrality. Here, I think, Pt. Jawaharlal also shirks the question by his socialist aversion for whatever comes under a religious head. A direct question is possible to arise, What will the C. L. Union do regarding this? So often we hear tales of Sawarna tyranny against our Harijan citizens, let alone many that do not reach the public ear. Why should not that be one of the chief spheres of the proposed Union's watchful vigilance? Pt. Jawaharlal would have been more right if he had said that the Harijan problem was a problem of Civil Liberties, rather than as he wrongly did in his presidential address at Lucknow, that it was a problem in landless proletarianism, which it is not, being not exclusive to Harijans. It was rather an *a priori* deduction of the Pandit, not true to facts, from his socialist inclinations against religion.

I think, Sir, that in proposing to form the C. L. Union, Panditji has made a helpful move in our present conditions. But that will be so, only if an attempt at meeting half way, on the lines similar to those discussed above is really made by all classes, communities, and not merely political parties. But it seems the Liberals as a body are feeling shy at that, and negative replies to Panditji are almost daily to be found in the daily press. Can you not help by clearing the issues still more?

Yours etc.,
M. P.

Apropos of this letter, we may mention that one of the speakers at the informal conference convened by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru a few days ago in Bombay, urged that instead of starting a separate body to deal with Civil Liberties the Congress itself should give more prominence to the maintenance of Civil Liberties in its programme. It is almost an axiom that civil liberties flourish best where the stability of Government is most assured. Those who work for the maintenance of Civil Liberties are directly concerned to maintain the stability of the Government. Civil Disobedience does nothing to ensure the stability of the State. Congress, if it had to deal with both subjects, will have to decide how far at a given moment the claims of Civil Liberties should be subordinated to those of Civil Disobedience. If two must ride a horse, one must ride behind. Social disabilities are in a different category, and acquire a different technique.—Ed. *I.S.R.*



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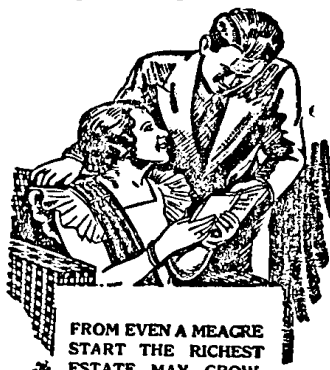
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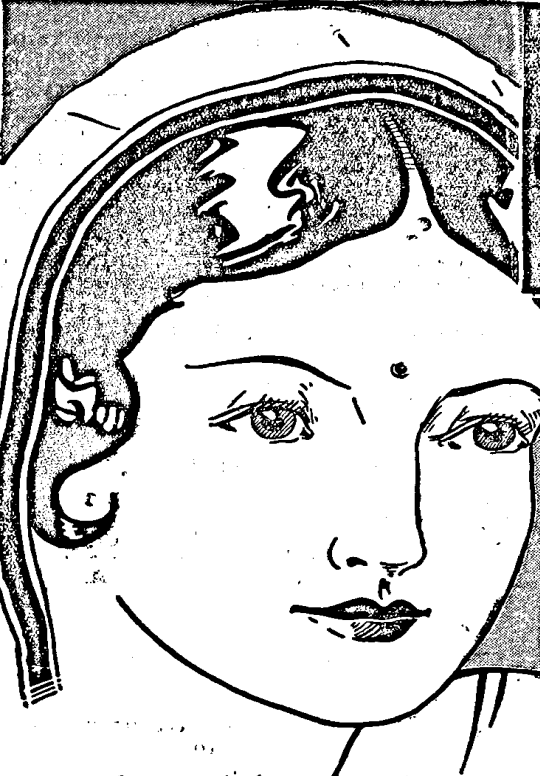
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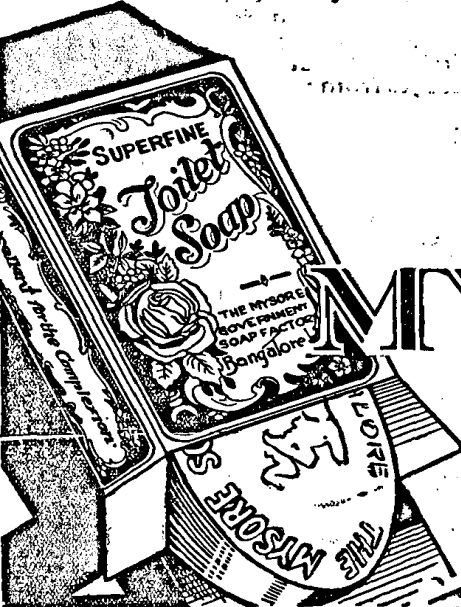
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Community or Class:—Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has been obliged, to avoid physical collapse, to cancel several engagements in the Punjab and to return to his home at Allahabad. He had enthusiastic receptions everywhere and thousands of people gathered from the countryside to get a sight of him and to hear him. At all the meetings which he addressed, he delivered his message of Socialism as the true remedy for the country's ailments. Among other things, he told them that communalism will be ended by adopting Socialism which would give an economic motive for their quarrels in place of a religious one. The caste war is to be ended by starting a class war. The Pandit is not the first or only leader of note to suggest this. Is class war less bitter or less detrimental to the peace of the country than communal conflicts? On the contrary, experience shows that class war is always one of extermination whereas communal conflict is never sustained, it is always sporadic, and often subsides as rapidly as it breaks out. All religions enjoin good relations with neighbours; and outbursts of fanaticisms represent a temporary aberration from right conduct inculcated by every Prophet. The fanatic knows this and he is always ashamed to think of his madness when he has time for reflection. The antagonists in a class war, on the other hand, are implacable. They regard classes other than their own as robbers who stand in their way of living in ease and comfort. Nothing short of the extinction of all classes except one can end a class war. To embark on a class war as a means of avoiding communal conflicts, is to fly from the frying pan into the fire. In one of the last speeches which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru made in the Punjab, he felt obliged to warn his admirers not to think of imitating the methods of the Soviet leaders in introducing Socialism. They should devise their own methods in conformity with Indian conditions. This is a counsel of perfection. Having placed before them the example of Soviet Russia

as one worthy of their acceptance, the Pandit will have considerable difficulty in preventing them from regarding its methods also in the same light. That the end justifies the means is not the peculiar creed of Jesuits, if it is theirs at all. The Soviet leaders never intended all that they found themselves obliged to do. They never intended to massacre the Tsar and his family in cold blood in an underground room in a two-storied house in Ekaterinberg. In fact, the deed was done in defiance of the orders of Moscow by the local Soviet. The worst about Revolution is that the situation rapidly passes out of the control of the leaders. The mob takes control, but it cannot keep it and hands it over to a Dictator who inevitably appears on the scene. The Reformer—Reformist, if you please—is always careful to keep his advocacy within the bounds of reason. He never appeals to passions and prejudices. He recognises the good that there is in the old and seeks only to change where change is absolutely needed in order to preserve it and to remove obstacle to progress. The Pandit, we are sure, will in course of time come to recognise that Reform is always superior to Revolution, though less spectacular. Reform is to Revolution as light to lightning.

Depressed Classes and Conversion:—At a Conference held in Bombay early this week, of Mahars, one of the depressed Hindu castes, Dr. Ambedkar explained that he intended to take the sense of each of the castes in this category before arranging the preliminaries of conversion. To call them all together would frustrate his purpose as antyaja castes do not readily fraternise with each other. They being poor and uneducated, he said, had to acquire strength by allying themselves with some stronger community which was in a position to help them. "They must become kith and kin with some community so that the resources of that community may be available in the struggle." This, in Dr. Ambedkar's opinion, was simply another name for conversion. Nothing can be clearer and proselytising creeds need be at no loss as to how to draw the Ambedkar groups to their folds. Dr. Ambedkar further said that these castes were forced to live in Hinduism and that they never voluntarily did so. This would seem to be irreconcilable with the strenuous claim of the Nasik castes to draw the temple car! Dr. Ambedkar further said that he had no belief in the reformers as they did not fight the Hindu castes "in the same way as the Northerners



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with the Southerners for the emancipation of the Negroes in U. S. A." We are astonished that Dr. Ambedkar should entertain this mistaken opinion. The North fought the South to prevent it from seceding from the Union. President Lincoln was quite explicit on the point. He wrote to Greeley: "My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and it is not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some of the slaves and leaving others alone, I would also do that. What I would do about slavery and the coloured race, I do because I believe it will help to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it will help to save the Union." There is no analogy between Negro slavery and the position of the depressed classes. But, as Dr. Ambedkar has referred to the American struggle, we may tell him that the object of the Hindu reformer who works to free Hindu society of untouchability, is exactly that of Lincoln in regard to the Union. It is to save Hindu society from disintegration. Dr. Ambedkar is naturally concerned with his own grievances. But the Hindu reformer is concerned with them because their continuance is fraught with danger to the integrity of Hindu society. Dr. Ambedkar said that he did not believe in those caste Hindus who wished to live in and marry and die in caste. Whether Dr. Ambedkar believes in them or not, is his own affair. What they do, they do, not to please him but in the discharge of what they conceive to be their imperative duty. The Conference, after hearing Dr. Ambedkar, resolved that it would, as a preliminary step, give up worshipping Hindu deities, observance of Hindu festivals and visiting Hindu holy places. The festivals and deities and holy places are not the essence of Hinduism. The distinctive teaching of Hinduism is the identity of the Universal with the Individual Atman, in the progressive realisation of which in national and social life lies the salvation of the human race.

Babu Bhagwandas on his Inter-Caste Marriage Bill:—We publish in this issue a summary of three articles which Babu Bhagwandas has written for the *Leader* of Allahabad in order to enlist the support of the Hindu community for his Inter-Caste Marriage Bill which was introduced in the Legislative Assembly and is being circulated for opinion. The learned sponsor of the Bill, which is a word for word reproduction of one introduced by the late Mr. Vithalbhai Patel some years ago, begins by showing that Hindu social customs were not intended, like the laws of Medes and Persians, to be unchangeable for all time and under all circumstances; that they were expressly declared to be variable from time to time to suit changing conditions; and that his Bill, therefore, does not infringe the ancient precepts. We do not think that there will

be any difference of opinion on this aspect of the proposed legislation. Babu Bhagwandas next deals with the restrictions of marriage to individuals of the same caste and sub-caste. The present position is that marriages between members of sub-castes of the same main caste, are recognised by the courts all over the country as valid. The judgment of the Privy Council in a recent case which we reprint elsewhere from the *Pioneer*, is explicit on the point. As regards the main castes themselves, the Bombay and Madras High Courts have held that marriages between men of higher castes with women of lower castes, are valid in law. There has been no reference of the point to the Privy Council, and the longer this is postponed the less will be the possibility of the decisions being over-ruled as every marriage which is celebrated under their protection will be annulled by a contrary decision of the Privy Council, in which case the Legislature will be forced to pass a validating Act with retrospective effect. Babu Bhagwandas's Bill, therefore, concerns practically *pratiloma* marriages, that is, marriages of lower caste men with women of a higher caste. Such marriages may be performed now under Gour's Civil Marriage Act. This Act makes partition of a joint family a necessary incident of marriages contracted under it. But this is no hardship to a couple who marry out of their castes as they can not, in the ordinary course, wish or expect to continue to be members of their respective joint families. Babu Bhagwandas's Bill enables such couples to insist on remaining in their families. But the main objection to the Bill is that it is not monogamous and that if it becomes law a Hindu will be entitled to have four wives each of a different caste, which is repugnant to the spirit of the time. Babu Bhagwandas has not met this point in the three articles.

Abandoned Wives:—The Privy Council judgment, referred to in another note, is also important for the fact that it records and sanctions the existence of a custom, among a certain sect of Vaisyas of the United Provinces, permitting a wife abandoned by her husband to marry another man, presumably of the same caste, in the first husband's life time. The problem of the abandoned Hindu wife is a very serious one. The Vaisyas of the United Provinces have solved it by instituting a custom permitting their remarriage. It is difficult to establish a new custom which would be recognised by Courts nowadays and legislation is the only remedy. But the custom noted by the Privy Council shows that, even among twice-born castes, the written law has been varied in vital particulars, by consent of the members, to allow a certain latitude in matters strictly prohibited by the *shastras*.

A Cabinet Minister's Fall:—So far as we can recall there is no precedent to the finding of the Judicial Tribunal, appointed to investigate the leakage of British Budget proposals, that Mr. J. H. Thomas, Secretary of State for the Colonies was responsible for the lapse. The



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Tribunal finds no shred of evidence to suggest that any member connected with the Civil Service was ever in communication with any of those who effected the insurances against increases in taxation, and no leakage from that source was even suggested. All the Cabinet Members are likewise exonerated, except Mr. Thomas. Referring to the visit of a racing tipster to the Colonial Secretary at his office on the morning of Budget day, the Tribunal observes: "Mr. Thomas had told the court that only some mention of a Derby winner was made. According to Sir Alfred he gave Mr. Thomas 'Quashed' as a tip for that day's racing, and Mr. Thomas was a heavy winner by backing 'Quashed' that day. It seems improbable in the circumstances that he should have forgotten the whole incident." This is as much as to say that a Cabinet Minister told a lie and, since witnesses before the Tribunal were sworn to tell the truth, that he perjured himself. Mr. Leslie Thomas who resented his father's question "What have you done?" when the latter met him, when the matter began to be talked about, is completely exonerated by the Tribunal. Mr. Thomas when he heard of the verdict said that it was a cruel one and that his conscience was clear. It may well be that he did not tell anybody in so many words what the Budget proposals were, but he ought to have known that gamblers on the race course and elsewhere are not the most suitable associates for a Cabinet Minister at any time. It is strange that the salary of five thousand pounds which he earned as Secretary of State should not have seemed sufficient to this Socialist leader who began life at a very humble level!

Congress President's Position:—Replying to the question why a woman did not find a place in the President's Cabinet, Pandit Jawaharlal is reported to have said at a Women's Meeting in Bombay that the position at Patna was such that another man would have resigned the job but that he resolved to do his best. He has accordingly been carrying on his propaganda for Socialism regardless of his colleagues. The *Searchlight* of Patna grumbled in an editorial that Congress work is at a standstill while Socialism was being preached. Babu Rajendra Prasad a day or two later regretted that the greatest need of the hour, unity, was being endangered seriously by Socialistic propaganda. "We have," he said, "many difficulties and problems which baffle solution. The country has not yet found out a solution for the Hindu-Muslim problem, in spite of our greatest efforts. Is it practical politics to say that all our communal, inter-communal and inter-provincial differences will vanish in no time, if we can concentrate our attention on the economic problems and solve it along the Socialist lines?" Babu Rajendra Prasad observed that there might come a time when the poor and oppressed people of one community might make common cause with their comrades of the other communities against their common enemy but he felt that such a future was still far off. This was said on the

31st May at Chapra in Behar. In a statement issued to the Press on the 2nd June at Lahore, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru referred to the Communal Award as undemocratic and anti-national and added: "The only way is to divert the attention of the masses to the national and economic problems which affect them much more and thus enable them to see the communal question in its true perspective." The President has an observant eye and we are surprised that the fact which stares every one in the Punjab in the face, should have escaped his notice. The economic problem has not diverted attention from the communal problem but has associated itself with it and the two together have solidified into an amalgam of extraordinary tenacity. A pain in the region of the heart is not cured by a good meal. The man loses his appetite and puts aside your best dishes. While we are afraid that the problem of the poor is not so far off as Babu Rajendra Prasad thinks and while we also think that a patched up unity is worse than open disunity, we do not think that Pandit Jawaharlal can, by calling the attention of the masses to their poverty, wean them from their communal obsessions. Mr. Satyamurthi in Madras has been carrying on open war against Socialism, lock, stock and barrel. Other Congress leaders are known to be equally opposed to the Pandit's programme. His position as President of the Congress bears some resemblance to that of Lord Rosebery as Prime Minister. Lord Rosebery resigned in disgust and the Pandit may have to do the same.

Hiralal's Conversion:—But for his being the son of his illustrious father, the going over to Islam of Mr. Hiralal Gandhi is of little public interest. Mr. Hiralal, now Abdulla, has been offered a seat in the United Provinces Legislative Council by a zealous Muslim member who is prepared to resign his seat in favour of the new Muslim. That Mr. Abdulla has no domicile in Upper India and is not probably qualified to be a voter or a candidate for the Agra constituency, are details which do not detract from the significance of the gesture. Another enthusiast—an Association of some kind—has invited Gandhiji to follow Hiralal's example. In a statement to the Press Gandhiji says that this has hurt him. It has hurt many others besides, not because there is anything wrong in it, but because of its lack of decency, amounting almost to malignity.

Islam and Ahmadism:—We are requested to state that Sir Mahomed Iqbal's pamphlet on "Iqbal and Ahmadism, with a reply to questions raised by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru" may be had by sending an one anna stamp for postage from the office of the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-ud-din, Sherwanala Gate, Lahore. The essay was noticed in the *Reformer* of 1st February.

Mistake in Serial Number:—The last issue of the *Reformer* was by mistake numbered 9 of the XLVIth volume. It is number 39. Those who file the paper should note this correction.



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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER

BOMBAY, June 6, 1936.

INDIA, A BUDDHIST NATION.

Mr. Yonezawa, Consul General in India for Japan, in unveiling the frescoes painted by the Japanese artist, Kosetsu Nasu, in the Mulagandh Vihara, the great Buddhist shrine at Sarnath, near Benares, which stands on the site where Gautama Buddha preached his first sermon, referred to Japan and India as the two great Buddhist nations of the world. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya who presided, endorsed the Consul General's phrase, pointing out that Buddha was regarded as one of the Avatars in Hinduism. Hinduism and Buddhism, he added, were common as they were two branches of the Aryan religion. In his scholarly introduction to his English translation of the Bhagavad Gita, Kashinath Trimbak Telang, drew a parallel between the relation in which Hinduism of the Gita stood to Buddhism and that in which the Brahmoism of Raja Ram Mohun Roy stood to the Brahmoism of Keshab Chandra Sen. "Suppose," he said "our ancestors to have been attached to the ceremonial law of the Vedas, as we are attached to a lifeless ritualism, the Upanishads and Gita might be, in a way, comparable to movements like that of the late Raja Ram Mohan Roy. Standing, as far as possible on the antique ways, they attempt, as Raja Ram Mohan attempted in these latter days, to bring into prominence and to elaborate the higher and nobler aspects of the old beliefs. Buddhism would be comparable to the further departure from old traditions which was led by Babu Keshab Chander Sen. The points of dissent in the olden times were pretty nearly the same as the points of dissent now. The ultimate motive power also was in both cases identical—a sense of dissatisfaction in its integrity with what had come down from old times encrusted with the corruption of years. In this view, the old system, the philosophy of the Upanishads and the Gita, and the philosophy of Buddha, constitute a regular intelligible progression." The parallel may be pursued further. The Buddhism which spread to China and Japan was the Mahayana Buddhism which was itself a protest against the earlier Hinayana and its rather neutral not to say negative ideology. The Mahayana conception of the Bodhisattva is not very different from the Gita ideal of the devotee of the Unmanifest, who is intent on the good of all beings. Mahayana Buddhism is analogous to the Vedanta of Swami Vivekananda with its stress on social service as the indispensable concomitant of religion. Vivekananda drew his inspiration from the Brahmo Samaj under Kesab Chander Sen but his Vedanta was also a reaction against Keshab's eclecticism. Just as Mahayana spread to several countries so the Vedanta of the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda school has spread

all over the world as the recent celebrations of the Ramakrishna centenary witness.

Comparing Buddhism with the Gita religion, Telang observed: "The main points on which Buddha's protest against Brahmanism rests, seem to be the true authority of the Vedas and the true view of caste. On most points of doctrinal speculation Buddhism is still but one aspect of the older Brahminism. The various coincidences to which we have drawn attention show that, if there is need to show it. Well now, on both these points, the Gita, while it does not go the whole length which Buddha goes, itself embodies a protest against the views current about the time of its composition. The Gita, does not, like Buddhism, absolutely reject the Vedas, but it shelves them. The Gita does not totally root out caste. It places caste on a less untenable basis." As regards the Vedas, there has been practically no difference between the effects of their total rejection by Buddha and their rather supercilious shelving by the Gita. The Vedas ceased to be the foundation of Hinduism, and the Gita with the Upanishads and the Brahma Sutras took their place. As for caste, Buddhism did not quite reject it as Telang, in conformity with popular opinion, holds. Dr. Edward Thomas is more correct when he says: "The fact of caste was not denied. The Buddhists even formed a rival theory of its origin and placed the warrior caste, to which Buddha belonged, above the Brahmanical. It was only within the Order that the individual lost his 'name and clan.'" The Dhammapada concedes the superiority of the Brahmin but not on the ground of birth but on that of conduct and behaviour which the Gita also makes the criterion of caste. The Gita like Buddhism holds up Nirvana as the supreme goal though it prefers to call it Brahma Nirvana. The parallel goes deeper. The central teaching of the Gita is that each one should elevate his self by meditation on the Supreme Self which abides in him. If he is unable to do this outright, the Gita recommends four steps by which he could discipline himself to the requisite pitch. If he is not able even to adopt them, as a last resource he is advised to dedicate all his actions to Sri Krishna and he is assured that peace of mind will immediately follow. This is the germ of the doctrine of salvation by bhakti or faith which we should least expect to meet in the teachings of Buddha. But it is there. The Dhammapada in language almost identical with that of the Gita exhorts the Bhikkhu: "Rouse thyself by thy Self, examine thyself by thy Self.....Self is the Lord of self. Self is the goal of self." But Bhikkus whose spiritual pinions are not ample enough to sustain them in the rarefied regions of the highest philosophy, are offered the same last resource as that offered by Sri Krishna: "Those who have faith and love towards me are all destined to heaven." The method of the Gita is the method of

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suggestion: that of the Buddha is also largely the same but, unlike the Gita, which was left without any agency for implementing it, Buddhism had a great organisation and the help of the State to aid its propagation. Turning from doctrines to practice, the Hindu revival which followed Buddhism, was in large part based on Buddhist teaching. Buddhism was not driven out of India. It has remained in the country of its birth under the parental roof, and with the parental name. The Consul-General was, therefore, right in naming India a Buddhist country. She is that in relation to Japan and other Buddhist countries. Nothing better can happen than that the ancient cultural solidarity of India, China and Japan should be revived. San Goku, the ancient collective name for the three countries, united by their reverence for the Sakyamuni, will be the strongest agency for promoting peace and goodwill among the nations of the earth.

THE HINDU INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL.

BABU BHAGAVAN DAS.

The Hindu community is aware that a Bill to validate Inter-caste marriages was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in September 1935, and in April, 1936, was directed by the Assembly to be circulated for the eliciting of opinion thereon by the 15th July, 1936. The text of the Bill has been already repeatedly published in the papers, but is reproduced below again for ready reference.

'Whereas it is expedient to validate marriages between Hindus of different castes for the purpose hereinafter appearing, it is hereby enacted as follows:—

1. This Act may be called the Hindu Marriage Validity Act.

2. No marriage among Hindus shall be invalid by reason that the parties thereto do not belong to the same caste, any custom or any interpretation of Hindu law to the contrary notwithstanding.'

This is, word for word, the Bill which was introduced by the late Shri. V. J. Patel in 1918, but never came to the vote.

The principle of living legislation, elasticity, adaptability, change, accommodation, reconciliation, compromise, synthesis is amply recognized and given full operation in Hindu Dharma-Shastra. The oldest living law-book of the human world, the Institutes of Manu, expressly declares that Dharmas *i. e.*, laws, change with the Ages of the Human Race.

The Sanskrit Scriptures say, 'Laws and customs have to change with times, places and circumstances. There is no course of human action which benefits all equally and produces only good results. Therefore, when the evil consequences of any particular law begin to preponderate over its good results, then it has to be changed for another law. This new law, in turn, begins to fail, similarly, with the lapse of time and change of conditions, and has to be changed again. Hence we see that there is no uniformity, no finality, no permanent fixity, in law anywhere, but a great variety of changing customs and practices.'

But the Indian customs also, though they were originally based on scientific principles of right social organization, have gradually resulted, through excessive emphasis on some aspects and ignoring

of others, in the current caste-system. The excessive rigidities of this system are the main cause of the obvious decay of Hinduism and of the Hindu portion of the Indian people and, therefore, indirectly, of the other portions also, for, as conditions are today, all must fall or rise together. This opinion may be contested by one who sees only the surface-fact that some other communities are increasing greatly in numbers. It will not be contested by one who realises that they are not prospering any more in general welfare, but are becoming more dependent on artificial patronage instead.

These rigidities are utterly frustrating the very purpose for which the so-called caste-system, which should properly be called 'the vocational class system', was instituted by the elders of the race in the far past. That purpose was to promote the formation of a close-knit society, with mutually subservient parts, a true Social Organism, like a living individual body, with head, arms, trunk and legs. But instead of this, we see, today, divisions and dissensions, jealousies, even bitter hatreds between the components. From a cohesive, centripetal force, the caste-system has become changed into a disruptive and centrifugal one. Instead of reconciling all, it antagonises everyone.

To make the nature and purpose of this Bill clear, it is necessary to say a few words about the real nature and purpose of what is now known as the 'caste-system'. Then it will appear that the current rigidity of caste or sub-caste endogamy is not justified by that system at all. In its origin it was a complete Scheme of Social Organisation which consisted of four interlinked organisations, *viz.*, an educational organisation consisting of the learned or Brahmana class and the student or Brahmachari order; a defensive organization consisting of the chivalrous or Kshatriya class and, generally speaking, the Vanaprastha or 'suburban' order; an economic organization consisting of the commercial or Vaishya class and the Grihastha or householder order; and an Industrial or Labour organization consisting of the Shudra or workman class as physical servant and the Sanyasi or anchorite order as spiritual servant. This fourfold social organization was based on a few fundamental, wide reaching, principles of many sciences, biological, psychological, economic, sociological, educational, dietetic and sexological, hygienic and eugenic. It was devised by the elders of the Aryan Race in far past times, as a great broad mould into which could be poured and thereby Aryanised, *i. e.*, civilized, more or less, all the multitudinous tribes, not only of India, but of all the Human Race everywhere, which might happen to come within its sphere of influence, with all their innumerable occupations, hobbies, pursuits, creeds, local customs taboos, etc.

Desha-dharman, Jati-dharman, kula-dharmanshcha-shashvatan, pashanda-gana-dharmansh-cha, shastresminn-uktavan Manuh (Manu).

Such was the original *Varna-Ashrama Dharma* or *Varna Ashrama Vyavastha*. Into it were unceasingly absorbed, and thereby organized and civilized, the hundreds of tribes of India, in past ages. It could, and did in the earlier centuries of the history of India include, absorb, assimilate, persons of any race, nation, country, creed, without disturbing their creed or nationality or mother-tongue. Even today, as a patent fact, we have Punjabi, Marwari, Awadhi, Madhyadeshi, Bengali, Madras, Maratha, Gujrati and Balinese (in the Bali Island) Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas, Shudras; and each of these groups includes persons who belong to the Vaishnava or the Shakta or the Shaiva or any one of scores of other faiths and sects, and speaking all sorts of languages.



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In the fundamental principles of the original system, there is to be found no reason against, and every reason for, classifying each of the many peoples of the earth, Chinese, Japanese, Irani, Arabian, French, German, British, and whether Christian or Muslim or Jew or other, into the same four vocational groups or professions. And in fact, every civilized people actually does possess these four main broad castes or classes or professions, though they are not so deliberately recognized and so systematically organized, with careful partitioning of functions and remunerations, as seems to have been done in ancient India.

Even the Russian Soviet has instinctively named itself the Peasants', Soldiers', and Workers' i. e., Intellectual Workers' and Manual Workers' Soviet Republic. Even in Britain the four estates of the realm are the Clergy, the Nobility, the Commons, the Labourites. Even the Quran speaks of the men of *Ilm*, the men of *Amr*, and the *Zurra*, with the fourth type of *Masdur* understood.

It has been remarked by outside observers that it is impossible to say what exactly Hinduism is. Indeed, there is not one single belief, and not one single practice or sacrament, which can be said to be the invariable, distinctive, differentiating characteristic of Hinduism and the Hindu. No doubt, Hinduism includes the Essentials of Universal Religion in common with all the other great religions of man; but, beside these, almost every one of all the customs and practices, the beliefs and philosophies, lowest to highest, crudest to most refined, that can be found in any part of the world, will be found prevailing in some section or another of the Hindus. Christianity has hundreds of sects, but the belief in Christ is indispensable to all. Islam has scores of sects, but the belief in Muhammad is necessary for all. For the Hindu, belief in no one such person and no one form or name of Deity is so absolutely necessary. But the recognition, conscious or unconscious, implicit or explicit, vague or clear, of being included, however lightly or loosely, within the pale of the Varn-Ashrama Scheme of Social Organization may be regarded, if anything can be, as the characteristic of the Hindu. Indeed the word *Hinju* is not to be found in the old books at all. The Dharmashastra words are *Manushya*, *Manava*, *Nara*, which all mean simply 'man'.

Such a view of the caste-system reconciles and illuminates all the five or six views, tribal, religious, occupational, etc., which have been propounded so far, as to the origin of the system, and gives to it a great scientific and practical value, by distinguishing between psychological, vocational *varnas* and biological *jatis*, and by grouping individuals, whatever their *jati*, into *varnas*, according to their vocational temperament and actual occupation.

After this brief sketch of the nature, the purpose, and the fundamental principles of the so-called caste-system, I hope that what more I have to say, with regard to this Bill, may not be so obscure as it may otherwise have been.

THE PARTITIONING OF THE MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD.

The partitioning of the means of livelihood, deserves special notice. As every individual was assigned to one or another of the four great guilds of Educators, Protectors, Tradesmen, Workmen, so every individual was expected to earn his living by only those means of livelihood which were assigned to his class; he was not allowed to make money by the ways and means set apart for any other class. Equitable distribution of wealth was secured in this way, as well as scope for play of individual tastes, by the old Social

Organization. In all other respects also, under the constant guidance of the few vital fundamental principles stated before, it made the best possible reconciliation between the egoistic and the altruistic tendencies of the human-being, the wisest compromises between the rival claims of individualism and socialism, the most practical solutions of all the problems that perennially, indeed, perpetually, beset Humanity.

Further exposition of this large subject is not possible here. But this, all too insufficient outline of it was unavoidable. It is the neglect of the fundamental principles underlying *Varna-Vyavastha*, the distortion and misinterpretation of them, the excessive exaggeration of parts, the grabbing of all rights and shirking of all duties by the strong and the cunning, which has brought about the degeneration of the vocational class-system into the current caricature of it, and, among many other evils, has given rise to those difficulties regarding marriage, which force us to feel the necessity for new legislation, in the form of this Bill.

The Bill is a purely premissive measure, based on the sound and simple maxim, "Live and let live." If passed into law, it will stop the internal corruptive and disruptive decay that has set in, in the Hindu community. It will soften that spirit of hard internal and external exclusiveness which is the most prominent and most dangerous disease-symptom of that community, today. It will promote friendly relations with sister-communities also, by softening the whole spirit of Hinduism. It will make unnecessary, and thereby prevent a not inconsiderable amount of hypocrisy and fraud in marriage negotiations, and kidnapping and sale of marriageable girls and women which, as is well-known, is being practised in several parts of the country, for the purpose of supplying wives to various sub-castes which are short of women for various reasons. One of these reasons has been, in the recent past, the well-known infanticide of girl babies, among some sub-castes. This infanticide has diminished, apparently; but, from the nature of the crime and the ease with which it may be committed without detection, it is by no means possible to say that it has been extinguished. The present Bill will indirectly help to make such crime unnecessary also. It will help to shift marriage-conventions from the basis, on which they now stand, of superstition, which is belief without reason (dharm-abhasa mithya-dharma, murha-graba, in this case, belief in the potency of the mere hereditary caste-name), to the basis of science, which is belief with reason (veda-dharma, in this case, psychophysical eugenic science). Hetubhir dharmam-anvichchen na lokam virasam charet. (Mbh) Yas tarken anusandhatte sa dharmam veda netarah (Manu).

It will compel no one to contract a marriage outside his caste or sub-caste, but it will save any one who may make such a marriage from being hounded out of caste publicly. It will bind no one against his or her will to enter into or keep up any social relations with any one who has contracted such a marriage, but it will prevent any one, on pain of being held guilty of defamation, from making any public proclamation that such a person has lost caste and is not worthy to be associated with because he or she has contracted such a marriage.

Some other important advantages that would accrue, are, (a) that the method of co-education, which is growing steadily in the country under the pressure of the new conditions, would lead to many happy marriages instead of acts of error and shame, and soiling of mind and body, and, now and then, lifelong nervous disorders; (b) that the suicides of girls, and other evils, now often caused by the growing practice of demanding very



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large cash-dowries—a practice born of economic distress, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the mammonist spirit fostered by the new civilization—such evils would also be checked by the growth of free choice of each other by educated youth and maid, without irrational limitation to the same caste-name.

Finally, I am profoundly convinced, far from *infringing* any essential principle of Dharma and any fundamental commandments of Dharma Shastra, it will help greatly to *restore* to what is now called "Hindu Society," but should be called "Manava Samaj" or "Human Society," those most valuable principles of social life and organization, which that society has gradually forgotten and lost in the course of the centuries.

For those who attach great value to the word of the Dharma Shastra and so do I most reverently, provided the writing be genuinely ancient, belonging to the times when the Indians were a self-governing people, and provided its word be rightly interpreted in accordance with the rules of that Science of Exegesis which is an essential part of the Dharma Shastra—for such persons, sufficient support can be found even in those scriptures, especially the Puranas, for such intercaste marriages. For those who rely more on reason and common sense, scarcely any argument is needed.

It should be noted particularly that the Bill does not force any person to enter into such a marriage. It only preserves intact to those who may enter into it, all their former social status and religious and legal rights and duties as Hindus, saves them from being more or less completely cut off from such of their kith and kin as may be desirous of keeping up social relations with them, and retains for the community their services, which may, in some cases, be very valuable.

It should also be borne in mind that, in any case, there would not be many such marriages. In far the large majority of cases persons and families would continue to seek alliances within their respective familiar and accustomed groups. The intercaste marriages, to be validated by this Bill, would only be, comparatively, the exceptions which prove the rule—but very useful and desirable exceptions they would be.

In bringing forward this Bill, I am, indeed, not suggesting any new-fangled innovation, but am proposing what I sincerely believe to have been the custom and practice in the ancient, happier, more lifeful, and more vigorous, days of the Indian people, before the seventh century A. C.

Such return to the old is natural. It is what may be observed in every department of Nature, including Human Nature. The new ways, in which God fulfils Himself, are usually only the yet older ways, to which He returns on a higher level, in spiral cycles. There are two sides, and only two sides, to every question; and humanity is always swinging from the extreme of one to the extreme of the other, and back again, over and over, in such spirals. The new name in vogue, for this very old Duality is Ambivalence. 'Nature knows no mean', especially human nature, unfortunately. It is always returning from one excess to the opposite excess.

In our self-complacence, some of us may imagine that we are inventing and evolving something entirely original, are striking out quite new paths, doing what has never been done before. Others of us, in our too great conservatism, based also on a similar short view of history, cry out loudly against what they also regard as an innovation. Yet history shows that new generations, and new nations and races, mostly repeat the stages that have been

gone through by the older, or the far older, with variations of outer form and language, no doubt, but with very much the same ambi-valent ideas, feelings, incentives, necessities, underneath.

THE PRIVY COUNCIL ON INTER-CASTE MARRIAGES.

An appeal from the decision of the Allahabad High Court before their Lordships of the Privy Council raised important questions relating to the law of marriage governing the Hindu community. The Bench which heard the appeal consisted of their Lordships Lord Blanesburgh, Sir Shadi Lal and Sir George Rankin. The judgment was delivered on April 28. The appellant was Gopi Krishna Kasudhan, and the respondent (who was unrepresented in the Privy Council) was Mst. Jaggo and another.

In the course of their judgment their Lordships of the Privy Council said that the appeal arose out of a dispute relating to the estate of Nikku Lal, a Vaish of Gorakhpur, who was governed by the Mitakshara Law of Hindus. Gopi Krishna the appellant, was admittedly the legitimate son of Nikku Lal and his right to a moiety of the estate was no longer in dispute. He, however, claimed that entire estate on the ground that the defendant Sri Krishna was not the legitimate son of Nikku Lal and therefore had no interest in the property left by Nikku Lal. It was not disputed that Sri Krishna was born of Jaggo. But the question was whether the woman was the lawfully wedded wife of Nikku Lal at that time.

It appeared that Jaggo was originally married to Bajinath, while she was a minor, and that after his death she married his younger brother, Sheo Nath. This marriage, however, did not prove to be a happy one, as he had another wife and the latter did not like the advent of another woman to live as her rival. Consequently, there were constant quarrels and the husband in order to put an end to this, abandoned his second wife. Jaggo, thus deserted, entered into a matrimonial alliance with Nikku Lal by performing the ceremony of *Sagai*.

Their Lordships said that *Sagai* was an informal ceremony of marriage and the courts in India had concurred in holding that she performed the ceremony of *Sagai* with Nikku Lal, and that it was recognised as valid ceremony in the case of a remarriage. This decision was not challenged before their Lordships but it was urged that the woman could not contract a valid marriage during the continuance of her marriage with Sheo Nath. It was obvious that she could not marry Nikku Lal if she was still Sheo Nath's wife.

The defendants invoked a custom which recognised and sanctioned the remarriage of a woman who had been abandoned by her husband. It had been found both by the Subordinate Judge and affirmed in appeal by the Allahabad High Court that she had been in fact abandoned by Sheo Nath before she married Nikku Lal and also that by a custom applicable to the parties such abandonment or desertion of a wife by her husband dissolved the marriage tie and set her free to contract another marriage.

Proceeding, their Lordships said that, if the existence of Sheo Nath did not invalidate the marriage of Jaggo with Nikku Lal, was it invalid on any other ground? It was contended before their Lordships that since the parties to the marriage belonged to two different sub-castes of Vaishyas, they could not under the Hindu Law enter into a lawful marriage with each other. Their Lordships were not aware of any rule of the Hindu Law, and



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certainly none had been cited, which would prevent a marriage between persons belonging to two different divisions of the same caste. Indeed, there were several decided cases which upheld such marriages. Their Lordships then referred to two leading cases on the point in support of their views, and said that it was true that both these cases related to Sudra (depressed) castes and the argument advanced on behalf of the appellant was that they could not establish the validity of a marriage between persons belonging to two sub-castes of a twiceborn class such as Vaishyas. There could, however, be no doubt that the texts of the Hindu Law did not enunciate any rule prohibiting the union in marriage of persons belonging to different divisions of the same caste, and not a single case had been quoted in which such a marriage had been declared to be invalid.

Their Lordships thought that the matter did not require any elaborate discussion. Briefly the position was that the Sastras dealing with the Hindu Law of marriage did not contain any injunction forbidding marriages between persons belonging to different divisions of the same *Varna*, and neither any decided case nor any general principle could be invoked which would warrant such a prohibition.

It was said that the marriage between members of different sub-castes of the same caste did not ordinarily take place, but this did not imply that such a marriage was interdicted and would, if performed, be declared to be invalid. Indeed, there was at present a tendency to ignore such distinctions if they ever existed.

There existed, no doubt, a disinclination to marry outside the sub-caste, inspired probably by a social prejudice, but it could not be seriously maintained that there was any custom which had acquired the force of law. It was, however, unnecessary to pursue the subject, as in the courts below no such custom was set up or proved that would render the marriage invalid.

For these reasons their Lordships held the marriage of Jaggo with Nikku Lal valid and advised His Majesty to dismiss the appeal.

PROPERTY RIGHTS OF HINDU WOMEN.

Dr. Deshmukh has issued the following statement with regard to his Hindu Women's Right to Property Bill.

The Principle of the Bill is unchallenged. Every Hindu has seen the justice of a measure like this. The Indian National Congress, at the Karachi session, passed a resolution moved by Mr. Gandhi, affirming the equality of the rights of women and removing the disqualifications on account of sex. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the present President of the Congress, in his recent speech to the women of Bombay, reminded the public of the resolution.

"Mr. Gandhi, in a personal letter to me about this Bill, not only approves of the Bill, but thinks that the Bill does not go far enough. All other friends, while agreeing with the principle of the Bill, have expressed misgivings on one or two points.

"There is nothing in the Bill which is against the ancient school of thought of the Hindus or against Hindu tradition or culture. Whatever the state of Hindu law at the present time as affected by decisions of the Courts and the Privy Councils, the old commentators of Hindu law have allowed the right of property to Hindu women in inheritance and partition. The right of women to own property absolutely is not unknown to Hindu law. As regards the shares at the time of partition, even now Hindu

mothers get equal shares with the sons. The daughters received one-quarter share of the brothers, according to ancient law.

"I have suggested an equal share with the sons in the case of daughters, and introduced the claims of widowed daughters-in-law of predeceased sons. These are the only variations introduced to keep up with modern times, but Hindu family life has been sufficiently guarded by denying the wife and daughter to claim partition during the life time of a co-parcener.

"It will be seen therefore that the Bill is no innovation. It is strictly evolutionary. It may even be considered only restorative. I admit however, that the problem of property is a very complex problem; besides, India being an agricultural country, the question of immovable property is bound to be a very complicated one; and the solution as regards the quantum of shares and the nature of interest in the property may have to be found on some such lines as:—

"Varying the quantum in the case of sons, daughters, widowed daughter-in-law, etc.

"As regards the nature of interest absolute to a certain extent as provided in Baroda State or on the lines of the Administration of Estates Act (1925) under the English law.

"I am going to move for reference of this Bill to a Select Committee of the House as the next stage where the whole question could be thoroughly considered; and I would earnestly request all public bodies and persons to whom the Bill will be referred for the eliciting of public opinion to offer constructive suggestions to achieve the object of the Bill.

COCHIN THIYAS' DECISION.

That the Thiya should give up Hinduism and form themselves into an independent community as that was the only means of bringing about their social, political, spiritual and economic advancement was the decision arrived at a largely attended Conference of the Thiya of Cochin, writes the correspondent of the *Hindu*. The Conference was held under the auspices of the Cochin Thiya Mahajana Sabha and under the Presidentship of Mr. K. Aiyappan, M. L. C., Editor, *Sahodaran*.

Mr. C. K. Narayanan, Secretary, welcomed the gathering and said that the one important question that agitated them was whether they should give up Hinduism and if so what religion they should embrace in order that they might live as a self-respecting community. The organisers had taken care to exhaust the various proselytising faiths, and he hoped that the community would receive enlightenment and instruction from the speeches.

Mr. K. Aiyappan, in the course of his address, observed that it was a happy idea to invite representatives of various faiths to address them. He hoped that the speakers would see that the religious sentiments and susceptibilities of anyone were not wounded, and that due care would be taken to avoid harshness in criticising the tenets or doctrines of any faith. Religion was a province where sentiment reigned supreme, and they were not there to protect any religion, but to examine and see whether they should accept any religion at all or reject all idea of religion. Religion, according to him, had its origin in ignorance and superstition; but it was all the same a reality which they had to face. Thiya had somehow found themselves classified among Hindus and he thought that all the trouble arose, because the Thiya who did not belong to the Hindu fold somehow came to be classed as Hindus. They formed an exotic element, and as long as they



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remained Hindus there would be unrest and ferment both among the Hindus and the Thiyaas. Their leader, Sri Narayana Guru, was not opposed to conversion, and he believed in the possibility of people of diverse faiths living in amity and friendliness under the same roof. He did not mind their getting themselves converted to any faith provided they could keep up their individuality as Thiyaas and consolidate themselves on a communal basis notwithstanding their conversion.

Swami Ananda Theertha, founder of the League for the Abolition of Caste, was the first speaker. He gave his religion as the religion of love, amity and brotherhood. Caste, he said, stood for negation of love, equality and freedom. The Thiyaas should form themselves into an independent casteless community. Inter-communal marriages should be popularised, and no sort of social exclusiveness should be encouraged or respected. Mr. A. C. Sankaranarayanan, founder of the Sri Narayana Volunteer Organization, explained the doctrines preached by the Swami. He gave a brief account of the origin and progress of the Volunteer Organization which had now a membership of 945. They were spreading the gospel of Sri Narayana Guru and their mission was to fight against all social barriers and gain for them civic and social independence.

Dr. K. P. Thayil spoke on "Islam" and advised the Thiyaas to embrace that faith. In Islam, there was no distinction between the rich and the poor, and it was a religion of universal brotherhood.

Sirdar Lal Singh, M. Sc., (London), of Lahore spoke on "Sikhism". The Sikhs were here, he said, not to convert them, but only to study their disabilities and if possible, to devise means of helping them. The educated people, he continued, could live without religion, but the masses wanted something cut and dry, in the form of religion. A whole community could not become agnostics and if they became atheists, all their traditions would be lost. Guru Nanak had preached almost like Sri Narayana Guru and Guru Govind Singh had lived for the untouchables. Sikhs had no caste and no militant priesthood. He invited them to study Sikhism and embrace that faith which would give them "a sound body and a true heart."

Mr. E. Madhavan said that the Thiyaas had no need for any religion which would forge all sorts of fetters on their freedom. Conversion would only be like jumping from the frying pan into the fire. Islam and Christianity had long been in existence, but they had not solved the problem of poverty among the masses. There was greater poverty and distress, today among the followers of these faiths. A community could exist without religion.

Mr. E. V. Ramaswami Naicker observed that he had no quarrel with the founders of the Hindu, the Christian and the Islamic religions who had done their best. The Thiyaas did not want moksha, but wanted their social disabilities to be removed. How could the 25 lakhs of Thiyaas get rid of untouchability and unapproachability? That was the question. There was no doubt that by forsaking Hinduism, they would give up these disabilities. He did not believe that religion was indispensable. If they were for conversion, Islam was the best of all religions for removing untouchability. He admitted that Muslims had great power and influence even in politics. Communism was, according to him, the ultimate goal. India was a capitalistic country and all kinds of social, economic and religious exploitation would cease only when Communism became the order of the day.

Bikshu Dharma Skandan, a Buddhist Missionary from Ceylon, explained the teachings of Lord Buddha.

Mr. C. V. Kunjuraman thought it best for the Thiyaas to embrace Christianity as the Christians in Travancore formed 16½ lakhs, while the Muslims numbered only 3½ lakhs.

Mr. M. C. Joseph, Vakil, Editor, "Yuktivadi," protested against Thiyaas embracing any other faith as they formed a community that had the leadership in the realm of Free Thought. All their social disabilities were fast dying. They did not want liberty by instalments, and Christians and Muslims would only exploit them for their own advantage as the Hindus were doing. As a Rationalist he was against all religions.

Mr. A. R. Raman then moved a resolution to the effect that the Thiyaas should leave Hinduism and form themselves into an independent, self-respecting community. This was seconded and passed *unanimously*.

Mr. K. Aiyappan, the President, in winding up the proceedings, congratulated the Sabha on passing the resolution unanimously. The resolution gave everyone the freedom to choose his own faith and at the same time made it clear that they should break off from Hinduism. He appealed to them not to estrange any one who got converted to any faith by the mere reason of such conversion. They were pioneers in the movement of Free Thought, and their decision would create a stir all over India. The Thiya community would attract others to it by its idealistic free thinking, than being attracted by other religions. The ultimate goal was the negation of all religion and the banishment of all forms of exploitation in the name of religion.

The Conference then terminated.

SARNATH FRESCOS.

Mr. Yonezawa, the Consul-General in India for Japan delivered the following speech, on the occasion of the inauguration of the beautiful frescoes in the Mulgandhakuti Vihar, Sarnath, Benares:—

It is with great pleasure and pride that I find myself among you here to attend this happy meeting today. I must, first of all, express my hearty congratulations to Mr. Nosu upon the successful completion of this great work of frescoes paintings. I am sure that the entire Japanese nation will join me in sending congratulations to the artist, as they have been following the progress of the work with keen interest. Newspapers which I have received recently from Japan report how the whole nation was excited when they learnt that the work had at last been completed. They are preparing a large scale reception to welcome back Mr. Nosu, their cultural ambassador to India.

No mention is necessary as to the difficulties and hardships which he, like so many great artists in history, had to encounter and overcome in proceeding with this great work. It is nothing but his firm determination and unflinching devotion to the work that has led him to the ultimate goal of completion, save the enlightenment and help from Lord Buddha himself. Everything worldly has been denied and forgotten by the artist in the last four years, not only his family and friends left behind in Japan, but also even his own existence and life. Thus by leading a saintly life devoid of worldly pleasures and sorrows he sought a needed guidance and inspiration from communion with Lord Buddha. The great work which will immortalise the artist's name has thus been completed.

I am sure millions and crores of Buddhists who will pay homage to this holy temple in the future will be greatly helped in getting into communion with the Lord by these vivid descriptions of the life



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of Lord Buddha. Those frescoes are an eloquent demonstration of the time-honoured cultural and religious ties between India and Japan, the two great Buddhist nations in the world. You will see in these frescoes not only the genius of the artist himself but also that of countless Japanese artists who have preceded Mr. Nosu and who have handed down and improved what their ancestors learnt from India, China and Korea some 1,400 years ago. You will see in them an earnest appeal of Japanese artists, both living and dead, for your kindly appreciation of what they have accomplished during the last 14 centuries. You will see in them the heavy religious and cultural debts which Japan has owed to India and also a payment of these debts together with heavy interest in the form of improvement. These frescoes are significant in that they represent a first attempt to give tangible shape to the shapeless and abstract relation of the two nations in the domain of religion and culture, the highest part of human activity. India and Japan are bound tightly by a strong economic bond. Mr. Nosu's great work will add to this economic bond another less material but more spiritual one. The life of a man is short but that of an art is long. As long as the teachings of Lord Buddha remain the spiritual link between India and Japan and as long as this temple remains a holy sanctuary of Buddhist religion, Mr. Nosu will be remembered as a great artist who spanned a bridge of art between the two nations. It is my earnest hope that many such bridges will be built to tighten up the religious and cultural bond between us by means of an exchange of Buddhist priests and artists. Before I sit down I should like to express my profound gratitude for the Indian people who have brought Mr. Nosu, the Japanese artist, to India and who have given constant encouragement and support to him.

FAREWELL ADDRESS TO MR. NOSU.

The following farewell address was presented at the ceremony to Mr. Kosetsu Nosu, the world famous Japanese artist by Pandit Ramnarayan Misra on behalf of the citizens of Benares:—

DEAR SIR,—We, the citizens of Benares, wish to take this opportunity of your impending departure for Japan after the conclusion of your historic work of painting the frescoes of the Mulagandhakuti Vihara at Sarnath, to express our sense of gratitude and high appreciation of your selfless labours for the revival of Buddhist art in India.

We have watched with profound admiration the manner in which you have worked during the last three and half years to embellish the Vihara. Your calm dignity, earnestness, religious devotion, and high sense of duty, have filled us with admiration. In spite of the many inconveniences caused to you in the accomplishment of your task, you have succeeded in giving to this ancient city one of the finest works of art of which we can be proud. Your work will be a landmark in the history of fresco art in this country as it combines the grace and wealth of Ajanta with the high technique of your mother country. We have no doubt that all lovers of art and the larger public who will visit this Vihara in years to come will gratefully recognise your devoted endeavours and be inspired by the scenes of the Lord Buddha's life you have so beautifully painted.

As you are well aware, Buddhism reached Japan in the sixth century A. D. and along with it was introduced into Japan all that was best in the artistic and cultural life of our country. Scholars have recognized in the wonderful paintings of the Horyji Temple in Japan, the creative work of the Indian artist, and those paintings remain to this day not only as an inspiration to the Japanese Buddhists

but also as an unbreakable bond of friendship between Japan and India. In executing the paintings of this Vihara, you have added one more link in this bond of friendship between our countries, and it is our earnest hope that this fresh bond will bring the two countries closer to each other. In creating this new bond, you have at the same time done a great service to the cause of establishing good-will between India and Japan, which is so much required in these days of national hatreds and misunderstandings.

Benares is the eternal city of India. It is sacred to both Hindus and Buddhist and in bidding farewell we do hope that you carry with you pleasant memories of your stay in this sacred city.

In conclusion we wish you a very pleasant voyage back to your motherland. We also wish you many years of health and happiness.

MUSLIMS AND REFORMS.

The following are extracts from the presidential address of Mr. Hosain Imam, a member of the Council of State, to the Kerala Muslim Conference:—

The idea of international unity and universal brotherhood had been the cherished goal of the would-thinkers ever since man discovered the first glimpse of civilisation. But it was reserved for the great teacher of the Arabian waste land to translate this article of faith into living reality and practical utility which has all the latent power within it to transform this world into a rose garden enviable as the garden of Eden. To us Morocco and Malaya mean no more than two apartments of a single edifice occupied by two brothers. Islam is as much a family as a faith. The time has come when all sectarian differences should be assigned to their proper places in the social and economic life of our society. That these differences are intellectual and technical can not be denied. My advice to my brethren is not to lose themselves in the mirage of impossible ideals. They should instead take stock of stern realities and take lesson from the fighting waves of the great sea of life which remain in constant conflict within the lap of the sea but die out to make it a one big span of water the basic force of life.

Secular education as a matter of fact is but a handmaiden of religious instruction and each is interdependent on the other. To read Quran and not to learn in your mother tongue the commandments and rules of life would not make a good Muslim of us. Having learnt to read your mother tongue, further education will only develop your mind to appreciate the hidden beauties of your religion and culture. The important part which a mother plays in shaping the character and developing the mentality of her child should not be lost sight of. The adage "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the world" is but an exposition of a great truth. No stress on it would be too great. Our own prolific and instructive history bear me out that the fair sex, so early as in the first century of our era, were not debarred from secular education.

Propagation of the universal brotherhood of Islam is an ordained duty of its followers but as Quran has laid down it should be entrusted to a selected body of workers drawn from amongst us. The individual part that each member of the fraternity is called upon to play in this connection, lies in his proving himself a living embodiment of the great ethics and standard culture of Islam. Ours is not a religion which upholds priestly privileges. Every contributor to this faith is at once a follower and leader unto himself. My advice to my Malabar brothers would be to get in touch with the All-India Tabligh workers and get their expert advice on this



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very important matter. The world has greatly changed and is rapidly changing daily. We can hardly succeed in our good intentions if we don't take stock of the new developments in the mental equipments of those among whom we have to work. New angles of visions and new ways of approaching a question, do call upon us to go about our business with due concern and care.

The new reforms have now become a *suit accompli*. The supplication of the reactionaries, the urging of the moderates and liberals, and the indignant protests of the Congress have all alike failed to move the British Government. The Government of India and His Majesty's Government were habituated to taunt us with the disunity of Indians whenever we asked for a more generous reform; but whenever we succeeded in composing our differences and presented a united front during the 4 years of parleys in England, we were given short shift and our demands were rejected without rhyme or reason. Witness the rejection by Secretary of State of India of Muslim quota in Statutory Railway Authority and the like rejection by the Parliament of the Joint Memorandum of the Indian Delegation. But all this is past history. Lamentation can not change facts. We have to look ahead and chalk out a line of action for future. The supreme duty to the land we live in and the community in which we were born demands concerted action and sustained efforts. Our religion banned pessimism so we should never say "die". We tried our best in the past to give a better shape to the Reforms, and thereby discharged the duty on our shoulders. I don't believe the human effort results in mathematical exactitude and sequences, therefore, the failure is not our responsibility. We should not lose heart but should keep the flag flying.

A Constitution is coming which is unacceptable to the vast majority of Indians and satisfactory to none. It was forged by Britain primarily in the interest of its own people and establishes their own hold through the strengthening of girders by the addition of the Indian princely order in the management of bound and gagged British India. The defects of the constitution are not likely to be cured and set right by refusal of good men from participating in it. Our entry into Legislature can not in any way weaken our case for its radical change, rather it will help us to lay here the illusory character of the so-called advances and if we worked with a team-spirit we can force the Whitehall gods to reconsider their reform at an early date. But we can not force the mighty British Government to accede to our demands unless we present a united front. It is the first duty of all communities to try and organise themselves and get affiliated to wider political organisation.

Under the new constitution the days of individual efforts are numbered and survival is dependent on corporate life. Therefore I appeal to you all to organise your electorate and to train them to vote on the basis of work and not to be influenced by personalities. In our weekly congregation at Juma prayer we have a splendid nucleus to organise our community. If we establish a federation of mosques, and carry on propaganda for moral, material and political uplift of our people, we can do wonders. Islam was a practical religion and uplift of humanity was the key-note of its teaching. The trouble is that we, Muslims, have become slaves of rituals and forsaken the ideas behind ceremonies and forms. It is like hugging the busk and throwing the grain. Islam's ascendancy was established by people whose actions, even the most trivial, were actuated with the spirit of service and resignation. Neither victory intoxicated nor

defeat disheartened them. Live that life and we will be irresistible. This is an ideal worth following because success is assured. To a Muslim everything comes after his God and His Prophet; let us live that life, and get the best of this world as well as the other world.

Brethren, we are proud possessors of the best and the most human and the most rational systems of religion that the world has seen. If only we would live up to that standard we could morally conquer the entire universe.

A LESSON FROM THE BULL.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Marie Stopes on Birth Control (*Reformer*, March 21) played a good card against herself and for Mr. Gandhi when she took cows and bulls to illustrate natural sex relations. Here in Montana great herds of cattle graze the prairies, allowed absolutely to regulate their own affairs. Bulls are not shut up, fenced in, nor prodded about at the whim of man. They lived their lives calmly, quietly altogether according to what they, in their bovine minds, deem fitting and proper.

Since living here, owning a few cows—no bull—I have been struck with the great beauty and wisdom with which they regulate their sex life. As a cow feels her days of fertility approaching she makes known the fact to the bull of her choice. They withdraw from the herd and graze together in some quiet canyon, joining in sex union as they feel the need. At the close of the day of her fertility the bull goes about his business and the cow returns to her herd. Seventeen days later the same bull seeks the cow again and they graze together as before, having union if the cow was not impregnated at the previous union but not if she is already pregnant. This continues throughout the seasons or until it is certain that the cow is impregnated. The bull only approaches at the time of the cow's fertile period which is three days out of each seventeen and, more amazing yet, never fails to appear on the exact date, unless he is exceedingly ill, even though he may have to come a dozen miles or more to keep the appointment.

Again, bulls and cows do not enter into union between December and May as calves conceived during that period would likely be born in unsuitable and dangerous weather, so a cow that is not with calf by December will not become so before May.

From this it is very evident that, left to regulate their own sex life, cows and bulls have union only during the cow's days of fertility for the express purpose of producing progeny and not at all during a time when conception would be unfavourable to the life of the offspring. It is assuming a great deal to say that they have not the "very faintest desire for progeny" and do not know of the relation between coitus and birth. Instinctive knowledge is not less (but probably more) dependable than logic.

Birth control advocates will do well to keep away from animal life in their arguments, for a study of animal sex life, where it is unhampered by man's artificial restrictions, will certainly lead one to the conclusion that the small school-girl, in her essay, wrote far truer than she knew: "Of all the animals God made, man only is a perfect beast."

Being, myself, a respectable spinster, I have no subjective interest in birth control but my sense of humour lets me enjoy a clear-cut toss for the opposition like this. Yet all people think, even on



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things that do not personally concern them. Deep in my soul there is a feeling that if four thousand years ago when we have (I believe) the first recorded account of an attempt at conception prevention, "the thing which he (Onan) did was evil in the sight of Jehovah: and he slew him," (Genesis 38:8-10) probably the thing is still evil in the sight of Jehovah and he may be expected to slay not only individuals but nations and races that flout his ordinances for their own enjoyment.

India's affection for little children and reverence for parenthood are among the world's rarest and most priceless gems. May she guard them with care and think well before she trades them for western tinsel.

Montana,
April 24, 1936. }

Yours etc.,
MABEL E. SIMPSON.

THE VITHALBHAI PATEL TRUST.

A Press message from Poona dated May 9 announced that Mr. K. F. Nariman had an interview with S. Subhas Chandra Bose at Yerwada Jail, Poona, on that date over the Patel Fund. As this has given rise to various speculations in the press, the "United Press" made enquiries and gathered the following information:—

On the 22nd October, 1933 Mr. Vithalbai J. Patel died at Gland in Switzerland. On the 2nd October 1933 he had made his last Will and Testament at Gland. He appointed Mr. Gordhanbhai I. Patel of 204, Hornby Road, Bombay and Dr. Purshottamdas T. Patel, M.D., (London) of Malabar Hill, Bombay, to be the executors of the Will. Amongst other provisions of the Will the following is the material clause:

"The balance of my assets after disposal of the abovementioned four gifts is to be handed over to Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose (son of Janaki Nath Bose) of 1, Woodburn Park, Calcutta, to be spent by the said Subhas Chandra Bose or by his nominee or nominees according to his instructions for the political uplift of India and preferably for publicity work on behalf of India's cause in other countries."

The next clause in the Will, though having no bearing on the point, is also of interest to the public and is as follows:—

"In the event of my death in Europe, I desire that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose should take charge of my body and make the necessary arrangements for sending it to Bombay for cremation on the Choupaty Sands alongside the place where the late Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak's body was cremated."

Probate of the Will was obtained from the Bombay High Court by the executors through their Solicitors Messrs. Amin and Desai on the 21st September, 1934. The total assets of the testator's estate were ascertained to amount to Rs. 1,33,865-12-11. After disbursement on account of other gifts amounting to Rs. 18,859-6-0 the residuary bequest in favour of S. Subhas Chandra Bose came to Rs. 1,15,006-6-11.

When his father was lying seriously ill in Calcutta S. Subhas Chandra Bose came by air to Calcutta in the beginning of December 1934. At that time he instructed his Solicitors, Messrs. Mitra and Mitra of Calcutta to communicate in the matter and ascertain the exact state of affairs. In reply to enquiries made, the Solicitors for the executors were informed about the grant of Probate but, instead of offering the above mentioned residue to S. Bose, contended that a scheme had to be framed and trustees appointed to carry out the objects of the scheme. Messrs. Mitra and Mitra pointed out that S. Subhas Chandra Bose had been given absolute and unfettered discretion to carry out the testator's intentions and the payment

of the residue to S. Bose should not be delayed and the question of the framing of the scheme should not stand in the way of making the payment to S. Subhas Chandra Bose. But the executors, it is reported, persisted in their contention that a scheme had to be framed and trustees appointed with the approval of the executors before payment could be made and further proposed that two trustees should be appointed out of the names suggested by them, namely, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Jinnadas Mehta, Dr. Ansari, Mr. K. M. Munshi, Mr. Satyamuathi, Mr. Jammalal Bajaj and Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy; and that Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose should be the third trustee. The executors also stated that Mr. Bhulabhai J. Desai was their Counsel and his opinion will be taken as soon as he was in Bombay.

In this communication on behalf of the executors there was also a remark that the executors were entitled to see that the money was spent in carrying out the objects of the Will of the said deceased. This evoked a protest from the Solicitors of S. Subhas Chandra Bose who enquired whether the executors suggested that if the residue of the estate is placed in the hands of S. Subhas Chandra Bose the same would be utilised in any purpose other than those intended by the revered Mr. Patel. No reply was forthcoming on this point. It was repeatedly pointed out to the executors by the attorneys of S. Subhas Chandra Bose that the question of the framing of a scheme and the appointment of Trustees could not be made a condition precedent to the payment to S. Subhas Chandra Bose and it was the duty of the executors to make the payment without delay so that the wishes of the revered testator might be carried out.

In spite of this, the executors are stated to have persisted in withholding payment and ultimately in the end of August, 1935, the executors stated that they have been advised by Council that the object of the trust so created in the Will in favour of S. Subhas Chandra Bose was invalid and void and the residue may be claimed by the heirs of the testator and they wanted that the matter should be placed before the Court for decision. They also stated that they were communicating with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel and the other heirs of the testator about the opinion of Counsel. Subsequently the attorneys of the executors stated in the end of February last that as a result of conversation they had with Sardar Vallabhbhai without prejudice, they understood that he was willing that the intention of the testator should be carried into effect as mentioned in the Will. But he, too, desired that a scheme should be framed and proper number of Trustees should be appointed for the purpose. They desired S. Subhas Chandra Bose to meet Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel as representing the heirs of the deceased and try to come to some amicable arrangement and understanding.

It is here that matters now stand. After this S. Subhas Chandra Bose came to India but being arrested on his arrival, could not meet and discuss matters with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

The Bombay Presidency Mahar Conference:—The Bombay Presidency Mahar Conference was on Saturday 30th & Sunday 31st May 1936, on the Maidan near the Fire Brigade, Vincent Road, Dadar-Bombay, under the presidentship of Mr. B. S. Venkatrao of Hyderabad (Deccan). The principal object of the conference was to take decision of the Mahar Community on the question of change of Religion. Also the Depressed Classes Political Conference was held on Monday the 1st June 1936, at the same place.



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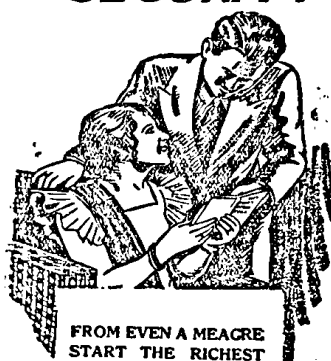
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Abbas Tyabji:—The phrase "Grand Old Man" completely fitted Abbas Tyabji whose death at the age of eighty-three at Mussoorie took place on Tuesday. He retired many years ago from the Chief Justiceship of the Baroda High Court, which he filled with distinction. Then he devoted himself to public service especially among the village people. Utterly devoid of any feeling of communalism though himself a devout follower of Islam, his benevolence and good will were extended to all classes and creeds. The hardships of the poor and the little that is being done for their relief, of which he learnt by his experience in village work, led him to sympathise with the social side of the Congress movement. He threw himself heart and soul into the campaign against the salt duty and was sentenced to a term of imprisonment which he underwent without abating a jot of his enthusiasm for the people's service. We do not think that he was particularly interested in politics as such. He seldom spoke at political meetings. In a paper read before the Bombay Prarthana Samaj several years ago, he described what true Islam was and what a Muslim should be. He lived in the light of his understanding of his religion. A remarkable feature of Abbas Tyabji's life was that his ideas influenced a large circle including his own family. He was recently invited to speak at the Ramakrishna Centenary celebrations in Bombay on Islam, but he was obliged to decline owing to his poor health. He was one of the finest types of men of our time and his death leaves a large gap in the affections of those who had the privilege of his acquaintance.

Monogamy and Hindu Marriage:—It is clear from the Hindu law books that while monogamy was the rule, a second wife was allowed to be taken under exceptional conditions and, even then, only with the consent of the first wife. In

Islam, too, polygamy was allowed under strict conditions which, if observed, would practically prohibit second marriages to the large majority of men. But both among Hindus and Indian Muslims the conditions have gone by the board and husbands are given full license to take more than one wife. So long as the old customs are followed nothing can be done to remedy this evil. But when it is proposed to legislate in order to bring about a change, it has long been the view of Indian social reformers that it should always include the principle of monogamy. This has been done in all cases with the single and unfortunate exception of the Anand Marriage Act. The *Reformer* had suggested that the Bill which Babu Bhagwandas has introduced in the Legislative Assembly to legalise inter-caste marriages, should embody the monogamous principle. That is to say, no man who has a wife living should be competent to marry a second wife under the Bill. The reasons for this proposal are obvious. If the learned sponsor of the Bill devotes some trouble to enquire into the matter, he will find that first wives have been abandoned and second wives taken by educated men—some of them nationalist leaders—on the flimsiest grounds. When the second wife is of the same caste as the first, the situation is bad enough. If she is of a different caste, it will be greatly aggravated. In several cases the first wife has no alternative but to acquiesce in the introduction of a rival in the household. If she is of the conservative type, and the second wife is of the modern fashionable type, she will have either to mope or start a separate establishment of her own, if she can afford it. This is one of many possibilities which the Bill should not lose sight of. We are apt in our enthusiasm for nationalism to ignore the hardships caused to individuals. Babu Bhagwandas for some reason has given prominence to divorce in his last article in the *Leader* answering objections and dealing with suggestions. It is reprinted today. We have no liking for divorce, but the question is not one to be settled with reference to personal likes and dislikes. In a case such as the one we have stated above, to deny the first wife the right of releasing herself from the bonds which her husband had severed so far as he is concerned by his second marriage, will be an outrage. We trust that



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Babu Bhagwandas will reconsider his position. If he does not, the Select Committee or the Legislative Assembly should insert a clause providing for monogamy before passing the Bill.

Socialist Mysore:—We reprint in another column the opening and closing passages of the address of the Dewan of Mysore to the Representative Assembly now in its Budget session. The quotations which he gave from a recent book favouring the construction of public works and the establishment of productive industries by the State in times of depression and unemployment, lend support, if it were needed, to the policy pursued by the Mysore State. The increase of 40 lakhs of revenue in the last ten years, without additional taxation, is the result of the expansion of the activities of the State in the industrial domain. The State industries include Electric Works, Railways, Iron and Steel Works, Sugar Factory, Soap and Silk Factories, Tobacco and Porcelain Factories and Cottage Industries. The most important are key industries which Sir Chimanlal Setalvad allowed may be taken over by the State. Some are not. The State also derives a large income from the Kolar Gold Mines in the shape of royalties and income-tax. The Mysore State, therefore, may be said to have set an example of successful State Socialism somewhat in advance of the Liberal leader's notion of it. Socialists may in fact point to Mysore as vindicating their theories. The revenue from taxation is shrinking while that from the State's industrial concerns is mounting. Said the Dewan: "Now, the increase in our revenue, as you are aware, has not been obtained by increasing the burdens of the people. On the other hand, the two main items of revenue, land revenue and excise, have shown a very serious fall, and there has been comparatively little increase under the other taxation heads. If the Government were a purely commercial concern, we should be able to say that we had increased our capital by Rs. 436 lakhs and had increased our profits by Rs. 40 lakhs. If we consider the matter again from the point of view of assets and liabilities, you will, I think, come to a similar conclusion." Talk of Communism and Bolshevism need not keep us awake of nights if the policy that is being pursued in Mysore—the Dewan, we note, intends to develop it further—is widely followed in British India and the other States.

A Question of Discrimination:—We published in the *Reformer* of May 30, a letter from a correspondent, a Christian missionary, who complained that antyajas in a Mysore village prevented their castemen who had gone over to Christianity, from enjoying some of the amenities which they had been enjoying before and for some time after baptism. The matter came to a head and the local Magistrate is said to have upheld the ban on the ground that a violation of it would lead to a breach of the peace. Such things have happened in British India. To prevent people from exercising their civil rights on the ground that such

exercise would lead to a breach of the peace with those who are intolerant of such exercise, is a grave dereliction of duty. Our correspondent seemed to think that the unconverted antyajas had been set up by some outside agency to adopt this intransigent attitude. We do not, however, know of any such agency while it is well known that some are actually engaged in converting Hindu untouchables to Christianity. We regard this proselytising as a source of considerable danger to the public peace and the time is not far distant when Indian governments, like other national governments such as Turkey and even China, and for the same reasons, will have to prohibit proselytising propaganda, whether direct or indirect. We are satisfied that the Indian Christian community as a whole does not look with favour upon mass conversions which only add to the difficulties of their already difficult problems. As for the Mysore trouble, we are sure that the Dewan and His Highness the Maharaja will not allow injustice to be done to any community. At the same time, the antyajas who have remained in the faith of their forefathers, should not be punished for their loyalty. Conversion to Christianity opens the door to practices obnoxious to non-Christians especially in the matter of food and drink—the Christian may have preferences but has no exclusions—and it would be hard on the unconverted 'heathen' to fine, imprison or deny him facilities for the education of his children or medical relief to his ailing wife or child, for being blind to the advantages of apostasy.

Indian Christian View of Mass Conversions:—It is interesting to note the difference between the reactions to the movement among antyajas to quit Hinduism and either to remain without any religion or to be converted to one of the proselytising religions, of foreign missionaries and of Indian Christians. The *Indian Witness* may be taken to represent the former. The *Witness* has not yet given up all hope that the antyajas may elect to go over to Christianity. It commends Dr. Ambedkar's "new technique" of talking of quitting Hinduism without quitting it, as a wise move. It observes: "It has been the experience of Mass Movement workers that when individuals have been encouraged to break away from their social organizations, serious difficulties have arisen. When such individuals have remained in their caste and prepared large numbers of them for baptism, the results have been far better." The *Guardian* of Madras, representing progressive Indian Christian opinion, on the other hand, is alarmed at the prospect of the antyajas being added to the community in any considerable numbers. It writes: "In our legitimate desire to gather the untouchables into our Churches, we are sure to weaken the quality of the people. The percentage of illiteracy among Christians is about 83. The numerical progress of the community in the last decade was 56 per cent, while the progress of education



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was somewhere about one per cent. It is terrible to contemplate what the community will be in a few decades, if, on these two matters, the same rates of progress are kept up. Unless necessary teaching is also provided for, along with mass conversions, and that in addition to the efforts now urgently needed to educate the masses of illiterates, at present Christian, the community will become more and more weak, more and more superstitious, and more and more contemptible in the eyes of the world. As it is, we have an Augean Stable to be cleansed and we have not produced a single Hercules." A foreign missionary's task is done when he has baptised a number of non-Christians. He has earned his pension and retires to spend the evening of his days in his native land, perhaps in one of the retired missionary homes of one of which a graphic description is to be found in Mrs. Parvatibai Athavle's book on her experiences in America. But the Indian Christian community has to shoulder the responsibility of looking after the education and economic uplift of the new accessions.

Palestine:—The Arabs' struggle to maintain their position in Palestine against the tide of Jewish immigration which threatens to overwhelm their culture and civilisation, deserves to be treated more sympathetically than the British Mandatory appears to be doing. Not a single Englishman with whom we have discussed this question has justified the policy of making Palestine the national home of the Jews under British authority. On the contrary. They admit that it is a mistake but they can see no way out of it as the Balfour declaration is incorporated in the mandate of the League of Nations under which the British rule Palestine. As for India, just as her outlook in Eastern Asia is that of a Buddhist nation, that on Western Asia is that of a Muslim nation. The pulse of the entire population beats in unison with that of the seventy millions of Indian Muslims. The Jews who have entered Palestine, we are told, have done much to develop the material resources of the country. But a country means its people and not merely its land and trees and minerals. No country can be said to be truly developed whose material resources are exploited by foreigners and not worked up by nationals. Perhaps Germans or Americans would be able to make more out of Britain's national resources than native Britons, but who would think of developing the country through foreign agency? Even if development through her own people may be slow and take a considerably longer time, it is the only kind of development which a wise and patriotic ruler would contemplate. The Jews are a power in international finance and they control important sections of the press in Europe and America and are thus able to exert pressure on the British Government. We are also inclined to think that they are pressing their claims under the Balfour agreement beyond the limits of reason and

equity. Indian opinion favours the demands that Jewish immigration should not be allowed to exceed the limits it has already reached. The British Government will be obliged by force of circumstances to accept this demand sooner or later. They can not go on maintaining a large body of troops in Palestine to protect the Jews who do not seem to be over careful about not making themselves needlessly obnoxious to the Arabs. Most of the Jews who have found their way to Palestine are not British subjects. They are not even Jews from middle Europe where they have attained a high level of culture and social status. Palestine is not a fertile country and can not sustain any further addition to the population. If trouble should continue there, Indian opinion will not favour the despatch of troops from India to put down the Arabs. The Government of India should represent to His Majesty's Government that the course of affairs in Palestine is giving rise to much concern in this country.

The Franchise Puzzles:—The electoral rolls for the provincial legislatures are in course of preparation. Passing of the matriculation examination or any equivalent examination is a qualification for a voter to a Legislative Assembly. The authorities insist on the production of the matriculation certificate even by persons who have a degree in the University and who are prepared to produce their diplomas. No one could take a degree in an Indian University without passing the matriculation. To insist on a graduate producing his matriculation certificate, which probably he lost or destroyed long ago, is a great hardship. Certainly a degree may be regarded as equivalent to the matriculation and its diploma accepted for registration purposes. Registration of women voters has presented other difficulties. The special literacy test for women, namely, being able to read and write in a language of her own choice before a magistrate or other official, has practically broken down. Among the Parsee community whose women are mostly literate and freely move in public only six or seven hundred women out of a possible fifteen thousand have so far registered themselves. The production of land revenue and income-tax receipts of their deceased husbands, has caused great difficulty owing to the women not knowing where to look for such certificates where they were preserved. In the United Provinces difficulty seems to have been experienced in the registration of European women married to Indian husbands. The local Government has issued an order stating that European wives married to Mohammedan husbands should, if converted to Islam, be registered in the Mohammedan roll and that European women who have married Sikh and Indian Christian husbands should be entered in the European register! The order does not say what is to be done by a European woman who has married a Hindu husband.



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RELIGION AND ECONOMICS.

There is a school of thought among us which holds that the salvation of the country would be assured if "the economic motive" were substituted in the people's minds for "the religious motive" by which they are supposed to be now dominated. This school has recently come to prominence owing to the President of the Indian National Congress, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, having, in some recent public utterances of his, expressed views which seemed to support its position. The supposition that the dominant sentiment in the Indian mass mind is religious, is true if and only so far as, it means, that where there is a conflict, real or apparent, between what is regarded as a religious duty and economic considerations, the masses will unhesitatingly sacrifice the latter to the former. This, however, is not peculiar to India. In most European countries, Patriotism has the same effect. Millions of young men in the flower of early manhood flung away their lives in the late War. If they had considered only the economic aspect of their conduct, they would have sat at home and refused to fight their neighbours with whom they had no personal quarrel. Even in the most primitive type of human societies, in which the day's meal has to be secured each day by hunting and fishing, there is always an occasion when the people will forego the day's hunting at the call of what they regard as a social or religious duty. The Darwinian theory of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest, failed to explain the maternal instinct and other phenomena the study of which showed that co-ordination and not struggle had the most survival value. Marx's philosophy which is an extension of the Darwinian theory to social relations, is even more open to the criticism that "the prevalent severity of industrial competition, and those phenomena of the struggle for existence which the light of contemporary economic theory has enabled us to discern, have come to be temporarily exalted into a complete explanation of organic progress." (Geddes)

The attempt to explain history as the expression of the economic urge breaks down at every point. De Quincey in his famous essay pictured the Kalmuk Tartars as fleeing from the natural forces which were turning their homelands into waterless deserts. Such things might have happened in prehistoric times. History does not record any similar phenomenon. The Hindu-Iranian parting was due to religious motives. The spread of Buddhism in Asia and of Christianity in Europe, was not actuated by economic motives. The Crusades and the expansion of Islam which followed, were the results of powerful religious impulses. It was not an economic motive that led the Pilgrim Fathers to found the United States. The economic motive is more prominent in the

nineteenth century and it appears to be the main if not the only motive of human conduct in the twentieth. But, be it remembered, that, whatever might have been in the minds of statesmen, the slogans to which the masses responded in the last war were non-economic—the sanctity of treaties, the security of small nations, the war to end war, making the world safe for democracy. The sympathy for Ethiopia and the condemnation of Italy for her aggression, is universal and by no means confined to nations which may be supposed to be interested economically in the African Empire. The Italian plea that an expanding population needed standing room which it can not find in the mother country, is not regarded as conclusive by world opinion. Coming nearer home, what economic purpose is served by the annual Congress sessions and more frequent meetings of the All India Committee at distant centres? Or, by the Presidential processions, one of which is thus described in the *Tribune* of Lahore?

The Congress President was seated on a white charger followed by several hundred Akalis on ponies. Peasants with lathis shouting Inqilab Zindabad followed. The whole scene looked like a vast sea of human heads. Dust rose from the earth, covered the sky and one could not see a few yards ahead. Heat and dust made impossible further movement. The Congress President had to abandon the horse and sat in a car and got away.

The best work of humanity has been done by people working from non-economic motives. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru himself is a shining example. If he were actuated by economic motives he would be practising at the Bar for which he was trained and where his father before him had a distinguished career. Why should he expose himself to the many calls on his time and energy, of which he bitterly complains, instead of being free to spend his time in reading books and writing them? Speaking of the religious motive, it is not the Indian idea that any one who does not believe in God is an irreligious person. Religion in India means devotion to the disinterested pursuit of truth or the selfless service of humanity. It is in this sense that the Gita refers to the founder of the materialistic Sankhya as the greatest of sages and that Gautama Buddha finds a place among the avatars of Hinduism. That this idea is part of the common culture of the country and not the special possession of the intellectuals, is shown by the fact that, notwithstanding the Pandit's deprecatory tone about religion, he is received with honour at the Golden Temple at Amritsar and other Sikh shrines, at Arya Samaj Mandirs, and Hindu Ashrams. The Pandit in his latest statement has stated his views as regard religion in the following terms:

About religion I am quite convinced that there must be the most perfect freedom of faith and observance. People can worship God in any of the thousand ways they like. But I also claim that freedom not to worship God if I so choose, and I also claim freedom to draw people away from what I consider superstition and unsocial practice. But when religion comes in the garb of vested interest and exploits people, it is not religion and it must be countered.

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India has never denied the right of a man to believe and practice any religious creed, or none. Not only that but persons who devoted their years to reviling Deity have been accorded salvation on the ground that even reviling involved constant thought of the object reviled, God in this case, and, therefore entitled revilers to salvation. Shradda is the main thing: it matters not whether it is for or against God. If you cannot love God, hate Him heartily. Indifference is the deadly sin. The fact is that the Pandit's antagonism to religion does not rest on a true appreciation of Indian religious culture. A Russian Professor, adherent of the Soviet regime, admitted to this writer that the Soviet antagonism to religion did not apply to the Hindu point of view. Finally, the Pandit is entirely wrong in tracing the political and economic plight of India to religion. On the contrary it can be easily demonstrated that but for her religions, Indian civilization and culture would have suffered the same fate as those of the American Indians. It would be folly to deny the economic motive an important place in human endeavour. But it is not the dominant motive.

She is the second, not the first.
A higher hand must make her mild,
If all be not in vain; and guide
Her footsteps, moving side by side
With wisdom, like the younger child.

A CHINESE GUIDE TO CHINA TODAY.

What is left of China today? The Nanking Government recognised internationally as the Government of China, controls only five provinces, the remaining thirteen are governed by more or less independent administrations. Politically she is the prey of foreign imperialism, unconquered because the exploiters cannot agree on the division of the spoils; internationally of as much importance as a South American State. Yet China is more than this and Dr. Lin Yutang's striking study of China and the Chinese explains to the world why this is so. "My Country and My People" is an unusual book. It is to begin with written not for the Chinese patriot who might well regard it as too revealing, nor for the Western critic who might use Dr. Yutang's candid portrayal against China. It is written partly because it might help China to understand her difficulties and partly that her people might be better understood. Because Dr. Yutang is Chinese he has been able to write of his people as no one else could and because of that too he has been not without misgivings on the wisdom of releasing the book to the public. The Chinese have much in common with the Indians. Though Dr. Yutang repeatedly expresses his opinion that the Chinese are a unique people, his book is a striking illustration of the unity of Asia, with the possible exception of the industrially-minded Japanese. The Russian peasant, the Indian villager and the Chinese

rustic are all conservative, patient to a fault and contented with little. And they have all suffered greatly for these traits. Their problems are common and, therefore, Dr. Yutang's book is of more than academic interest to us.

It is surprising how close a parallel exists between Chinese and Indian social life. The higher Chinese families observed the ban on widow marriage with the strictness of Hindu society. In fact it was only in 1917 that national protests succeeded in overthrowing the practice. Dr. Yutang's penetrating sketch of the Chinese joint family with its disadvantages and its utility is true of the Indian joint family as well. The difference is in the religious outlook, the Chinese sceptical, the Indian credulous. The religious adventurer has little scope in China. On the other hand it is difficult to think of an Indian, ancient or modern, believing with the Chinese artist that the upper part of the female form is very much like a potato, or with the Chinese doctor that the heart is on the right side of the body. In an interesting section on the position of Chinese women Dr. Yutang removes many Western misconceptions regarding their seclusion. He depicts Chinese society as conservative, defeating reform by laughing it out. Young men in such an atmosphere are quick to imbibe the spirit and they too reject innovations. Very few retain their early enthusiasms after thirty-five.

Dr. Yutang has an implicit faith in the rule of law. He sees no hope for China until "Face, Fate and Favour" make way for Justice. But he realises that such a change must come from a changed ideology among the people. It cannot be imposed from above since it cannot be permanent. Like the rule of law in India, it will suffer curtailment whenever emergencies arise. But is Dr. Yutang's demand for a national loyalty in place of the family loyalty the only way of changing the people? We do not think it is. The family is the centre of Chinese society and in the absence of caste it is the only group that is recognised. That China has no caste system is to her advantage in many ways. But she is not stronger in resistance to change because there is only the family to stand against it. The Chinese recognises, says Dr. Yutang, only the family. And there is evidence to show that opinion in China is stirring against this loyalty. From this loyalty have sprung, thinks Dr. Yutang, all the defects of China today. But from this too have arisen, as he admits, the qualities which make China different from the West and which have for centuries given stability, poise and permanence to the Chinese. If the family loyalty is dethroned from Chinese hearts, there might be nothing of the past retained. After all is family loyalty incompatible with national service? Rather we think will the future of China, as of India, lie in the extension of the family spirit to wider and wider groups. And it will mean less of a change in the East where one's family is more extensive than in the industrial West.

* My Country and My People. (Hainemann: 15s.).



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AMERICA FACES THE EAST.*

(BY WALTER BROOKS FOLEY.)

FROM YELLOWSTONE PARK TO PORTLAND.

Yellowstone Park is an interesting illustration from the viewpoint of nature of what is happening in many sections of modern American life. In this Park we find constant motion and activity. To be sure most of the activity comes from the hot water and steam bubbling and boiling up from the interior of the earth's crust. At the same time one has but to live in modern America to realize that there are many forces rushing to the surface of human experience from the depths of human nature.

Anyone who wishes to understand modern America must take as his starting point the fact that many forms of life are active and many new activities are being begun in human relationships. Russia is not the only country in the world that is having new experiences. The change for the better in the thinking of millions of American citizens during the past five years is one of the very hopeful facts of the modern world. There has been more solid thought given to social, economic, political and religious problems in the United States during these years than in any similar period in our history.

As I stood and watched Old Faithful and the beauty of the pools of hot water with their various chemical compounds, I was impressed once more not only with the uniqueness of Yellowstone Park but also with the privilege that the United States has of being unique in its leadership among the great countries of the world. The force that is inherent in American character and resources needs to be expressed in a constructive creative way. Not that we, as Americans, should attempt to impose our ideas or programmes upon any other people but that we should have something so worthwhile in what we do that other people will come to see what it is that makes the United States an outstanding nation. Every American citizen should dedicate himself to that position.

Ever since 1925 I have been greatly interested in the American North-west. It is one of the great sections of the United States in size and in possibility. I believe that in the days to come it will be even greater than many other sections of the country have been in the past. One has only to travel across the State of Idaho over the Blue Mountains and along the Columbia River Highway to catch a sweep of vision that is not possible anywhere else.

To find one's way by great motor roads through the evergreens of the western Cascades to Portland, the city of roses, is a magnificent pilgrimage. My hope is that increasing millions of American citizens will not only travel that road but will begin to make their homes in the Pacific Northwest. Through the Northwest America faces the Orient in a very peculiar sense. For years it has been increasingly a trade centre not only between the United States and the Far East but also between Europe and the Far East.

RODEO, RIVER AND RETROSPECT.

As we sat in the great arena of the Pacific International Exposition in Portland watching the skilled ingenuity of the Canadian Mountain Police we caught something of what it means for individuals to train themselves for specific tasks. The symphony of movement which existed between the men and their horses as all the formations of the exhibition were put on to band music was something to be

* Earlier notes in this series appeared in the *Reformer* of January 18, February 15 and 22 and April 18.

carried away in one's memory in a realisation of how careful planning and practice will evolve into perfection. We spent hours viewing the products located in the booths of the exposition—products of the soil and products of mill and factory. It was a splendid view of the resources of a vast section of the United States. It reinforces our conviction that we have the resources to provide every family in the country with comforts and luxuries beyond the imagination of any previous people. We cannot possibly fail to produce far more than we ever had nor can we continue to fail to distribute adequately what we shall produce.

Friends gathered with us on one of the great Portland piers, came on board the steamer and wished us bon voyage as we started on the Willamette River towards the Columbia which would take us shortly to the Pacific. Our river voyage lasted for six hours but it will take many years to have us fully appreciate what our many American friendships actually mean to us. Such friendships are not limited by the miles or hindered by separations of years. Rivers and oceans become only means by which we travel again to see old friends and to make new ones.

The spirit of the United States to advance along a hundred avenues or more is still evident to one who makes the trip across the continent. This probably means that Americans will make many mistakes in years to come and find their advances registered only as they learn from their mistakes.

We did not see the lights of Astoria fade out behind us as we proceeded into the Pacific with any feeling of sorrow on leaving the American shores but rather with a feeling that we were proceeding eastward to other lights, to other days, to other opportunities with which American citizens would be increasingly in touch in the future.

STORM OVER THE PACIFIC.

Americans who feel that the great events of the world are happening in and around Europe are missing one of the great facts of our day. There are more fascinating circumstances arising in the Far East from the point of view of future developments in civilization than anywhere else in the world.

It was significant to us as we passed near the Aleutian Islands to feel the full force of a great storm that was sweeping down across them and out on the broad reaches of the Pacific. Just as our steamer weathered that storm and found its way eventually to the port toward which it was heading, so human life meets its great opportunities and attempts its successes as it drives through the disturbances of everyday living.

Between Portland and Yokohama we saw only one day of sunlight. The sky was overcast and there were furies of cold rain. We saw a few gulls and occasionally dolphins played about us in the water. We were confined rather closely to our contacts on board ship without much of interest on the horizon.

It is always interesting on ship board to spend a good deal of time analyzing one's companions. Quite frequently one has a very diverse group of people to be interested in. To see such a group settle into certain inevitable divisions, though the members may have come from widely separated points is a study in human character to be envied by those who have not had the privilege. To watch people who have not accepted any responsibility for recognizing the rights of others actually take the responsibility, perhaps for the first time, is a good lesson in educational psychology.

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SRI RAMAKRISHNA AND THE MODERN WORLD.*

(By Sir S. RADHAKRISHNAN).

It is not necessary to speak of the great influence of Ramakrishna on modern thought. It has become a part of India's history, and there is no necessity to emphasize Ramakrishna's achievements. But it is out of a sense of self-respect that we are gathered to celebrate the centenary of that great saint who has given the message, "Truth is one, sages call it by various names." The holding of the Parliament of Religions is most significant. It was not unknown in ancient times.

In these days of communal differences, which are due not so much to religious motives as to economic and political causes, the Parliament of Religions is an important step to bring about a better understanding. The special contribution of Ramakrishna was that he put to the test the religious views by the logic of life, and established the equality of all religions by example and precept.

The idea of Parliament of Religions is consistent with the spirit of mutual appreciation and toleration which is associated with the great mystic traditions of Hindu religion.

The concept of religion is sought to be explained by various persons according to their views and experiences. Those who worship ignorance are described, in the Upanishad, as entering darkness and those who worship knowledge as entering greater darkness. There are people who are conceited in their ignorance just as there are persons who are conceited in their knowledge. At present, though people find satisfaction of their physical and psychological needs, though they have wealth, they have still a hunger within, which they cannot satisfy. The happenings in the world, the victory achieved by the sword, the great calamities that have visited mankind, must make men think seriously, whether beneath all these there is any fundamental spiritual assurance, whether there is anything Real behind the apparently transient.

So long as human beings are composed of the perishable and imperishable, they cannot but ask themselves the question whether the transient is the only reality, whether the temporary is the only permanent.

There are others conceited in their knowledge, claiming to provide a solution for all problems, claiming to dispel the great mystery, thinking that they possess omniscient knowledge. Neither group is capable of seeing reality. For there is something beyond ignorance and knowledge. After all their intellectual discoveries and rational explanations, men are at one time or other inescapably confronted with the question: "Is there not something beyond all these? Is there no other power or purpose behind these passing clouds?"

When such questions are raised, men cannot be satisfied with such explanations as that the relative is the absolute, the transient is the permanent and similar expressions. The wonder of existence is a puzzle that confronts man for ever.

The results of reason, have been great, but greater have been the failures of reason. We are today more enlightened. The barbarians of old received solace and consolation from the thought of the 'mystery of the divine'. Science has put an end to that. But our life has become dull and prosaic.

But a world perfectly understood is no world at all, a problem completely solved is no problem at all.

*Presidential address to the Parliament of Religions, Bombay, May 7, 1936. (*Prabuddha Bhavati*).

Likewise, a God that is fully understood is no God at all. The fundamental difference between the Eastern and Western outlook is that the East recognizes the mystery that is divine and admits man's inability to fathom that mystery. It has contented itself with efforts to explore that mystery. The West thinks it is possible to explore all realities but it is puzzled when certain realities do not offer a solution.

For a correct approach to reality, it is necessary to abandon the conceit of ignorance and the conceit of knowledge. The proper attitude is that of the mystical tradition of the East. One might grasp reality through revelation, through intuition, but not through the method of the intellect. It cannot be reached through a sharpening of the intellect by mere learning. Mere individual development can never take men to the heart of reality.

One of the speakers has referred to the affront to civilization that has been perpetrated in Africa. That is a question that has occurred to me many times. How is it that in spite of the great intellectual attainments and scientific advance made by men it has not been possible to translate their great aspirations and higher ideals into actuality? The answer to that question lies in the mistaking of true religion for dogma.

When I ponder over this question I have always been reminded of the statue of Rodin—a physical and intellectual giant, perfect in every respect, but bending down his head in a thoughtful mood. What was wrong with that colossal man? It spoke of the utter impotence of man, because of his split personality. Man still has in him the germs of stupidity and selfishness. The world needs eradication of these germs. So long as they exist, wars are inevitable. There is division in the world, because there is division in the soul of man. He is still some kind of uncontrollable animal, a clever animal, but nothing more than that. The intellectual progress has not yet touched the fundamental weaknesses of mankind. He has not the courage to say, "Get thee behind me, Satan!"

People care for the hygiene of the bodies. They seem to care little about the hygiene of the soul.

So long as these germs are there wars are inevitable. Wars take place in the world, because, there is war in the soul of man himself. There is dissension in the inner self. The split-self continues to exist. Mankind remains no more than a horde of clever animals.

Ramakrishna's conception of religion was practice of the presence of God. It is this mystical tradition with which ancient religion was associated. There are the religious scriptures. They are to be understood. Their meaning and comprehension is an experience in itself. The Divine Music of these scriptures cannot be translated into words, which will express the inexhaustibleness of truth. The silent worship which one is in communion with God is an experience which provides a negative explanation of the existence of the Supreme Power. But man being human, must find a logical embodiment of that supreme truth. This truth is transcendental and refuses to be defined by formulas and categories. To this extent, the existence of God is proved,—only in a negative way.

Critics again may say that mere non-being is nothing. That only proves the intellectual inefficiency of such critics. Simply because one does not find an empirical embodiment for the Fundamental Reality, it appears altogether non-existent to the feeble-minded.

Then the critics might attempt to translate the Reality in the highest terms of human intelligence. Life can understand life. Spiritual matters can be



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comprehended by Spirituality. Every one has the divine spark in him. If he cannot comprehend the Supreme Truth, he can at least apprehend it. If man's highest category is 'Purusha' (Person), then the Supreme Reality can be described as the 'Uttama Purusha' (Supreme Person). This Uttama Purusha supplements the characteristics of the human being.

Thus, though the Reality cannot be conveyed through the medium of language, these may be considered the means of doing that; First there is the austerity of silence. Then there is the method of negative description, and finally the apprehension of God through the divine in one's self.

All these are ways of expressing one and the same truth. All the religions of the world take their stand on the supreme truth. But this kind of toleration is not to be mistaken for a dislike of dogma. It is not a revolt against conservatism. It is to be regarded as a positive course of nature, a spiritual development which recognizes the rootedness of religions in one and the same fundamental truth.

It would be untrue to say that God revealed himself exclusively to any one person or sect. The greatness of the teaching of Ramakrishna lies in the fact that he was able to appreciate and recognize the essential background and unity in all the different faiths and religions.

As regards the present-day conditions of India the question arises, why in spite of our pretensions to spirituality, we are in such conditions as obtain all over the country?

Upto the age of Renaissance and Reformation in the West, the East kept pace with the West on the path of progress. Thereafter the East lagged behind while the West continued on its march. This is due to the resistance to change, offered by the East, and the readiness to change which characterizes the West. This has resulted in the progress of the West and the stagnation of the East. The difference between the East and the West is the same as the difference between the old Egyptian and the young Greek of ancient times. The Greek kept an open mind, without shutting out ideas, whereas the Egyptian priest represented orthodoxy, represented a long memory of the past pressing down on him.

At present in the name of orthodoxy the Indians close their minds, shut out new ideas which have contributed towards progress. When religion in the country was progressive, the Indians possessed mental resilience, and flexibility and elasticity of temper.

In every age there were reformers who were repudiated by orthodoxy; the great Rishis and teachers of the past who had contributed towards progress, were denounced by others. Sankaracharya, who is today claimed to represent orthodoxy, was in his days, denounced as heretic by Mandanamishra. That very heretic at present has become the champion of orthodoxy.

If today the Indians find themselves in a condition of stagnation, it is because they have given up that attitude of instinctive challenge to authority, a sort of rebellion against things repugnant to reason. Such an outlook would have carried them forward on their march.

Today, some people believe that a "parliament of no religion" would solve the problems of the world, because religions have failed to solve them. But such a solution, is impossible. No doubt the organized religions are the outcome of the efforts of priests who have no real insight at truth. The religion as organized by the priests is not the same religion as founded by the prophets.

But the absence of religion will not solve the problems. People cannot be mere contented cattle, even if all their worldly needs were

satisfied. In every human being there is the dream of a higher life, and if this dream, is not operative, man cannot call himself a human being. So long as higher aspirations exist in man, so long as there exists a perpetual endeavour, a ceaseless striving for something higher, nobler and better, man cannot but be a religious being.

God never addresses congregations. It is a private communion which each individual has to establish with God, in his own way. Beneath all different variations and details, Religion has one authentic Voice calling for universal compassion. Great religious teachers never said that if a man did not accept their respective teachings, he would be doomed. The basic truth was laid down in every religion that the performance of good to humanity constituted a true religious life.

True religion must establish Universal Brotherhood. The greatest prayer is:

"May all cross the difficult places of life,
"May all see the face of happiness,
"May all attain the Wisdom,
"May all rejoice everywhere."

THE HINDU INTERCASTE MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL.

(BY DR. BHAGAVAN DAS.)

A few public meetings in the country have already passed resolutions in support of this Bill, and some influential journals have supported it. Some friendly criticisms have also appeared, and references have been made to existing laws, which enable persons to avoid the rigours of caste for purposes of marriage.

But so far as I can see, these laws impose various conditions, which are not acceptable to many persons who are desirous of contracting intercaste marriages. They have either to declare that they do not belong to any religion, or to lose various rights such as that of adoption, and their children lose certain rights of inheritance, and so forth. Those who feel no objection to the acceptance of such conditions, may and will certainly utilise those laws. But in the interests of those who feel conscientious objections to acting under them, the simple Bill which I have presented to the Assembly, deserves to be passed into law. It harms no one, in any way; it helps many, in many ways. If the leaders of the various sections of the Hindus give their support to it, it will initiate the restoration to health, of the Hindus directly, and of the rest of the Indian people indirectly, by the purification and the strengthening of the biological or the psychological or both kinds of bonds between all.

Such are the considerations I would place before those who may think that the Bill goes too far. Other friends, whose views are entitled to respectful consideration, have written that it does not go far enough. They have suggested that it should include provisions for the ensurance of monogamy and the possibility of divorce. After careful consideration of these views, my feeling is that when a grown-up pair—and persons who wish to enter into an intercaste marriage will presumably be such as have crossed well beyond the limits of age fixed by the Sarda Act—when a grown-up pair are earnestly desirous to make a sacramental marriage, the idea of the possibility of divorce should not be placed as sentinel at the threshold of their new home. It would be an inauspicious thought to begin their married life with, and would ruin the spiritual influence of the sacrament. It is against the ancient traditional ideal of the land, which is that marriage is holy, unbreakable, lifelong, and, in the case of rare, advanced, highly evolved souls, lasts even life after life. After all divorce is a

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two-edged weapon; and the edge turned towards the woman seems the sharper. It is at least as likely to cause harm to her as good. To prevent that harm, provision has to be added for alimony; and then the danger arises of the growth of alimony sharks, as they are called in the U. S. A. There, in the U.S.A., it is reported, there is now one divorce for every seven marriages, taking the country as a whole, while the figures rise to so much as one divorce for every two marriages in some of the larger towns. It is also reported that women initiate divorce-proceedings for greed of alimony at least, as often as for real misbehaviour on the part of the husband. Such a state of things goes against the whole spirit of the Bill, which is directed towards the strengthening of the family bonds and the consequent wider and stronger integration of Hindu Society; whereas frequency of divorce acts in the opposite way. Of course, hardships do result in cases, now and then, by not making express provision for breaking the marriage tie in the case of persons who have developed distaste for one another and disparity of temperament. But no course of human action can lead to pure good alone, or satisfy everybody. Wisdom consists in the choice of the lesser of two evils. It seems that, taking all existing conditions into account, it would be more conducive to total general happiness if a grown up pair take up married life in the serious and solemn spirit of religion as a life-long union, which can be made a perpetual source of happiness only by ever-watchful self-discipline, and mutual forbearance, and constant self-denial for the sake of the children, and steady and deliberate cultivation of mutual affection, rather than if they take it up in the spirit of lightly indulging a passing carnal fancy for each other, to be discarded as soon as they get tired of each other. Such mutual tie comes very quickly to those who do not attach any spiritual value to marriage, begin it with the idea of the possibility of divorce whenever they like to take a dislike for one another, and diligently avoid all children. If it be destined that such things must come to this country also, they will come; but I shrink from making this Bill subserve their advent. I wish, instead, that the spiritual and sacramental idea of marriage and the resulting family life should be diligently cultivated and fostered, rather than the secular, contractual, and sensual view, such as seems to prevail now in the U. S. A., and in Russia and in the larger towns and capitals of European countries including Britain.

To meet cases of excessive hardship, the old *Smritis* themselves provide for the untying of the marriage knot in very rare and exceptional cases; and it is and will be open to the Panchayats of the castes to discharge their duties in a more enlightened spirit and revive the practice of utilising such *Smriti* text duly, in such a way as to make sure that justice is done, to both the parties to the marriage as well as to the children, if any, and that sufficient arrangement is made for the maintenance of the divorced wife, when the divorce is due to no fault of hers.

And much more than Panchayats now, the law courts can help in these matters. If the Judicial Officer exercises a wise discretion, he should be able to give to the woman the needful relief, when really deserved, by awarding adequate maintenance without restitution of conjugal rights; and he should be able to get from the men as well as the women elders of the caste Panchayats concerned, the evidence, as to the circumstances, which would enable him to judge the merits of the case properly. But if the Judicial Officers themselves suffer from biases and preju-

dices, the best and the most carefully worded law will be useless, except for promoting subtle circumvention and ruinous litigation and forensic eloquence and the length and number of judgments and the thickness and unmanageability of the law-reporters. I have been told of a case, in which the second wife of a dead Sub-Judge, was awarded by a living Sub-Judge, only Rupees Five (Rs. 5) per month as maintenance against a stepson who had inherited some lakhs of rupees worth of property from his father the deceased Sub-Judge.

MONOGAMY.

Somewhat similar considerations apply to the question of monogamy also. The vast mass of the Hindus are already as a fact, monogamous. The economic struggle is strengthening the fact, is raising the age of marriage for youth and maid alike, is drawing into its maelstrom the women also, is militating against bigamy and polygamy, and, indeed, making any marriage at all, more and more difficult for those whose temperament makes them look before and after.

In the sacramental marriage of the Hindus, bride and bridegroom have to make a number of simple and beautiful solemn promises to each other, not of one-sided obedience, but of mutual affection and faithfulness unto death and beyond also, and the placing of his earnings by the husband in the hands of the wife, and the consulting together of the two in every important matter, and so forth. Any man of mature age, who enters into an intercaste sacramental marriage of this sort, should, it seems to me, be liable to punishment under the ordinary Penal Code, if he should commit bigamy, and to pay reasonable and adequate alimony to his first and only lawful wife, out of his earnings, on the ground of such marriage vows, which should certainly have not less force than a civil contract.

Young men and young women who prefer to marry in the secular way of civil contract, at arm's length, so to say, can very well utilise the other existing laws, which suit their temperaments. The present Bill would serve the temperament which is spiritual and sentimental, and, at the same time, too rational to be satisfied with the irrational caricature of 'touch-me-not' nominal caste now current.

MYSORE AND THE WORLD OUTLOOK.*

(By Sir Mirza Ismail.)

On a previous occasion I have quoted, though not to this Assembly, from a book which bears the title "The Next Five Years." That book is described by its authors as "An essay in political agreement," "the taking up by a large group of "leaders of thought in many departments of life of "the challenge that the present situation offers to "give leadership in organizing a world order freed "from the menace of war, a challenge to develop an "economic system which is freed from poverty and "makes full use of the growing material resources of "the age for the general advantage, and a challenge "to safeguard political liberty and to revitalize "democratic government." I am tempted to quote from that book again, because I find that, in a world in which the old standards are rapidly disappearing or being discredited, it offers a new set of standards which at least have the merit of being clearly defined and of commanding the agreement of a large number of men and women of high talent and undoubted goodwill. I shall confine myself to-day to two brief quotations which seem to me to have a very definite bearing on our budget policy.

"In a time of depression one of the virtues of "public works is that they provide employment; their

* From Address to the Representative Assembly.



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"remunerativeness shows itself in the decline of unemployment and in the buoyancy of revenue arising out of the secondary effects in stimulating industry. Consequently, it is proper in times of depression to finance works of this nature by raising loans charged on the general revenue, that is by ordinary Government loans."

"Properly conceived, a programme of national development could be the embodiment of the social conscience. Looked at from the economic angle, it should be the outcome of a determination that the available resources of the nation shall not rot and waste in idleness merely because profit-making industry is temporarily unable to find them work to do. From the social point of view it is a resolve that some part at least of our efforts shall be consciously directed to the conservation and enrichment of the countryside."

Though we live in a corner of the world, we cannot be unconcerned with what is happening outside that corner. World affairs are in an appalling state. It is a world of ferment and conflicting ideas. The news of the day is filled with instances of outrageous breaches of faith, disregard of pledges, and avoidance of promises made in semblance of honour. Treaties, covenants, and agreements have been smashed the world over, and each instance of bad faith has brought contracting nations to war or to the verge of it. One is tempted to lose all faith in treaties, when so often their observance lasts only so long as they coincide with the interests of the contracting nation. Yet the one hope for us all is resolutely to keep our faith in human nature, and in that will towards peace and unity which we know is powerful even now among the people of all nations.

The present state of Europe offers a sad commentary on Western civilisation. Humanity owes a great deal to Europe. It would be no exaggeration to say that almost all its recent wonderful progress in Science and Art is due to Europe. It has been the creator of modern civilisation. It cannot be its destroyer too!

There seems little hope for the world unless the peace of Europe is achieved, and it will not be achieved, unless a just settlement of all pending issues takes place, unless all real grievances are redressed, and unless there is at least, a sincere desire on the part of the various governments to settle them in a spirit of goodwill and justice. For no settlement can endure unless it is based on a foundation of right.

The state of Europe is a matter which concerns India very deeply. The world is getting smaller and smaller, thanks to the great advance which science is making in the annihilation of distances. If there should be a conflict in Europe, Britain is almost certain to be involved in it and this will inevitably bring India also into the vortex. Who can prophesy the results of a conflagration of such a magnitude and foretell what the fate of India might be, defenceless as she is and incapable of offering any resistance, especially to an invader from the sea?

Britain, whose chief interest is peace, is striving might and main to evolve a satisfactory solution of a most perplexing problem. Let us wish her success in her search for peace.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in the grim light of present realities, how petty our differences appear, how insignificant the racial or religious barriers that separate us. Instead of standing shoulder to shoulder in the service of a common Motherland, we are perpetually quarrelling with one another over things that are of no real value either in this world or, I am sure, in the next. We hear talk of

communism. We hear praise of Bolshevism from the lips of persons who should know better. Let us be more practical. Let us be more discerning. Let the bonds of a common aspiration unite us all together—Hindus and Muslims and Christians—British India and the States. It is only then that a new India will arise. It is only then that we can, in the memorable words of the Viceroy, who deserves our fullest co-operation, "move boldly forward with faith and courage," and "sustain in all its ancient fame and glory, the great name of India over all the world."

"MARRIAGE HYGIENE" AND BIRTH CONTROL.

Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill contributes the following editorial notes and comments to *Marriage Hygiene*—

For some time past the *Indian Social Reformer* has been indulging in attempts to deprecate 'birth control' as a measure of practical utility and mis-stating or distorting facts to prove its case.

1. To take an instance, the *Indian Social Reformer* is quite wrong in stating that there is a law in the United States against sterilisation. As a matter of fact, sterilisation is legally permissible in twenty-eight of the thirty-eight States to the Union and during the last twenty years 16,000 persons have been sterilised.

2. In another issue, (7th December), the *Indian Social Reformer* returns to the topic of 'birth control' in an editorial entitled, 'Birth Control and Population.' Here too we find a good many mis-statements. For example, priority in what has been termed the Birth Control Movement, is given to Francis Place although societies for the study and propagation of birth control existed long before Place took up the matter. Place may have been the first to circulate publicly (in Manchester) pamphlets on the subject, which was done in 1823.

3. Further, the *Indian Social Reformer* travesties the truth when it states that 'Malthus's theory was never held seriously in Europe.' On the contrary, Malthus's theory was held very seriously by a number of persons of first class intelligence, among whom Charles Darwin was perhaps the foremost. No doubt the theory of Malthus has suffered, then and later, by a too rigid interpretation of the formula he promulgated to express the antagonism between the variation of population due to a spontaneous tendency to multiply and the limitations imposed on it by the means of subsistence, disease, war and the desire for security and well-being. The *Indian Social Reformer* is probably right in observing that no country in Europe has as yet set about to reduce its birth rate.

4. At the same time, the Dutch have, ever since 1885, practised birth control very fairly systematically, so that it is not without interest to compare Holland and Belgium in this respect, for in the latter country the practice of birth control has received very little support. At the present moment Holland has a birth-rate one-fourth higher than that of Belgium, and between 1901 and 1929 the birth-rate in Holland diminished by 28 per cent while in Belgium the birth-rate fell by 85 per cent. No one can say that morals are more lax in Holland than in Belgium. The explanation of this state of affairs argues that besides a birth-rate we are concerned with a fecundity rate, a factor to which the *Indian Social Reformer* does not allude.

5. At a latter date, (14th December), the *Indian Social Reformer* publishes an article entitled, 'Birth Control and Eugenics,' in which an attempt is made to discredit the practice of birth control in regard to its effect on eradicating the propagation of worthless



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or undesirable stock. Here again we may cite the instance of Holland where the exercise of birth control has brought about an increase in the health and stature of the people so that the average height of the population has been raised by four inches. As Havelock Ellis points out, (*Little Essays in Love and Virtue*, page 141), a random application of birth control cannot in theory affect the germinal possibilities of a community, but in practice it may improve the somatic conditions under which the germinal elements develop. As the *Indian Social Reformer* observes, no method has so far been discovered whereby we can foretell what mental and physical characteristics can be inherited, but, at the same time, there are certain bodily and mental condition so obviously of evil import alike to the subjects themselves and to their descendants that we cannot have any reasonable doubt about them. Havelock Ellis cites epilepsy as an example of such conditions and calls attention to the study of the transmission of epilepsy and of other inheritable abnormal conditions made by certain American observers, Dr. C. B. Davenport and Dr. Goddard.

6. It is by no means evident what the writer of the article entitled, 'Birth Control and Eugenics' means when he states that, 'the world has more to dread from scarcity in the lower classes than in the rich and intellectual groups.' It should hardly be necessary to point out that the maintenance, at the expense of the community, of numerous families of the poorer classes ends in diminishing the fertility of the independent class, owing to increased taxation. To mention an example, taken from Laski: from 1912 to 1932 an unemployed workman and his wife had no other resources than subsidies from the public purse; four children were born during these twenty years; the maintenance of this family cost the London taxpayers £1,819.

7. Further, the same writer states, 'the influence of environment is far greater than heredity on the individual, as is being increasingly recognised to-day.' This very dogmatic statement in respect to the old argument of 'nature v. nurture' is, one may observe, not supported by facts, although, while most observers are agreed that environment does indubitably play a part in the development of the individual, no evidence is forthcoming to support the contention that it plays a major part.

8. In respect to the influence exerted by religion on the practice of birth control, this contributor considers that objection to birth control is almost exclusively to be found among Roman Catholics. This is hardly to be wondered at in view of the Papal Encyclical dated January 8th, 1931, which forbids, in unequivocal terms, the use of contraceptives. At the same time, the Revd. Father Valentin Fallon, S. J., writes as follows: 'Does morality make it a duty to multiply, thoughtlessly and without limit, the population of a country, in spite of the prospect of poverty, famine, infirmity, debility and degeneration which would result? Does it make it a duty for the married to bring into the world indiscriminately children for whose necessities they are incapable of providing?' By no means. Morality says: "If you are not in a position to fulfil the duties and bear the expenses of marriage in a proper manner, remain continent." It says to the married: "Use marriage with moderation. Have consideration for your wife's health, for your own health and for the welfare of those to whom you give birth. Continence can be practised in marriage."

9. There is not much doubt, as Dr. Rane Sand observes in his recent publication, '*Health and Human Progress*,' that 'the fear of universal scarcity

of food caused by over-population of the earth is premature and probably chimerical.' To-day we suffer from under consumption, not from over-production. The fact of the matter is that the problems of population are extremely complex and delicate, as they affect religion, morality, politics, economics, as well as biology, psychology and sociology. They cannot be considered from one point of view only. Their obscurities and uncertainties remain numerous, and we are only beginning to approach them objectively. The wiser among us should be content to await the light that we may expect will be thrown upon these problems by the recently created International Union of national committees for the scientific study of the problems of population and in India by the Family Hygiene Society. In the meantime let us remember the words quoted by Zachary Macaulay to his son, Thomas Babington:

*"Vociferated logic kills me quite;
A noisy man is always in the right."*

A REJOINDER.

1. Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill is right when he points out that twenty-eight of the thirty-eight American States permit sterilization now. We are grateful to him for the correction. But it does not affect the argument in the *Reformer* that birth controllers in the U. S. A. classed sterilisation as a birth control measure to "smuggle" it into the States, because historically the States took to Birth Control long before they took to sterilization. "Twelve States passed sterilization laws before 1915, all of which have been at one time or other declared unconstitutional. After 1927, after a Federal Supreme Court decision, twenty-eight States adopted human sterilization laws." (Morris Siegel: "Constructive Eugenics and Rational Marriage.")

2. "It is to Place's campaign of education that we owe the beginning in the English-speaking world of the birth control movement in the genuinely modern sense. In a less direct manner than in the instance of England, he was also through his disciples responsible for the genesis of the American movement in 1828.....Place developed the theory of birth control, became its first systematic expositor, and was the first to organise an educational campaign calculated to enlighten public opinion. He was the arch-pioneer." (Dr. Norman Himes: "Place on Population").

3. The very fact that no country has attempted to check the birth-rate in Europe is proof that Malthus' fear of population outstripping means of subsistence was not gravely regarded in Europe. That a few persons of first class intelligence held his theory seriously has affected the trend of European affairs as much as the League of Nations' censures have affected Italy in her aggression on Ethiopia. As for Darwin's acceptance of the population theory, his own theory of survival of the fittest evolved out of Malthus, is by no means universally accepted today. History has disproved Malthus. Even Col. Hill, we see, deserts him while appearing to plead his case.

4. Col. Owen Berkeley-Hill, we are glad to note, reiterates our warning to birth control propagandists not to advocate birth-control as a measure for restricting population or preventing over population. That he does so in the guise of differing from us can only be attributed to the need for tact in restraining the enthusiasm of his readers.

5 & 7. Surely an argument for sterilization rather than birth control. But it is not easy in the light of our present knowledge to assess correctly how much of the mental or bodily defect is due to



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bad nutrition, insanitary conditions of living, and close association with men in whom the defect is highly developed before resorting to this measure. Hitler's use of sterilization laws is the best argument against them since no one can guard against such perversions in a State. And only recently the press carried reports of a sensational sterilization case in which the doctor's conduct was not entirely disinterested.

6. This is not the fault of the poor so much as of the social system. What Col. Hill calls the "independent class" is, we are afraid, of poorer fertility not because of increased taxation as he suggests. It is unfortunate but true that modern industrial civilisation rests on cheap labour and plenty of it.

8. This looks more like an argument in favour of self-control. It is not clear whether the whole of it is from Father Fallon or whether the concluding passage is Col. Hill's.

9. To state that we suffer from under consumption not from over-production, is a catchphrase which looks smart but is meaningless. We suffer from poor distribution. And that is why large crops are destroyed, fish thrown back into the sea and production restricted in parts of the world while men elsewhere suffer want. The problems of population are no doubt complex but the problem of birth control is not until its advocates make it so.

* Lastly Col. Berkeley-Hill is wrong when he says that the *Reformer* seeks to discredit birth control. We are only warning Indian workers in the movement against making extravagant claims for birth control. Apparently foreign propagandists resent this. Col. Hill's request for "the wiser among us" to await the light which will issue from the Family Hygiene Society, is an insidious attempt to silence criticism. The Family Hygiene Society has adopted Birth Control as one of its main activities. On that question, therefore, it has a propagandist, not a scientific, outlook. Does Col. Hill in quoting Zachary Macaulay's doggerel ask his supporters and colleagues in the birth control movement to be noisy? It is unnecessary because they have already learnt the lesson.

SOCIALISM AS A PANACEA.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

After all the political furore which has recently been propagated before the unsteady Indian eye, by the Congress President, he now seems of late to have engaged himself in the propaganda of sugar-coating, as far as he can, the bitter pill which he had prescribed for his country's ailments. This bitter dose is known to be compounded altogether of foreign drugs which can never suit the Indian climate. If the rash physician persists in trying the same imported sort of an untried and unsuitable ingredient, he will have himself to rue his rash experiment before very long. By such an unthoughtful and ill-conceived prescription, he is sure to make the condition of his poor helpless patient immeasurably worse, and then he will have to leave him at the door of death, frantically crying for relief from heaven, which it may, then, be too late to hope for.

He is himself now trying to put some sort of altered interpretation over his original theories, as propounded by him at Lucknow. But people—I mean those who really matter, and whom those childish frolics and funs do really pinch—seem to be far from satisfied with the clever consoling alteration which is being offered to them by the President.

This is being done, obviously, in order that the large mass of those who are vitally concerned with the future frightful features of the Communist Indian society, may not altogether lose heart, and get estranged. So that, they may not, for the sake of their own safety, join any of the numerous antagonistic camps but remain within the fold of the newly designed Communist Congress. This, in all reason, seems impossible for them to do, in their own interests.

So far as disinterested patriotic, prudent politicians are concerned, it is easy to foresee that a large mass of people are sure to disintegrate from the main body, purely in a self-defensive policy. What will become of the poor Congress if faithless desertions of this kind continue to be the feature of the day? Gradually that body is likely to lose all its living force, and will occupy on the page of Indian history a glorious remembrance for its past activities in the eye of the future generations. What will then be the use of beating the dead horse?

One thing is fully known to the Indian thinker, with not the least bit of a cloud of suspicion. That is that Indian masses are hopelessly depressed under mountains of poverty, ignorance and of untold and unmeasured unemployment. Anything frightening may happen under such a hopeless condition of Indian society. Any new fangled dangerous ideas may crop up to engross the terrorised, trembling heart of the Indian, especially as he is made to see no ray of hope for the future before him. Such reckless people are numerous as are daily leading the poor Indian citizen to hazardous and dangerous pits of ruin—in the comforting name of socialism, communism, terrorism, bombism and what not. Poor ignorant hungry masses may be expected to blindly follow any false lead that may approach them in their dull distant hopeless workless and breadless villages.

It is a most lucky thing for India of the present day that the new Viceroy is trying to unfurl the flag of a new vision, a new political picture and new methods of work, with new ideals. It is a source of genuine comfort to come across the new ideals, to which the eye is being directed by Lord Linlithgo. Along with this smiling rose view of the new Indian political landscape, there is the strong background of the constitution under the Indian Reforms Act which is going to be worked from 1937. The prospect is hopeful. It is sure to lead India to its cherished goal of Self Government, within a short time.

But our Indian politicians of the decaying Congress School are desired in the name of the love for their motherland to open their eyes and view the future with all its bright prospects of a peaceful progress. This ideal can never be dropped out of a prudent consideration of the most patriotic true type of a political goal before the country.

If eyes are not now opened, it may, it is rightly feared, be too late. India may gradually drift along too far away in ruinous direction under the false lead of our new false political idealists who have borrowed the false inspiration from foreigners and untried friends. They have generated a false sense of patriotism on the slippery road of a political destination leading towards danger and absolute ruin. All this must be stoutly guarded against if there is anything of a prudent thinking, true loyalty to and love for the motherland, and farseeing considerations of India's progressive prosperity. Undoubtedly they must still be the ideals of our future advancement as they certainly were in the past.

Lahore, } Yours etc.,
1st June 1936. } NARAINSINGH, B. A., P. E. S.
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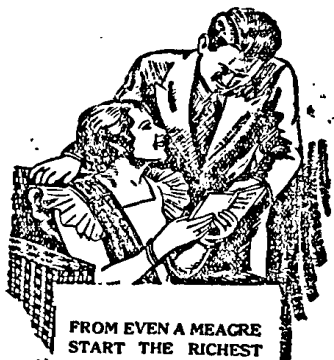
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Mysore Widow Marriage Bill:—It is eighty years since a law was passed in British India validating the remarriage of Hindu widows. The Bill met with fierce opposition from conservative Hindus but the Government of India was firm for the first and the last time on a question of social reform, and the Bill became law. For many years there were very few remarriages celebrated under the Act but its educative influence slowly gained ground and, today, remarriages among Hindus in British India attract very little attention, practically no opposition. In passing, we commend this instance to those who are impatient about the apparently slow effect of the Sarda Act. Quick results in social reform are liable to be followed by strong reactions. A private member, Mr. Bhashyam, introduced in the Mysore Representative Assembly a fortnight back, a Bill to validate the remarriage of Hindu widows in Mysore State. The Assembly was unanimously in favour of the Bill and the Government of Mysore accepted it in principle. The Mysore Bill is in one important respect an advance on the law in British India. The British Indian Act provides that a Hindu widow who remarries will lose all her rights in her deceased husband's property, whether in respect of maintenance or by inheritance or even by virtue of any will, which does not expressly give her permission to remarry. Mr. Bhashyam's Bill provides that, in the absence of an heir to the deceased husband, the remarried widow will continue to enjoy possession of his estate as her absolute estate. The rights acquired by her under a gift of deed or will, will also be her absolute estate unless there is a clause in such documents expressly prohibiting remarriage. The British Indian Act presumes that if a deceased husband did not expressly permit his widow to remarry, he was against her doing so. The Mysore Bill, on the other hand, presumes that unless he expressly prohibited her remarriage, a deceased Hindu husband approved

beforehand of his widow remarrying. The difference between the two is an index of the march of ideas in 80 years. Further, the remarried widow under the Mysore Bill, will continue to be the guardian of her children by her first husband unless a civil court appoints another person as a guardian at the instance of an interested person. It is not quite clear if the remarried widow would have any right in her husband's property where there is an heir.

Harijan Workers' Conference:—A Conference of workers of the Harijan Sevak Sangh met at Bangalore on the 14th under the Chairmanship of the President of the Sangh, Mr. G. D. Birla. In his address, the Chairman observed that he thought that they had originally planned their work all over India more extensively than they should have done. One result was that schools had been established which do not fully conform to the objects of the Harijan Sevak Sangh. The Conference passed a resolution requesting the Secretaries of Provincial Boards in South India to scrutinise the conduct of existing schools and where it was not possible to bring their conduct in conformity with the Sabha's objects to close them and divert the funds so saved to other important work. This will be a delicate operation as continuity is the essence of social work and the closing of schools, even when they do not fully conform to rules, is likely to be regarded as withdrawing from a field after having once occupied it. The masters thrown out of their jobs, will become counter-propagandists, and the Sangh has evoked much counter-propaganda. The Conference seemed to be of the opinion that the work of the Sangh might be more effective if it paid more regard to the specific problems of each district instead of having a general plan for the whole of India. Mr. Birla suggested that this may not be practicable, and we agree with him. The disabilities of antyajas are more or less the same all over the country. They consist in the denial of social amenities to these classes and do not much vary with the climate, geographical position or the fertility of the soil of different parts of the country. So far as we can see, the programme of the Sabha is comprehensive and there is nothing to prevent workers in a locality from devoting more attention to a specific local need, such, for instance, as lack of drinking water, as compared with others. It is not surprising that the Conference felt it necessary



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to pass a resolution to form a central committee of workers who would pledge themselves to serve the Sangh for at least five years. The tendency of paid social workers to be on the look out for a permanent footing in Government, Municipal, Local Board or other services, is one of the most serious problems confronting movements of this kind. The worker argues somewhat as follows: the disabilities of the Harijans may cease to exist soon, in which case he would find himself without a job; or they may continue indefinitely in which case, his employers may transfer their resources to work in more promising directions. He is anxious, therefore, to find a job in a service in which the speculative element is absent. This problem may solve itself if Gandhiji's idea of making each district pay its own way, be given effect to. Mr. Birla encouraged the Conference to face this prospect by assuring them from his experience, that good work will never lack for funds. If it does, of course, it is not good work! Social work which depends primarily on the collection of funds is not a social but a financial operation subject to the vicissitudes of such operations. The true social worker will plan his work independently of financial prospects. This is not so difficult as it may seem, because personal example is the alpha and omega of social service. Money has no necessary affinity to a good cause. The whole world execrates Mussolini for his Ethiopian adventure. But he had all the money and credit needed to keep up his supplies of bombs and poison gas. All the world sympathised with the Negus. But his pathetic appeals for help in funds and war material fell on deaf ears.

Indian Address to Negus :—An ad-hoc Indian body under the title of the Indian Political group was formed to present an address of welcome to Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethiopia. Dr. C. B. Vakil, President and P. B. Seal, Secretary were authorised to take necessary steps for presenting an address to his Majesty. The address read as follows :—"Your Majesty : On May 9th last the President of the Indian National Congress called for an "Abyssinia Day". In hundreds of thousands, the Indian people came out in streets, parks, fields and platforms throughout the length and breadth of the country to demonstrate their solidarity with the heroic Ethiopian people in their uneven struggle against rapacious Imperialism, to maintain their centuries-old Independence. In tune with the wishes of the vast majority of our countrymen, we take this opportunity of showing our sympathy with Ethiopian Independence in presenting an humble address of welcome to you, who led them in this heroic struggle. Though to day, the seared limbs splintered bones and burnt faces of the Abyssinian heroes lie unrecognised and unrecognisable in the valleys of Tembien, the desert of Danakil and the shores of Lake Tana, the epic story of their undying struggle for the freedom of their country will be immortalised in the hearts of the suppressed

and oppressed peoples throughout Africa and Asia. The flame of the grim resistance which they have lit has already set ablaze the struggle for liberation from Colombo to Alexandria, from the Gold Coast to Shanghai."

Sold into Slavery :—The Patna correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* makes startling disclosures about agrarian conditions in Bihar which have come to light as a result of the inquiries of a Committee appointed by the Bihar Provincial Congress Committee and presided over by Babu Rajendra Prasad. That in some of the zamindaris the ryats are in extremely straitened circumstances, is well known, but it will come as a surprise to most people to learn that in some areas the peasants have sold their daughters and sisters to raise money to pay their dues. The correspondent does not give details of these transactions. We are not told, for instance, to whom the girls are sold and what happens to them after the sale. The report of the Committee will doubtless be more informative. But it is evident that, if the press report is correct, in Bihar, and probably in other parts of the country as well, an evil worse than predial slavery has come into being which must be immediately put down. For in slavery, at least slavery in the East, the victims had a recognised place in the household. The deprivation of personal liberty placed to a large extent a certain responsibility on the owner. But the purchasers of the women of Bihar's distressed peasantry have obviously little in common with their victims. We are told that the Rajendra Prasad Committee has placed the facts before zamindar representatives who have examined the evidence. Many of the zamindars, we are sure, detest this evil as much as people of other classes do. The remedy for it lies in the first instance in their own hands. The zamindari system can not survive unless it is shown that it can be cured of these defects. If the progressive element cannot persuade the more backward members of its class to adopt necessary reforms, the ryat problem will be taken out of the hands of the zamindars.

The Servants of India Society :—The thirty-first annual report of the Servants of India Society concludes with an appeal for financial support from the public. A perusal of the report shows the extensive activities of its thirty members, ranging from politics to rural uplift and scouting. The Society suffered a heavy blow in the death of Mr. G. K. Devadhar last year. Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru who has been elected President in his place, is a worthy successor to Mr. Devadhar. But it is unfortunate that he has to spend the greater part of his time away from the headquarters of the Society at Poona. The fact that Mr. N. M. Joshi, the Vice-President, is also unable, on account of his work in the Assembly and at Geneva, to devote much time to the Society's affairs is a second misfortune to the Servants of India. Much of the work of

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members is done through other organisations, like the National Liberal Federation politically and the Harijan Sevak Sangh socially, and this cannot be assessed as the direct work of the Society. The annual gathering which met at Poona was distinguished this year by the inauguration of the Women Servants of India Society which is to work at the outset under the guidance of the Servants of India Society. Pandit Kunzru administered the oath to two women—the first members. This little group of national workers has contributed much to public life in India and it stands more in need of help today than before not only for extending its activities but even for maintaining much of its work. We trust that the public will respond to the appeal.

Practical Socialism:—From time to time we have hints and suggestions from individual Liberal politicians to 'show that Indian Liberalism is not necessarily antagonistic to Socialism. Sir Chimanlal Setalvad himself, though generally regarded as representing the extreme right wing of the Liberal Party, has conceded that the State may take over the control of key industries. But Pandit Kunzru is the first President of the Liberal Federation to call for a Socialist policy, even though he qualified it at the Poona annual meeting with the word "practical". It is interesting to note that British Liberalism is more rigid. Mr. Ramsay Muir in "The Liberal Way" (published under the authority of the National Liberal Federation) is careful throughout to keep the line between Socialism and Liberalism clear and distinct. "Many who call themselves Socialists," he writes, "are really Social Reformers and ought to call themselves Liberals." In Britain it is essential that, hedged in between a large Labour and a larger Conservative Party, Liberals should guard their individuality jealously. In India the Liberal Party, however small its numbers, stands out as the only all India political group outside the Congress. It should not be difficult to find some common ground between the 'practical' Socialism of Pandit Kunzru and the 'scientific' Socialism of Pandit Jawaharlal. A Socialism that is practical but not scientific or that is scientific but not practical, is not likely to go very far in this world.

Units of Federation:—How very primitive some of the Indian States, potential members of the Federation of India, are in their conception of the relation between ruler and subject, is illustrated by an incident reported by the Ajmer correspondent of the *Hindustan Times*. He writes: "It is a practice generally enforced in Rajputana that, when a chief or anyone of his near relatives dies, all the male subjects of the State are required to get their heads shaved as a mark of sorrow. Defaulters have sometimes to suffer great humiliation. The Banjara Sikhs of Suhrani,—a small Thikana in the Masuda Isfimirari Estate in Ajmer District—are reported to have recently been forced to submit to this custom on the death of the

mother of the Thakur, in spite of their protestations to the effect that 'kesha' was one of the five things sacred to the Sikhs. On receipt of information the local Guru Singh Sabha Executive held an extraordinary meeting and passed a resolution requesting the Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara, to institute an inquiry into the matter and take steps to prevent anything like this happening in future."

The Shahidgunj Dispute:—The Sessions Judge of Lahore, Mr. S. L. Sale, pronounced orders on the 25th May dismissing two suits for declaration of the right of Muslims to say their prayers in the Shahidgunj mosque and for its possession. The Judge held, among other things, that, though a mosque on the site was dedicated for prayers in the year 1722, it has not been so used since its possession and control passed to the Sikhs in about 1762. The judgment gave rise to an agitation among Muslims in Lahore. Mr. M. A. Jinnah and other leaders issued an appeal to the Punjab Government on the 11th June, to take steps by executive or legislative measures to find an immediate solution of the situation created by the judgment, which, they thought, was fraught with serious danger. We note, however, that this extraordinary recommendation has not commended itself to local Muslim leaders who have taken the right course of filing an appeal in the High Court against Mr. Sale's judgment.

The New British Colonial Secretary:—"Mr. Ormsby-Gore is no new-comer to the Colonial Office, where he was Parliamentary Under-Secretary for some years, with very considerable success," writes the London Correspondent of the *Leader*. "Even before he went there, he was familiar with problems relating to Indians Overseas, as a member of the Indians Overseas Association Committee; and he was also a member of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Kenya appointed some years ago and presided over by Lord Islington. Among the problems requiring his immediate attention the most obvious is that of Palestine, where the Arab population is in a state of almost open revolt. Another question that will have to be dealt with by Mr. Ormsby-Gore very shortly will be the Kenya Order in Council, regarding which, and its effect upon the African native population, Lord Lugard has a very interesting letter in the *Times*." *The New Statesman* of 23rd May wrote that an Order in Council on Kenya land was announced with a promise that promulgation will be deferred till after the debate on the Colonial Office vote. "There is reason to believe," it added, "that part of the highlands will now be legally reserved for Europeans, as in practice it long has been." This is a subject of great concern to Indians, though neither Lord Lugard nor the London weekly seem to be aware of the fact. We trust that the Government of India will not be caught napping about Kenya as it was about Zanzibar.



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BOMBAY, June 20, 1936.

THE MATRICULATION MUDDLE.

The Bombay University was the scene on Monday of a demonstration of which every one concerned should be ashamed. Apart from the merits of the grievance of the demonstrators, they completely forgot that the University is a place of learning and was entitled to be treated with respect by those who claimed, or wished to claim, her as their *alma mater*. They resent having been referred to as a mob by the Vice-Chancellor in adjourning the Senate, but their behaviour was that of a mob and not that of educated men and women in the precinct of an institution devoted to the advancement of knowledge. The immediate occasion for this attack on the right of the University to conduct its examinations free from interference from outside pressure, was that at its Matriculation examination this year only 29 per cent of candidates got through as against 44 which is said to be the average in previous years. But from the speeches made by some of the leaders, it is evident that it was inspired by other objectives than merely getting 15 per cent more candidates included in the list of passes. It portends, if left to develop, an early crisis in the life of the Bombay University. Our Universities are power houses which have supplied the country with its main motive power for progress and should continue to do so. The incident, therefore, is sufficiently serious to engage the immediate attention of men and women whose vision is not limited to a transient personal popularity. The Vice-Chancellor acted, in a situation of unprecedented confusion, with coolness, courage and patience, and saved the situation which, with less presence of mind on Mr. Chandavarkar's part, might have done irreparable harm to the prestige of the Bombay University. His task was rendered not less difficult by the surprising fact that some members of the Senate associated themselves with the demonstrators.

That 71 per cent of the candidates for the Matriculation examination should have failed to obtain the minimum marks to secure a pass, is a scandal of the first magnitude. It means that this enormous proportion of students, had been promoted from class to class and kept in their High Schools, under the false and fraudulent belief that they were being prepared to enter the University at the end of the course. The financial burden, fees and cost of maintenance, must have been very great on the middle and poor class families from which the large majority of secondary scholars are drawn. The blame for this unconscionable state of things attaches to the Educational Department of the Government which has the full control of secondary education. The University prescribes the course of studies for its Matriculation but has no control

over High Schools which teach the course. When a High School applies for registration to the University the University as a rule acts on the report of the Director of Public Instruction regarding the adequacy of its staff, equipment, buildings and financial stability. Schools are inspected every year by the Educational Department for the allocation of grants. It is the duty of Educational Inspectors to see that they are efficiently conducted, that promotions are made only of suitable scholars and that the work prescribed for each year is fully gone through. The failure of over 70 per cent of the candidates in the last examination is *prima facie* evidence of the inefficient way in which High Schools are managed. It is also a reflection on the work of inspection of the Education Department. If the Schools did their work well and if the Department carried on its supervisions as it should do, practically all candidates for the examination should have got through. Ten per cent would be ample margin for failures due to natural incapacity or accidental circumstances. The demonstrators demanded that 44 per cent of the Matriculation candidates should be put on the list of passes, that being the proportion in previous years. The 56 per cent who would be left out, will have the same grievance as the 71 per cent and they will be justified, if Monday's exhibition is to be a precedent, in storming the Senate House and breaking up the Senate meeting which ignored their claim to be among the successful candidates. The holding of the Matriculation examination for thousands of candidates has, for several years past, been an incubus on the University. Each College should be allowed to admit students on its own examination and, as the number of scholars in the colleges is fixed by the University, one good effect will be to eliminate the surplus matriculates and induce them to seek some other outlet for their educational requirements. The financial loss to the University which will be considerable—the Matriculation is the backbone of its finance—may be made good by levying a fee for each scholar admitted to a College, as is now being done in the case of the first Year students promoted to the Intermediate course in Arts or Science. This will do away with the annual canvassing for the most remunerative of examinerships, chances of leakages and, above all, such discreditable exhibitions as that of last Monday.

It has been sought to enlist popular sympathy for the "44 per cent Matriculation passes" slogan, by alleging that the large proportion of failures this year was mostly due to the strictness of the examiners who valued the answer papers in English. One of the speakers at the public meetings held in support of the agitation, went very near arguing that as English is a foreign language, to fail to secure the minimum marks required in it was rather an act of patriotism. That the standard of English teaching in the Bombay University has steadily deteriorated, is a fact



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patent to all observers. Commenting on a speech of K. T. Telang in the eighties, an English publicist wrote that the great possibilities of the English language as an organ of expression was never so fully brought out as when a cultured Indian played upon it. That is a compliment few undergraduates nowadays are likely to merit. Mr. M. R. Jayakar, speaking at the Fergusson College last February, called attention to the careless, slipshod way in which English is taught and learnt, and exhorted his hearers to cultivate a love for the English language for its beauty, simplicity and universality. People who regard it as derogatory to their patriotism to aspire to speak and write intelligible English because they choose to regard it as a foreign language, notwithstanding four generations of Indians who have imbibed their ideas of freedom and public spirit from its literature, should agitate to have English left out of the Matriculation and not merely to increase the proportion of passes in it by 15 per cent. At the same time, raising the standard of study in any one subject, by 'axing' a high proportion of candidates in that subject, is the most futile way that can be thought of. There used to be a system of moderation at a meeting of examiners in a subject where gross inequalities in the results were smoothed out before publication. We are sure something like that is being done now also. If that be the case, it is impossible that any single examiner could have incurred the responsibility for the Matriculation result this year. One of the "demands" of the failed candidates, which it is difficult to understand, is that the names of examiners should be published. We can hardly think that Bombay High School students would go to the length of tarring and feathering an examiner who did not pass them.

"INDIA, A BUDDHIST NATION."

[NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO

SAMMA—SAM BUDDHASSA.]

(By Bhikku Mettaya)

We were glad to read your learned editorial of June 6th, entitled "India, A Buddhist Nation." There you have well enumerated the many golden threads that bind the two faiths together and which weaved in the past the splendid and variegated tapestry of Aryan civilization. The two faiths were friendly from the very first and their adherents lived in ecstasie unity. According to our sacred books, the Vedas of the Hindu brethren are of divine origin, being revealed unto our first forefathers by the benevolent Brahma.

The Lord Buddha, never came to bring disharmony. He, on the other hand, came treading the course of compassion to unite those at variance, which he did. He never asked the people to break the ancient traditions, nor to destroy ancient institutions. As an example of the Master's teaching on these matters, I may quote here His immortal words uttered near death into the ears of Ananda, the beloved disciple.

Having heard from Vassakara that Ajatasattu had vowed vengeance on the Licchavis saying, "I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin," the Master asked the

disciple who was fanning Him, "Have you heard, Ananda, that the Vajjians hold full and frequent public assemblies?"

"Lord, so I have heard," replied he.

"So long, Ananda," rejoined the Blessed One, "as the Vajjians hold these full and frequent public assemblies, so long may they be expected not to decline, but to prosper."

"So long, Ananda, as the Vajjians meet together in concord, rise and carry out their undertakings in concord; so long as they enact nothing not already established, abrogate nothing that has been already enacted, and act in accordance with the ancient institutions of the Vajjians as established in former days; so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian elders, and they hold it a point of duty to hearken to their words; so long as no women or girls belonging to their clans are detained among them by force or abduction; so long as they honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian shrines in town or in country, and allow not the proper offerings and the rites, as formerly given and performed, to fall into desuetude; so long as the rightful protection, defence and support shall be fully provided for the Arahats among them, so that Arahats from a distance may enter the realm, and the Arahats therein may live at ease; so long may the Vajjians be expected not to decline, but to prosper." (Translated by Dr. Rhys Davids in the *Sacred Books of the East* series)

True to the Lord's teaching, so long as they lived that life of unity and virtue, the Licchavis were invincible, but the day that they fell into disunity they lost their freedom and honour. These teachings of the Lord Buddha are timeless, of universal application.

The example of the Licchavis is a noble one for any people to emulate, even to-day. When they were at the zenith of power they lived in great amity and concord. If one Licchavi fell ill, all others flocked to nurse him. The whole clan joined in any festival performed in the house of a Licchavi. If any illustrious guest were to come, they all went forward in a body to receive him and to do him honour.

The young Licchavis were fair to behold, men like gods! Affluent and handsome as they were, the Licchavis were Stoic, hardy and ever active. In the book of *Kindred Sayings* (Samutta Nikaya, Pali Text Society, and quoted by Dr. B. C. Law in his *Kshatriya Clans in Buddhist India*), the Blessed One says:

"Look ye Bhikkhus here, how these Licchavis live sleeping with logs of woods as pillows, strenuous and diligent, zealous and active in archery. Ajatasattu, Vedehiputta, the Magadhan King can find no defect in them, nor can he discover any course of action against them. Should the Licchavis, Bhikkhus, in the time to come, be very delicate, tender and soft in their arms and legs, should they sleep in ease and comfort on cushions of the finest cotton till the sun is up in the heaven, then the Magadhan King, Ajatasattu, Vedehiputta, will find defect and will discover course of action."

If the Indian Nation to-day hearkens unto these wise words, she verily will prosper and become invincible in her unity.

Strenuousness, both in worldly and spiritual matters is the first and last teaching of Buddhism. The first verse that Nigrodha, the seven-year-old saint born in a Chandala village taught Asoka was: "Diligence is the path to the Immortal; Heedlessness is the way of Death. The strenuous never die; the heedless are already as dead."



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This is equally true of every nation as of the individuals, and in the very first inscription of Asoka we read:

"Since I sought the Sangha more than a year ago, I exerted myself greatly, and during this time, the gods who formerly were held true by the people of Jambudvīpa were found to be false. This indeed is the fruit of unflinching exertion. And this is attainable not by the great only, but by the small as well. Great is the good that can be gained by following the Dhamma diligently.

"For this purpose has this message been proclaimed—namely: "Let the small and the great strive alike. Yeal even my neighbours must know this, and this exertion must long endureAnd 256 times was this message proclaimed by the king."

There was no one in the realm who worked more strenuously than the Emperor. Gleanings from other inscriptions read:

"In times past, the business of administration was not disposed at all hours, nor reports received. So I have thus arranged. Even if I am dining or in the queens' apartments, or in the bed-room, or even when I am in the bathroom, or in the preaching pavilion, or in the pleasure-grove, the superintendents I have appointed must constantly inform me of the affairs of my people. In all places do I the discharge of the business of my people.....I know no limit of exertion, nor satisfaction in the discharge of business.

"Work I must for the weal of the world. Of that also, the root is this: unflinching effort and dispatch of business. There is no work sublimer than the promotion of the happiness and welfare of the whole world. And this unflinching effort of mine is for this reason: *that I may obtain discharge of the debt I owe all animate life and lead them to happiness in this world and to bliss beyond.*"

Even to-day, the duty of Mother India is to save the world. She who formerly was the *Mater Consolatrix* of the whole world, will she not rise up again to save this world again from the fearful labyrinth in which it is intricately? India has millennia of civilization behind her, and the immortal voice of the past speaketh to the present, which if listened to, will ensure her everlasting life.

From Megasthenes, the ambassador most scrupulous in his veracity and singularly correct in his statements, we learn that three hundred years before the birth of Christ, Aryavarta was a land of freedom where slavery was unknown, where men were valiant and women pure, where thieves were not and the people needed no locks to their doors, and where above all no wife was known to be unchaste and no soul was ever known to have uttered a lie. Further the people scarcely ever had recourse to the law. They were sober and industrious, prosperous farmers, cunning craftsmen and talented artisans, who lived peacefully under their native chiefs. Fa-Hian who came about 700 years later found India the same Heaven. Then capital punishment was unknown, there were neither distilleries nor butcher's shops, for no one in all the land drank wine or took meat. They never kept pigs or poultry farms but food was abundant and the people were prosperous and happy. Then the people were virtuous and the heavens being pleased rained nectar on them. From Claudius Aelianus, the historian of the second century, we learnt that in India, "Liquid honey falls like dew upon the herbage and the leaves of marsh-reeds, and supplies sheep and oxen with an admirable kind of nutriment, the exceeding sweetness of which the animals highly relish. Now the herdsmen drive them to those spots where this delicious dew falls and lies, and the

cattle in turn supply the herdsmen with a delicious repast, for they yield a very sweet milk which does not require honey to be mixed with it as is done in Greece" (Dr. J. W. McCrindle's translation in *Ancient India*).

Hiuen Tsiang who came 200 years after Fa-Hian as translated by Watters, states:—

"Families are not registered, and individuals are not subject to forced labour contribution. Of the royal land there was a fourfold division; one part is for the expenses of government and state worship; one for the endowment of great public servants; one to reward high intellectual eminence; and one for acquiring religious merit by gifts to various sects. Taxation being light and forced service being sparingly used, every one keeps to his hereditary occupation and attends to his patrimony. The king's tenants pay one-sixth of the produce as rent. Tradesmen go to and fro bartering their merchandise after paying light duties at ferries and barrier stations."

When Hiuen Tsiang came, Harsha, that second Asoka, sat on the throne of Aryavarta. He had 60,000 war elephants and 100,000 cavalry, but after his conversion to Buddhism his arms reposed and everywhere he reigned in peace. Harsha's charity knew no bounds. At Prayag, that arena of charity, from five years to five years he distributed all his accumulated wealth among the monks and ascetics of all sects and fed the poor. He spared not even his personal jewels or raiment. A great poet in a class with Bhasa and Kalidasa, Harsha wrote in his Banskhera and Madhuban inscriptions, in the Vasantatilaka strain:

"May my body, mind and word be for the good of living beings: this has been declared by Harsha as the highest practice of the Dharma."

In his beautiful play Ratnavali, Harsha speaks of the tranquillity of his kingdom thus:

"Humbled are the enemies of the empire; competent ministers bear the burden of administration; freed are the people of all tribulation; and flourishing are they under peace and protection."

Through Jimutavahana, the hero of his own play Nagananda, Harsha reveals himself in the following beautiful words; "He who is ever willing to give his life, unasked, for the good of others,—how can he, so compassionate, even think of the enormity of himself destroying his fellowmen, avid for an earthly kingdom."

It is the glory of Harsha that he—even as Asoka had done before him—realised the lofty ideal that gleamed before his eyes.

"Be ye heirs unto the Dhamma, not heirs unto worldly things," said the Lord Buddha; and these devout kings, sacrificing their own lives at the shrine of humanity, worked for the happiness of others and centuries before Europe dreamed of its *Utopia*, which is no place, they made India the real *Eutopia*, or the good place on earth.

It is a weakness of the West that it believes more in fiction than in fact. They would believe the fictitious novels but not true history, for if they believe they must walk this path of peace and service for the good of the whole world. It was the sublime Dhamma of the Lord Buddha that made India a Heaven on earth and the consoling mother of the universe. He stopped the famous Asva Medha and the Purisa Medha. He made friends of enemies, Brahmins of the Candalas, and Brahmas of Brahmins. He fostered the forlorn, consoled the disconsolate and saved the lost. And because of Him, all the world honours India today.

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THE FALLING BIRTH RATE.

(BY DR. HANS HARMSSEN, BERLIN.)

Nearly all European countries are showing a fall in the birthrate which constitutes a growing danger to the survival of the white races. Moreover, the true state of affairs is disguised by an abnormal distribution of the populations according to age. The statistics for a number of European countries reveal that although there is an apparent surplus of births over deaths, in reality the number of births is no longer sufficient to maintain the population in the long run at its present total. Statistics from the different countries show a decreasing birthrate from the South East to the North West, with a pronounced depression over Great Britain and Scandinavia.

Although the last census in Great Britain (1931) still showed an increase in population, the population of Scotland had already shrunk to some 40,000 people. The figures for Great Britain show, over the years 1929-1931, an average deficit of 33 per thousand. The rise in the average age of the population is showing its effects today in the slowing down of emigration to the Dominions.

The population problem in Scandinavia is likewise indicated by a rapidly increasing fall in the birthrate. Taking into account the decrease caused by mortality, there will be, in 20 years, for every thousand now existing, only 700 girls of child-bearing age in Sweden, about 800 in Norway and 900 in Denmark. The basic causes of this situation are to be sought, not in material difficulties, but in weak sexual morality, in the undermining of the ideal of marriage and in propaganda for contraception and for facilities for abortion.

In the Baltic regions, the unfavourable development of the population problem has to some extent been intensified since the formation of the national states. Finland alone shows a healthy increase. In Estonia, the distribution of the population according to individual national groups reveals the fact that only the Russian section, inhabiting the Eastern frontier, has a surplus of births over deaths of any significance. The same is true of Latvia, where, in the last ten years a strong decline in the birthrate has taken place among the Letts and the Jews. Urbanisation also constitutes a danger, 20% of the whole population living in Riga. The Lettgallians, on the other hand, a group dominated for centuries by Polish influence, and forming only a quarter of the total population, number 80% of the births. Lithuania and Poland are today countries which still show a large surplus of births over deaths and, as a result of a fall in the death rate, a strongly increasing total population. Owing to the cessation of emigration, the problem of over-population and of peasants without land is becoming for these countries one of increasing gravity. Quite recently, too, a gradual decrease in births has taken place in both these countries, most noticeably in the western districts.

Apart from Russia, only Roumania and Jugoslavia show a birthrate of over 80 per thousand. In spite of a very high death rate, the birth surplus in these countries is considerable. Specially remarkable are the effects of the fall in the birthrate in the states which succeeded the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Hungary forms the transition between the extremes of East and West. The birthrate has fallen most in the towns and in the well-to-do peasant districts of the Trans-Danubian region. The north eastern part of Hungary, with a rather low level of culture, alone produces large families. In Czechoslovakia, the birth statistics show a noticeable drop from East to West. Whereas in Carpathian Russia the figures for 1932 still show a birthrate of 38.68 per thousand, Slovakia

has only 27.48, Moravian Silesia 19.51 and Bohemia only 16.97. Specially catastrophic is the situation in Austria. 1935 revealed, for the first time, not only for the towns but for the whole country, a surplus of deaths over births of 2.957. In Vienna, which was largely responsible for turning the scale in this direction, the birthrate was only 6.5 per thousand, with 12.179 births as against 25.205 deaths. Over two-thirds of all Viennese marriages are either childless or have produced only one child. In Switzerland developments are also very unfavourable, although disguised for the time being by an unusually low death rate. As against a surplus of births reckoned at 4.6 per thousand, the actual birthrate is calculated at 0.84. The deficit in births per thousand inhabitants of the stable population amounts to 5.7. In contrast to these figures, France shows a much smaller birth deficit, with only 0.4 per thousand. In Belgium, the variety of tendency in the population in the Flemish as against the Walloon regions, involves very significant structural changes. Out of 498 communities which in the year 1930 had more deaths than births, 469 were in Walloon. The Netherlands alone, with a birthrate of over 20 per thousand, stands far above the level of the surrounding countries in this matter. It has the most favourable death rate of all Europe. The figures, taking the average of the years 1929-30, show a surplus of births over deaths of 4.3 per thousand. These favourable conditions must in particular be attributed to the strong religious life of the country and to the healthy solution of the housing problem. Portugal shows a very steady birthrate, while Spain is already on the down grade. Italy has succeeded, principally through the reduction of its death rate, in maintaining its natural increase in population at a steady level. Nonetheless, the numerous and energetic measures adopted in this sphere have not so far succeeded in arresting the tendency of the birthrate to fall, especially in Northern Italy and in the industrial spheres.

For all nations and especially those of Europe, the basic question as regards the maintenance of their existence, is that of the birthrate. Germany has shown, through the development of its population movement, that the fall in the birthrate is not something that cannot at any cost be avoided. The population movement of 1934 shows the influence of the movement for interior revival, as expressed in a marked increase in births, and in more than half the instances, in an increase in the number of births of second, third and subsequent children. Nevertheless, the birthrate for that year was still about 18% below the figure required for the continued survival of the German people.

Indians in Kenya:—The Imperial Indian Citizenship Association has received the following cable dated Nairobi, 18th May, 1936, from the Indian Elected Members' Organization of Kenya:—"Large mass meeting of Indian community has emphatically dissociated recent activities of Lord Francis Scott (Leader of European Settlers in Kenya) whose recent Mission to England directly opposed to Indian and African Native interests. His advocacy of the Order-in-Council to reserve Highlands for Europeans and the scheme of European Defence Force are particularly denounced. The Defence Force has no military value but is a definite menace to non-Europeans calculated to undermine established Government. We have informed India and Colonial Offices. We are sending a Delegation in June." The Indian Elected Members of the Kenya Legislative Council are:—Mr. J. B. Pandya of Mombasa, and Dr. A. C. L. Desouza, Mr. N. S. Mangat, Mr. Shams-ud-Deen, and Mr. Isher Das of Nairobi.



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TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN.*

(By M. KAKITSUBO.)

To avoid misunderstanding I think it is better to make it clear at the outset that what I am going to put forward before you is not my Government views on the subject but my personal ones. To be a spokesman of my Government I am disqualified both by my official status and personal temperament. My official status is not high enough to represent my Government and personally I have neither an inclination nor the capacity to be an orthodox diplomat whose function, as it is understood generally in Europe, is to "lie abroad for the benefit of his country." I prefer to be a simple student of economics rather than to be an honest liar. I shall put aside all sweet nothings which you hear too much from foreign diplomats and consuls and try to tell you unqualified truth supported by facts and figures already made known to the public.

The trade relation between India and Japan has grown closer in proportion to the industrialisation of Japan. In the 5 years previous to the outbreak of the Great War India ranked 6th in our trade list but during the war it ranked 4th and now stands 3rd.

From the Indian point of view Japan occupies 2nd position in her trade list. With all the hues and cries, quotas and tariffs which were raised against Japanese goods Japan remains the 2nd greatest trader in India, being surpassed only by England which is in a specially advantageous position. It is a significant fact that India and Japan are getting closer and closer to each other economically in spite of all sorts of artificial restraints intended to alienate them.

One of the most eloquent pieces of testimony for these artificial measures invented to regulate the Indo-Japanese trade is the quota system which is embodied in the present Indo-Japanese trade protocol. This protocol was concluded in 1934 for a period of three years. So it is going to expire next March. News regarding the fresh negotiations to be conducted for the renewal of this protocol is beginning to appear in papers and you will hear more about it in the near future.

Now let us consider how it came into being, how it has worked out in the past two years and how it should be modified in case it is renewed.

As far as I understand, the present Indo-Japanese trade protocol was concluded to improve the unhappy situation which was created, in 1932 and 1933. Before that time the trade balance between India and Japan had always been in favour of India. In the 50 years previous to 1932 not a single year had passed when trade was in favour of Japan. While in 1932 balance of trade was turned in favour of Japan by 75 million yen. The same exceptional trade balance was witnessed in the next year though in a very minor degree. This favourable balance of trade for Japan was caused mainly by the low exchange rate of yen owing to the Manchurian incident. India did not like this adverse balance of trade. What she did to save the situation was to abrogate the Indo-Japanese trade agreement, which had been in force since 1905. Furthermore, she raised tariff rate on Japanese cotton goods up to 75%. Japan answered reluctantly to this by boycott of Indian raw cotton. The prospect of the trade between the two countries appeared dark in 1933. These drastic hostile measures did not benefit anybody; but Indian cotton-growers and Japanese industrialists suffered a heavy loss. To bring back the Indo-Japanese trade relation from this unhappy

state to the normal condition the present protocol was entered into after 9 months of arduous negotiations. The protocol does not regulate the whole Indo-Japanese trade but it regulates only raw cotton and cotton piece-goods, two of the most important items in their trade. Fundamental principle of the arrangement, from Indian point of view, is the linking of the export of raw cotton to the import of cotton piece-goods. According to the protocol Japan will be allowed to export 325 million yards of cotton piece-goods on the condition that she buys a million bales of raw cotton. This basic quota will be increased at the rate of 1½ million yards for each additional 1,000 bales of raw cotton. In the event of purchases of raw cotton falling below a million bales in any year the quota for the ensuing year would be reduced at the rate of 2 mm. yards for every 10,000 bales deficit. And the maximum amount of the export of cotton piece-goods is limited to 400 million yards; the corresponding import of raw cotton to this maximum export of piece-goods is 1½ million bales. This maximum amount of 400 million yards will in no case be exceeded however much raw cotton Japan may buy over 1½ million bales.

This is the basic principle of the arrangement. As to the cotton piece-goods imported from Japan the protocol classified it into 4 specific categories with definite percentage allotted to each category of the total piece-goods.

- | | |
|--------------------|-----|
| (1) Plain Grey | 45% |
| (2) Bordered greys | 13% |
| (3) Bleached goods | 8% |
| (4) Coloured | 34% |

The quota is further divided into two seasonal instalments. Transfer of over or under shipment from one allotment to another and from one season to another is allowed to a certain extent.

The import duty to be imposed on plain greys will be 50% *ad valorem* of 5½ annas per pound and that on others 50%. This is the outline of the protocol. Now let me pass a few brief comments upon this arrangement in the light of the last two years' experiences.

In 1930, the first under the protocol, Japan bought as much as 2 million bales of raw cotton; compare this figure with the taking of Indian cotton by Lancashire which bought 394,000 bales in the same year. Japan bought 5 times as much cotton as Lancashire took. But she could not sell maximum amount of 400 million yards of piece-goods. This under shipment of piece-goods in 1934 may be attributed to the fact that either the 50% duty proved too high or the classification of the quota proved wrong or both.

There is no doubt that these twofold obstacles of 50% duty in addition to the quota put on our exports are proving too much for the smooth working of the protocol. The object of quota system is to limit the competition of Japanese goods to a certain extent. The maximum quota allowed for Japan is 500 million yards that is only 1/10 or 1/12 of the total consumption of cotton piece-goods in India. Even if the Japanese cotton piece-goods were allowed free of duty the very fact that quota is limited to such a small amount compared with the total consumption of piece-goods in India would prevent the market price from fluctuating violently. The effect of quota system itself is to raise the price up and keep it up at a reasonably high level. To put high tariff upon quota is like putting roof upon roof.

The present improper classification of the quota into categories and sub-allotments is also spoiling the working of the protocol as it is intended to. To be more precise the figure of percentage given to

* A lecture, delivered before the Bengal Economic Society by Mr. M. Kakitsubo, Vice-consul for Japan, on the 21st April 1936.



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plain greys for example is too large and that given to the bleached goods and coloured goods is too small for the full shipment of the maximum quota. In fact our export of plain greys has always been lagging behind the permissible amount while that of bleached goods has been exceeding that allotted amount.

If the present protocol is to work out as it is intended to, more percentage should be given to the bleached goods and coloured goods and less for plain greys. This alteration will bring benefit not only to Japan but also to India. Because India contracted on producing plain greys and she imports practically all bleached and coloured goods. Both Indian and Japanese industrialists will be relieved if some percentage of sub-allotment is shifted from plain greys to bleached white in which they are not in any serious competition.

The system of seasonal instalments was introduced apparently to minimize irregular shipments and distribute shipments as evenly as possible over the whole year so as to prevent violent fluctuation of market price. But this seems to have proved wide off the mark. The seasonal instalment on the contrary tends to invite unnatural shipment. In case shipment is lagging behind toward the end of a season exporters are tempted to dump the goods in order to ship full quota. Thus the seasonal instalments are in fact doing more harm than good. It seems to me to be much better to let the flow of trade take its own course under certain limit without hampering it by artificial measures.

I want you to realise that the present arrangement is strongly in favour of India. Maximum quota of 400 million yards *versus* 1½ million bales in terms of money is 1:3. In order that Japan is allowed to export 1 she must buy 3 from India. In addition to this unfavourable arrangement to Japan the present system of classification and seasonal instalment together with high tariff are preventing Japan from exporting even 1 against 3 which she imports from India. In these circumstances quite naturally Japan is desirous of eradicating those obstacles which vitiate the principle of the protocol. The modern tendency of world trade is getting more and more nationalistic and Japan is suffering from this tendency. With India or Australia which provide us with cotton and wool we have strongly adverse balance of trade. But there are on the other hand many countries with which we have favourable balance. These countries are putting up high tariffs and other restrictive measures against Japanese goods as a means of claiming an equal amount of export to and import from Japan. This tendency is specially prominent in the Central and South American countries and also in Egypt.

In 1934 for example Japanese exports to Central and South American countries amounted to 104 million yen while her imports from them was only 24 million yen. To prevent this adverse balance of trade, Salvador, Cuba, and Haiti put up prohibitive tariffs one after another. Chile and Columbia decided not to buy more than she sells us. In this way our export trade to these countries with which we have favourable balance of trade is facing grave difficulties. In order to keep up trade with them Japan is forced to buy more of their products. Whether Japan wishes it or not she is being forced to buy raw materials, if any, from them regardless of price. In view of this world tendency, unless India buys more of Japanese goods to improve our balance of trade Japan will be driven to buy less raw material from India and more from those countries with which Japan has favourable balance of trade.

One more thing I want you to bear in mind is the fact that about 60% of our cotton piece-goods is

made up of raw cotton. So by limiting the import of Japanese cotton goods India will be limiting her export of raw cotton to a large extent. Japan has for many years been the best customer for Indian cotton growers. In the last 20 years the average annual purchase of Indian cotton by Japan was more than 1½ million bales. That is 40% of the total production of raw cotton in India. It may not be too much to say that the living and comfort of a large portion of the Indian peasants and Japanese industrial population is dependent upon the future of the Indo-Japanese trade.

I have so far confined my study to the Indo-Japanese treaty. There are limitless articles of trade which are not regulated by the protocol. Tariff questions about these miscellaneous goods come up from time to time. I have no time to deal with this vast range of trade falling outside the protocol, but, before I conclude, I wish to drive it home to your mind that the bond of Indo-Japanese relationship is not only sacred and delicate but also vital to the interest of the two countries. So, whenever a question of putting restrictions on these goods comes up I wish you will think of the fact that taking the Indo-Japanese trade as a whole, the trade balance is strongly in favour of India and will give due consideration for fostering traditionally cordial relationship between the two countries without upsetting the normal condition.

PRACTICAL CITIZENSHIP & ELEMENTARY EDUCATION.

Mr. S. E. Ranganatham's presidential address to the Educational Conference at Salem is suggestive and merits a closer examination in its implications. His observation that the present system of Primary Education "stood unrelated to life's environment" has for long been a truism and, in this land of villages in growing contact with the rapidly changing world, what represents 'Life's environment' is bound to be an ever expanding quantity, what with sewing machines, rice mills, dicorticators, motor vehicles, radios, talkies, gramophones, petromax lights, coffee hotels, election booths, self-governing institutions, and even electricity slowly penetrating into rural areas amidst ignorance, poverty, disease, insanitation, apathy, factious spirit and fear. The old world idea that 'Primary Education' is confined to the three R's has ceased to hold good and is for long exploded, while the new constitution is such as to make heavy demands on mass intelligence and outlook entailing a larger community of interest and endeavour with Swaraj for a new slogan which the national movement is spreading in nooks and corners. In the midst of such rapidly altering conditions it behoves both the Governmental authorities and the leaders of the country to sit together and boldly tackle the problem of extending the limit of Primary Education, giving it a new orientation so as to comprise practical citizenship in all directions affecting rural life in the new order of things, making for applied patriotism with the love of common good for a passion of purpose.

It is quite opportune, and what more, is in the fitness of things that the Madras Provincial Economic Council is to meet at Ootacamund to make recommendations among other things for reorganisation of 'Primary Education' in this province to suit the changing conditions.

It has to be borne in mind that the main spring in any scheme of rural reconstruction is to enlarge the out-look and to create as true foundation for citizenship, the capacity in the villagers to look after themselves in all that pertains to their immediate collective welfare such as Local Government



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organisation, watch and ward, physical development, public health, sanitation, water supply, industries, employment, wage earning, co-operation, etc.

The curriculum of the new school, that is to be, must be such as to create this capacity at least among those of the younger generation in every village. This may sound to be a large order at first but, if we take into account various self-governing institutions such as Village Panchayats, Co-operative Societies, Forest Panchayats, Irrigation Boards, Excise Advisory Bodies and Village Court at work in rural areas with the potentialities of educational unemployment rapidly spreading throughout the country with its slogan of patriotism, it could be seen that there is considerable amount of growing energy waiting to be harnessed into constructive and useful channels.

Here is a picture of the new type of a village school in illustration of the revolution, that is suggested.

The teacher is at least a specially trained secondary grade man. His pupils are not only children but the grown-ups who have left the school as also may be illiterate adults. His classes are not confined to the schoolroom but largely consist of excursions. The first aim of the school is to create and foster health conscience beginning with lessons in teeth cleaning, self shaving, swimming and washing all by actual demonstrations.

The next item in the curriculum is creating a sanitary conscience. This lesson beginning with the school room, the pupils under the direction of the teacher with brooms in hand actually sweep the floor and walls as also the premises making them watch the effects of their handiwork producing growing tests for general tidiness. Extending the programme to village cleaning by parts, including the courses of water supply it would be easy to teach the inhabitants by contrast what is clean by the side of what is otherwise. For such an achievement we need not necessarily wait until illiteracy removed.

Watch and ward organisation consisting of sets of pupils and adults working by turns to prevent defecation of streets and lanes may be made to form another branch of activity building up health conscience.

As in Bombay the same village teacher may be trained in vaccination work giving him a small fee for each successful case vaccinated.

The pupils may be taught to make a half-yearly census of those in the village, suffering from malaria, tuberculosis, hook-worm, small pox and such other common diseases as a means to teach them by observation love of common good and social science generating a civic convenience.

The village loom, the smithy and the potter's oven at work may also be visited at stated periods, the teacher explaining to the pupils on the spot, the process of each industry with reference to its place in the village economy, its wage-earning potentiality and scope for improvement, if any.

The elementary instruction in the branch of co-operation and Village Government may likewise be imparted to the young with a toy co-operative society and a small panchayat board being organised among the pupils confining its activities to school life.

The teachers may with advantage take them to the meetings of Village Panchayat Boards and Co-operative societies explaining to them on the spot, the process by which common welfare is sought to be secured.

Agricultural operations in proper seasons may also be visited during school excursions making the pupils watch the process of work prevalent in each locality, thus rousing their active interest in what pertains to the main source of living in the village.

Instruction in geography may be made to begin with with the village map and the Settlement Register which is a mine of information enabling the pupils to intelligently read each in the light of the other accompanied with practical demonstrations in land measuring, fixing of survey stones, and identifying irrigation sources, etc. A visit to annual Jamabandi camp will also be a profitable excursion.

It should be the aim of every village school teacher to impress upon the pupils as also village adults to rivet their attention on departmental activities in the general welfare work, and creating in them a capacity to avail themselves of the same in an aggressive manner.

The Training school will be overhauled with altogether a new revised curriculum if this new experiment is to be tried.

It is only when Elementary Education is organised on these lines that it will begin to be related to 'Life's Environment'.

T. SIVASANKARAN.

FAILURE OF THE JUNIOR LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

A perusal of the proceedings of the South African Union Scout Council held in Durban in February last brings to light the fact that the potentialities of the movement, as conceived by the Chief Scout, 'in the strengthening of the bond of the British Commonwealth through its brotherhood and the promotion of international goodwill again through its brotherhood as a practical step towards permanent peace' have been flung to the winds. The faith in the basic principles of the movement, the Scout Law and the Scout Promise which bind every scout to be a brother to every other scout has been shaken by what has now transpired. Is the Junior League of Nations, then, a success?

The proposals lauded to the skies as being designed to extend to the non-European sections membership of the Scout movement through the medium of independent parallel organisations are given below:—

That there shall be constituted by the parent body (European) the three non-European sections of the Boy Scout Movement within the Union of South Africa and mandated territories, namely, Pathfinder Boy Scouts, Indian Boy Scouts, and coloured Boy Scouts. That any non-European section may have European officers.

That each section shall be self-governing with its own Union Council, independent administration and a constitution based on the principles of the Boy Scout Association's policy, organisation and rules. These constitutions shall be subject to the approval of the parent body, and may not therefore be altered except with its consent.

That in the event of any of the non-European councils passing any resolution considered by the parent body to be detrimental to the policy or spirit of the Scout Policy, Organisation and Rules, the matter to be referred to a committee consisting of representatives of that section and the European Scout Council, on which the European Scout Council shall have a majority vote. The number of representatives on the committee shall be four from the parent body, and two from the section concerned, and the quorum shall be in the same ratio. Minutes of the council meetings of each section shall be sent to the parent body and co-ordinate sections within a month.

That the Council of the South African branch of the Boy Scout Association is empowered to deal with all questions of registration with the International Bureau.

The Union Scout Council subscribes to the view of the inter-relation of colour set out by Lord Lugard, former Governor General of Nigeria in the following



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words:— "Here, then, is the true conception of the inter-relation of colour—complete uniformity in ideals, absolute equality in the paths of knowledge and culture, equal opportunities for those who strive, equal admiration for those who achieve; in matters social and racial a separate path, each pursuing its own race purity and race pride; equality in things spiritual, agreed divergence in the physical and the material."

Thus the Union Scout Council has come to recognise that it is not possible in South Africa to form one movement embodying that principle of the International Scout Movement which provides that there shall be no distinction of race; and strange is the notion that by the creation of these three separate and self-governing bodies the benefits of scout training and scout methods can in the right spirit and form be extended to all races within the Union without requiring or permitting any form of social admixture which, it is explained, the community as a whole is not prepared to accept. It is clear that the proposals adumbrated do not at all mean amalgamation, or affiliation or any form of closer union between the European and non-European sections of the community, as the Union Scout Council emphasized in its proceedings that it is not intended that there shall be any joint scout activities, but that each section shall pursue its separate path along its own racial lines.

The tragedy of the whole situation lies in the disconcerting circumstance that the Chief Scout was not only present at the meeting of the South African Scout Council, but congratulated the Association on the successful conclusions reached thereat. Under the circumstances, the patronising attitude of the whites in giving the benefits of the character-training boy scout movement to the children of the coloured races will not develop their character, but will undermine their self-respect and self-reliant nature. The self-respect of the Indian community requires that their scout movement should, instead of being affiliated to the South African Scout Council, be affiliated to the Headquarters in India, where, fortunately, there is no colour prejudice in scouting. Considering the desperate struggle the Indian community in that land is having, the Agent-General in South Africa may consider the establishment of the scout movement on proper lines a trivial matter; and it would be no wonder if the scout idea has not yet formed part of his immediate programme.

Another suggestion I venture to make is the deputation to South Africa of an efficient contingent of Boy Scouts from India. The success of the mission of the company of the Indian Girl Guides only two years ago from the Arya Kanya Mahavidyalaya, Baroda, wearing khaki jackets and knickerbockers, with daggers slung at their sides, and swaying by their eloquence an audience of about 3,000 to outbursts of wild enthusiasm in the Selborne Hall should be green in the memories of all scouts. A 16-year old guide said that they had come to present a true picture of modern India, and urged the Indian women there to preserve their individuality. The Mayor expressed his great pleasure to be present, and wished the Girl Guides a happy tour of the Union. Addressing a Kumbakonam audience after his return from South Africa, Mr. Sastry made a powerful plea for the establishment of an institution of missionaries of young men and women who will go abroad among our people in foreign lands for five years or so at a time in order to maintain the cultural and spiritual connections. Who can be better missionaries of Indian culture and Indian civilisation than a group of Indian scouts and rovers fired with the spirit of service and sacrifice, their hearts surging with emotions of

love and brotherhood? I, therefore, commend, for the kind consideration of the Baden-Powell and Seva Samiti Scout Headquarters in India, the question of the affiliation of the Indian Scout Movement in South Africa, and the deputation to South Africa of fine representatives of Indian National Scouting, Indian culture and Indian civilisation.

"WORLD BROTHERHOOD."

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.

At the annual luncheon of the Associated Press in New York on April 20, 1936, Sir Wilmott Lewis, Washington correspondent of the London *Times*, warned the newspapers that "both in England and the United States the danger which confronts what we call the freedom of the press is not chiefly from without, for that we can meet, but from within. It is, as I see it, a danger which grows with the growth and with the increasing integration of the newspaper system—the danger that the freedom which makes us great and useful may make some among us too great, that individuals may acquire a power which (if the freedom we demand is to be ours) they cannot be prevented from harnessing in the service of personal ambition rather than of the community from which their strength flows."

He insisted that "there has never lived, and will never be born, a man wise and good enough to be entrusted with the irresponsible power over human thought, and the action which follows thought, which ownership of many newspapers conveys in the modern world, and the freedom to exercise it in the service of his own interest. To say that his interest might also be those of the community is to say something which might periodically be true, but cannot be generally true. It is to forget human pride and human weakness, and to break with history."

Quoting Graham Wallas, the British philosopher, on the position of the modern press as "the most insoluble problem of democracy," Sir Wilmott attributed Wallas' attitude to the fact that the owner of a group of newspapers "has more absolute irresponsibility in the use of great power than any other living man" as long as "his newspapers pay and the telephone from his house to the editorial offices is in working order." If this power is used to tamper with the news it becomes "the greatest danger which confronts popular government, because the news is the chief source of opinion by which government in democratic countries must proceed."

Edward A. Filene, the Boston merchant, created something of a furore among certain newspaper owners when he declared that "in America—at least theoretically—the people rule. What kind of a government we have depends upon their votes, and how people vote depends on how well they understand the issues at stake. Daily they read their newspapers because they want to keep informed, and they read them not only for the news but for the interpretation of the news, for some understanding of the meaning of events. And yet, in a great national crisis in which our national administration, working for better distribution of wealth, has somehow come into conflict with the great financial and business interests, it turns out that our newspapers—the very source of the average voter's information and education—are usually owned and controlled by these same special interests."

On January 16, 1936, Frank Knox, publisher of the *Chicago Daily News*, in a broadcast address before



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the Michigan Press Association, used the occasion to reply to Mr. Filene. Mr. Knox declared that he was "unable to understand how a man of such wide knowledge of affairs as Mr. Filene could possibly have fathered such an allegation." Moreover, he regarded Mr. Filene's statement as "an indictment of the American press" charging that the press is "the mouthpiece of big business" and that it is "controlled in its editorial functions by financial considerations."

To this Mr. Knox replied that "the real and genuine freedom of the press in the United States dates from the development in the last decade of the nineteenth century of the art of advertising and the choice of the newspaper as the major medium for its expression." Thus "it was only when the newspaper, through the means of advertising revenue, became financially self-supporting that the American press became really independent and wholly free. Those who prate about 'box-office control' of newspaper policy know nothing of newspaper history

and nothing of present-day newspaper management."

However, Mr. Knox admitted that there were "isolated examples of newspaper freedom" prior to the days when newspaper advertising became the vogue. "But the few organs of free speech of those days were almost lost among the 'kept newspapers' that lived by subsidy of one form or another."

After citing leading newspapers in many cities Mr. Knox asked whether Mr. Filene contended that they were "owned or controlled by the 'special interest' and were pulling chest nuts out of the fire for special interest." He declared that Mr. Filene "surely knows there are no newspapers more completely independent of any form of financial duress than those included in the great Hearst, Scripps-Howard, Block and Gannett Chains, and the Booth group here in Michigan," and that "what I have said concerning the large publications is equally true of the much larger number of newspapers published in the smaller cities of the country."

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Britain and Ethiopia:—The attitude of the British Cabinet to the Italian annexation by force of Ethiopia has been condemned by the Opposition leaders in Parliament in terms seldom before used in Parliament. It has been stigmatised as treacherous, despicable, cowardly. There is no need to add any more adjectives to emphasise this condemnation. The Government defence in a few words is that nothing but military action can avail against Italy and Great Britain can not take such action because no other country is prepared to join her. This may be due to the fear that Britain by herself is not strong enough to fight Italy or that Ethiopian Independence is not a British concern, or both. This is not unreasonable. But if this was the line Britain intended to adopt, she ought to have refrained from the first from interfering in the affair. Ethiopia, unable to obtain help from anywhere against the invader, would have submitted to him and much loss of life would have been avoided. The most charitable view that can be taken of the British Government's attitude, is that the Cabinet had no definite ideas or policy and that it merely waited on events. It hoped that the war would last much longer and that Italy would be forced by want of resources to stop her aggression and seek the intervention of Britain and the League of Nations. Italy has shown that the power of wealth in international affairs is always on the side of the strong and aggressive. Hitler's Germany is another proof of the same truth. The strong man armed is not afraid of the rich man. Japan is yet another. Where a nation can manufacture her own arms and ammunition, including poison gas, it may snap its fingers at the wealthy nations whose sole concern is to keep the marauder from laying hands on their possessions. From the first, we were sceptical about the humanity of economic sanctions. They affect mostly the civil population. Women and children and the aged and the infirm feel their effect. In the present case, the one article the banning of the export

of which to Italy would have seriously hampered her in the prosecution of the war, namely, oil, was not covered by the economic sanctions. Signor Mussolini declared that he would regard a ban on oil as an act of war, and nobody dared to challenge his declaration. Even the outrages on the Red Cross failed to evoke effective protest. The European nations including Britain never seriously intended to stop Italy's aggression. How can they? They had by treaties made behind Ethiopia's back recognised that Italy had a predominant interest in that country. If Ethiopia had not been a member of the League of Nations, the plan would have gone through. But Ethiopia was a member and the Emperor was determined that if his country was to go under, the League should go down with it. This is what has happened. Talk of reconstructing the League is absurd. India, at any rate, does not believe in reconstructing it and Indian opinion is strongly opposed to this country's further participation in it. Britain emerges from this affair with her prestige greatly impaired. The pity of it is that India against her wishes will be obliged to follow the British Government in its blunders.

The Viceroy and Rural Uplift:—In his circular letter to Governors of Provinces commending to their attention the important problem of cattle breeding as a means of improving the condition of the peasantry, Lord Linlithgow refers to the closely connected question of fodder supply. His Excellency says that he is having it considered officially as he feels very strongly that there is no point in trying to improve the breed of cattle if the fodder is not there for their nourishment. The simplest and most natural way of meeting the fodder deficiency is to reserve pasture lands in every village. This can be done only by the State assuming responsibility for seeing that no animal useful to husbandry dies of starvation. When the stud bulls have done their duty, the cost of maintaining the cows during the months of gestation is beyond the means of the peasantry. Many young cows are sent to the slaughter house because their owners can not afford to maintain them when they are not yielding milk. Unless Government or other agencies come to the relief of the raiyat either with a subsidy or by taking over the care of the cows for the time being, it is to be feared that the animals will be killed for food before they bring pedigree



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calves into the world. One thing leads to another, and unless the problem is viewed and dealt with as a whole, the best intentioned efforts are liable to end in failure. The Viceroy is also interesting himself in the question of improving the nutritive quality of the peasant's daily food. In a country where custom and sentiment and climatic conditions favour vegetarian food, milk is the most valuable addition that can be suggested for improving the people's dietary. The cattle breeding movement thus fits into the movement for improving the diet of the people. In this connection, His Excellency, we trust, will look into the question of the adequacy or inadequacy of the food grown in the country. We published last week the speech of the Japanese Consul in Calcutta in which he said that Japan benefits India by buying a large quantity of cotton from her. But is it really beneficial to any country that she should grow a large surplus of raw material which she herself can not manufacture and must export to another country which returns it, made up into goods, to compete with her own goods in her home market? Much attention is paid in the United States at present to the loss to the soil occasioned by overproduction of one or a few kinds of agricultural produce. It seems to be foolish to impoverish our soil by growing cotton for Japan while the growth of food grains on the land will directly raise the standard of health of the people, returning to the soil the unused waste matter to fertilise it.

Christian Depressed Classes:—The question whether Indian Christians who were themselves, or whose forefathers were, before conversion, members of the classes known among Hindus as antyajas or depressed classes, are entitled to the special educational concessions provided for the latter, arose some time back in connection with the order of the Madras Government extending these concessions to the former. The same question was debated in the United Provinces Legislative Council last week at Naini Tal. In the Budget session some months ago the Government had carried against the protest of the leader of the Opposition, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, a grant of Rs. 10,000 for 'Indian Christians whose origin is from among the depressed classes, for education and for aiding missions working amongst the depressed classes.' At the Naini Tal session, Syed Zahar Ali moved that Government should not spend the grant or such portion thereof which had not yet been spent. The motion was supported by several non-official members many of whom, like the mover himself, were Muslims, their main argument being that converts to Christianity ceased to be members of the depressed classes. This was also the opinion of the framers of the Order in Council where it is distinctly laid down that 'no Indian Christian shall be deemed to be a member of a scheduled caste.' Mr. Chintamani put the point of view of the Opposition clearly. His objection, he said, was not to the expenditure of Rs. 10,000 on education for Indian

Christian children but to the political complication introduced in the matter by the note defining the purpose of the grant. He declared that the certain effect of helping missions engaged among the depressed classes, would be to give a powerful incentive to the conversion from their ancestral faith of the depressed classes into the fold of those who were offering them worldly benefits. The Director of Public Instruction, Mr. H. R. Harrop, defended the grant for the purposes stated in the note. But the Minister of Education, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, admitted that the sentence to which exception was taken was a very unfortunate one and he did not know how it had slipped into the budget. The point of the Minister's argument to which we would call special attention, is that it was impossible to include Indian Christians among depressed classes, as they had changed their religion. The Minister also stressed the fact—an awkward one for advocates of mass conversions—that change of religion had made no difference in the condition of these Christians. He accepted the motion which was passed without dissent but said he would apply for a grant for the benefit of Indian Christian children who were backward. Mr. Chintamani did not object to this being done.

"Sold in Marriage":—We regret that in commenting last week on the report in *The Bombay Chronicle* that women were sold by raiyats to pay rent to their zamindars in Bihar, we accepted the story as substantially correct. A communication from its Patna correspondent has been subsequently published by our contemporary which takes away from the sensationalism of the earlier news. Mr. Harihar Prasad definitely asserts that many raiyats in Bihar had been compelled to pay rent by selling their daughters and sisters. "He also refers to a specific case in which ... a raiyat was confronted with the rent decree against him and that he could only pay the money by selling his daughter in marriage," writes the *Chronicle* correspondent from Patna. Selling in marriage is not an evil confined to Bihar or Bihar raiyats alone. "Sold in Marriage" is a good slogan in the campaign against the dowry system, but in the campaign for improving the economic life of the Bihar peasant it is ridiculous—particularly so when in that very province there has been established an agency for marriage reform. A few years back a "Marriage League" was started in Patna to fight the dowry system which is of peculiar strength in that province, in all classes. From the reports of that organisation, the evil seemed to be as intense among the middle and upper classes as among the poor. It is very probable, therefore, that the only difference prosperity would have made to the peasant who sold his daughter in marriage for Rs. 700, would have been to make him stand out for a higher price. To take one particular victim of the dowry system and hold him up as an instance of the hardship imposed by landlords on their raiyats is a method of propaganda which will do little good to the cause it



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supports. It is the more difficult to understand as even without it the raiyat has quite a good case.

Babu Bhagwandas Marriage Bill:—The opinion is gaining ground that without the monogamous principle, Babu Bhagwandas's Intercaste Marriage Bill will land the Hindu community in social chaos. The Bombay Hindu Social Reform Association has declared itself to be opposed to the Bill if it does not expressly provide that a person who has a wife living can not take advantage of it. Professor M. D. Altekar in a letter to the *Leader* of Allahabad observes that "the Bill in its present simple form, if passed into law, will be one of the most mischievous pieces of legislation, and one more instrument in the hands of misguided or wicked males to torture Hindu women." The Professor continues: "I do not know about other provinces but in my province (Bombay) and in the neighbouring provinces of Berar and C. P. certain marriages (mostly intercaste and largely between highly educated parties) have taken place in which the husband has the first wife living and in many cases (but not necessarily always) she happens to be married when she was young and not very much educated and an educated girl comes along and bags her husband and the first wife is simply deserted. It is all very well to lecture the first wife about the sacramental nature of marriage and the necessity of her resigning to her fate, but what this new Bill, under the guise of reform, proposes to do is to issue a general license to males to give up their wedded wives and to effect unions with girls of other castes. Is the object of the Bill to encourage intercaste marriages or is it to encourage the desertion of wives? You cannot have it both ways. The cases may be a few (they are not as few as Dr. Bhagwandas appears to imagine them to be) but why allow injustice even to a few? Every intercaste marriage, now that we want it to be made valid by law, must be a monogamous marriage." What Professor Altekar says of Maharashtra is true of other provinces.

A Case for Enhanced Sentence:—Torture as a means of detecting crime, wherever restored to, is proof that the investigating agency is incompetent as well as brutal. It is a sort of vindictive action against persons whom a policeman wants to admit having committed a crime but who refuse to do so. Instead of taking the trouble of investigating a case by collecting all the evidence that could be traced, the policeman tortures the suspect to help him to get a clue. A particularly cowardly and brutal case of torture of two women—mother and daughter—by a Sub-Inspector of Police, was disposed of last week by the District and Sessions Judge of Poona. It was a case of theft; and the Sub-Inspector, Agnihotri, sent for the two women to the village temple and tortured them into making a confession. Not finding the stolen property in the place where they "confessed" to have hidden the property, he again tortured the poor women with redoubled vigour. The mother died from the

effects before her husband, whom she had sent for, arrived. The Judge, according to the report in the *Bombay Chronicle* (June 23), held that violence was used to the mother and daughter, that the former died of the shock as a result of the injuries sustained at the hands of the accused, Agnihotri, and sentenced him to nine months rigorous imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100. Having regard to the enormity of the crime and to the position of the Sub-Inspector who is expected to set an example to his men, the sentence is absurdly inadequate. We hope Government will move the High Court to enhance the sentence. Conduct such as that of this police officer, is largely responsible for the distrust in Government agency especially among ignorant villagers. Few cases come to light. It is therefore important that when a case is proved, exemplary punishment should be awarded.

Gandhiji and Birth Prevention:—Irene Clyde, author of "Eve's Sour Apples", writes from London. "Mahatma Gandhi's answers to the British Preventer, in the interview in your paper for 1st February, were cramped by his admission that intercourse was permissible and desirable if perpetrated for the sake of progeny. It appears to me that such an admission destroys his whole case. If for progeny, why not for pleasure? There is no magic in progeny. It simply means attachment to the world of Maya—to corporeal existence in time. Hindu thought is no doubt concentrated on this continuance of corporeal existence of the family. But the thought of the West is emancipated from it. Neither for the sake of progeny nor for anything else, can a really one-pointed spirit recognize sex. Since sex spells division into two sects—one devoted to comparative sternness and the other to comparative subservience—a really generous mind will energetically repudiate the distinction, and will press forward to encompass all nobleness, all sweetness and all independence. Neither for the sake of progeny nor pleasure—neither for priests, physicians or politicians—will it stoop to sex limitations. Therefore it will do nothing of this flagrant kind to fasten the shackles of sex upon itself." This is a new argument which ignores posterity altogether.

Mrs. Sanger on India:—The Union of East and West, of which George Lansbury is president, held a reception on May 21, 1936, in honour of Mrs. Margaret Sanger, leader of the birth control movement, on her return from India in the Hotel New Yorker, New York City. Mr. Kedernath Das Gupta, Director of the Union of East and West, presided, and in introducing Mrs. Sanger, said, "We are fortunate tonight in having with us an American woman, who has been acclaimed by Dr. John Haynes Holmes as one of the ten greatest women in the world. Mrs. Sanger took with her to India, Sympathy, Understanding, and Kindliness, as her travelling companions." We print Mrs. Sanger's address on another page.

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[June 27

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REVOLUTION AND REFORM.

The most noteworthy feature of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's Autobiography regarded as a statement of Indian political ideology—we dislike the word but the Pandit is fond of it—is its failure to understand the point of view of those who hold that it is possible for India to fulfil her world destiny without cutting herself adrift from the British Empire. This view comes naturally to those who have worked to effect social and religious reforms in Hindu society and have not succumbed to the temptation to end the struggle by quitting it. That social and religious reform is a far more formidable undertaking than political reform, goes without saying. In the early days of the National Congress, that body was criticised for not including social reform in its programme of work. There were many apologists for the exclusion, amongst them being Dadabhai Naoroji and A. O. Hume himself. But what caught the public fancy and seemed to be conclusive, was the brilliant thesis of Telang, based on the principle, observed in natural processes, of following the line of least resistance. Telang argued that it was comparatively easier to persuade our British rulers to grant political reforms than to persuade our conservative kith and kin to accept social reforms. To him and to many others of his generation it was a far harder task to work for social reform than for political reform. Many of the Congress leaders were sympathetic to social reform and the leaders of social reform were in sympathy with the political objectives of the Congress. There was very close co-operation between them, and the idea of quitting Hindu society or the British Empire as a short cut to social and political reforms never occurred to them. They accepted the British Empire, as they accepted Hindu society, as a heritage which it was their sacred duty to strive to improve and which it would be disloyalty to their own best selves to think of abandoning. There was a historical background to this conviction. India was not conquered by the British as South Africa was or as Ethiopia by the Italians. There is no need to enlarge on this fact as Pandit Jawaharlal quotes from Seeley in his book and Seeley was the first to bring out this unique feature of British Indian history in his "Expansion of England." The British were welcomed as deliverers from a humiliating tyranny in many parts of the country, nowhere worse than in the Pandit's own beautiful Kashmir. Due to circumstances which he could not help, the Nehru household before the advent of the Theosophical Society and its European and American evangelists, had stood completely outside the orbit of the movements which heralded the Hindu renaissance. It, or rather its head who ruled it with something of the rigour of the Roman paterfamilias, had embraced Europeanism, conspicuously in externals, as the absolute good.

Indian reform movements lay beyond its purview. It is this aloofness from the main current of Hindu thought that accounts for Pandit Jawaharlal's lack of insight into the sentiments which made Hindu reformers regard British rule as on the whole a blessing not a curse.

In the slight sketch of his own Life which Raja Ram Mohan Roy sent to Miss Carpenter, he said that, when he had to leave the paternal roof owing to his strong views on the idolatrous practices of Hinduism, he travelled through different countries within and without Hindustan "with a feeling of great aversion to the establishment of the British Power in India." He went on to say: "When I reached the age of twenty (he was sixteen when he was expelled from his home) my father recalled me, and restored me to his favour; after which I first saw and began to associate with Europeans, and soon after made myself tolerably acquainted with their laws and form of government. Finding them generally more intelligent, more steady, and moderate in their conduct, I gave up my prejudice against them, and became inclined in their favour, feeling persuaded that their rule, though a foreign yoke, would lead more speedily and surely to the amelioration of the native inhabitants." Ranade held and expressed publicly that British rule had replaced the personal rule of Indian princes by the reign of law, that it was a dispensation needed to discipline us in certain qualities of citizenship, in which both Hindus and Mahomedans were lacking, and that when its mission was fulfilled, it will drop off like a ripe fruit from the tree. Raja Ram Mohan Roy and Ranade were profoundly religious men but they were not fools nor were they lacking in patriotism. The Pandit does not believe in religion. His father regarded it as a women's affair. They may be right and the reformers entirely wrong. That does not justify the supercilious, almost contemptuous, tone in which Pandit Jawaharlal refers to those who cling to the older tradition. We hold no brief for the Liberals. We regard Dominion Status which they cherish as their political goal, as a misnomer to apply to India. We think that by their weakness for pulling Government chestnuts out of the fire even when, against their earnest advice, Government have chosen to thrust them in, they are doing great disservice to Government first, and to the country next. Not until the British public and statesmen come to believe that when an Indian statesman says that a scheme is unworkable, he means it without any mental reserve that he will work it when it comes, can there be the basis of any sort of honourable understanding between Indians and Englishmen. At the same time, we recognise that many Liberals have no other reason in taking up this obviously paradoxical attitude than the apprehension that, by strengthening the hands of non-co-operators, they may be laying the country open to a repetition of the humiliation and suffering which it has had to endure without



any tangible result. Not only does the Pandit himself fail to appreciate the ideal of working from within the Empire but he dismisses the great speech at the Faridpur Conference—his last—in which Mr. Chittaranjan Das held up this as a greater ideal than Independence as “the speech of a person who is a little tired.”

I WAS A MISSIONARY.*

(BY G. B. HALSTEAD.)

This is a perfectly frank story of progressive disillusionment. Some readers will consider it an indictment of the mission system; others a challenge to redeem the true worth of the missionary impulse and to recast it in terms of modern social forces. And still others may merely dismiss it as a tale of utterly foolish, impetuous and impractical idealism. However, the motive impelling me to write it is not the desire to sit in judgment on the entire mission programme and personnel. I have the greatest respect for a certain few mission projects and the deepest admiration for a considerable number of missionaries, both American and English, who I know are genuinely trying to match their lives with their Gospel and the needs of the land they are serving. My purpose is to relate a story of an unfolding human experience that I feel may prove both interesting and significant.

On August tenth I sailed for India as a missionary under the Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Early in the morning of April fifteenth, almost four years later I returned to my native land, no longer a missionary. Between these two dates my faith in the traditional mission system had slowly dwindled until it had all but vanished. Moreover, my earlier romantic ideas of the glory and justice of the British Empire had been replaced by a personal experience with the unpleasant reality of British Imperialism in India. But if this process had proved disheartening it had also been very exciting at times. And I trust it was not entirely lacking in a moral.

As I sit turning over the pages of my diary, I now realize how highly idealistic were my former conceptions of missions and missionaries. Thoughts jotted down during my last semester in college remind me that I then looked upon the rank and file of missionaries as true, consistent, sacrificial disciples of the Galilean Carpenter, earnestly seeking to identify themselves with the people they had gone to serve. Such ideas obviously left me feeling inadequate and unworthy to enter upon the ‘noble adventure’ ahead. In my diary I now find this statement, “When I compare my comfortable life with those of the people to whom I am going, how can I preach the religion of Jesus with effectiveness... I have so many unshared goods.” It was typical of the attitude of humility and simplicity that I then thought should, and did, characterize missionaries out on the far-flung frontiers of expanding Christianity. As I re-read these sentiments I am frankly puzzled as to whether I should smile ‘in wordly wisdom’ at this earlier naive idealism, or feel sad that something high and fine has been shattered.

En route to India I met, in Geneva, Switzerland, C. F. Andrews, the famous English missionary and intimate friend of Gandhi. This saintly man at once became my hero and model. Foolishly I assumed that most missionaries in India aspired to be like him. It was not long before I realized how mistaken I had been. However, such were the attitudes and idealism with which I entered India as a missionary.

*The first of a short series of articles giving the experiences of the writer who had come out to India as a missionary in 1929.

I shall never quite forget my first impressions of the mission station to which I had been assigned. It is difficult to adequately express the surprise and shock I received on that first day as my carriage entered the drive of the mission compound and I learned that the group of very spacious and attractive houses immediately ahead were the residences of the ‘missionary sahibs’. At once the thought flashed through my mind, and I noted it that night in my diary, “Why, these homes, with their beautifully kept lawns and gardens appear infinitely better than those of most middle-class American families.” Yet America is the richest country in the world, and India, the poorest! But if my first glimpse of the exterior of mission homes created indelible impressions of living standards that were in sharp and ironic contrast with those of the Indian masses I had seen since landing in Bombay, such impressions were vastly strengthened and extended by my initial experiences with the social life of the mission station.

How these Christians could entertain in their expensively furnished homes! Teas that would have made many a Park Avenue matron look to her social laurels. Six and seven course dinners, done flawlessly and served by one or two uniformed bearers. Could these things really be true, I pondered? Was this the mission field of my idealism? Life suddenly became the strangest kind of a jig-saw puzzle. I couldn’t seem to make any of the pieces fit. Here on one hand was the appalling need of India and on the other the very real sacrifices of many persons back home who were giving to support the missionary movement. But the living standards of the missionaries didn’t seem to fit with either. Somehow something tragic had happened. Someone had frightfully mixed up the Christian scale of values.

I ultimately realized that one has to go deep in the history of the missionary movement for an understanding of this paradoxical situation. This was suggested by an article I read in a missionary journal shortly after my arrival in India. Incorporated in it was a copy of a financial statement of property and building investments of the mission in the year 1864. Summarized it indicated that 24,000 rupees had been expended up to date and of this 12,500 rupees, over one half of the total, had gone into three large residences for the missionaries and 4,000 more into the land on which their houses were built. With the 7,500 rupees left, the mission erected a schoolhouse, a chapel and requisites, house for two ‘native’ helpers and, ominously enough, the enclosure for the mission cemetery. Here indeed was a strange tale of twisted values, I thought. Sixteen and one half thousand rupees for merely housing three missionary families, and less than 7000 for a schoolhouse, chapel and houses of two Indian workers. In time I came to believe that most mission stations I visited stood as abiding monuments to such a past distortion.

It remained for another aspect of the mission compound to give my idealism an even greater shock. It was the living quarters of the servants, located within a stone’s throw of the comfortable homes of the missionaries. Here lived some of the household servants of the missionaries as well as a few of the college. It would be more accurate to say, ‘here existed’, for in this section I found whole families, in some cases of six and seven members, existing in one room, windowless brick houses about twelve by eight feet in size. In addition these tiny houses were shared by the families’ chickens, goats and dogs, not to speak of those uninvited guests, the mice, snakes and scorpions. It was not that these poor human creatures wanted



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to live like this. The plain fact was that they weren't paid enough to live any better. Most of them were in debt even in spite of such low living standards. I came away from my first visit to those quarters sick at heart. Could not we missionaries realize that the contrast existing between these miserable huts of the servants of the East and the living quarters of the western 'Servants of Christianity' vitiated much of our Christian message and ministry? How much more consistent and respected we would be if our mission compounds were small working models of the Kingdom of God on earth for which we prayed so earnestly, and about which we seemed to understand so little. Efforts on the part of a former missionary to substantially ameliorate these conditions of the servants had proved futile, as did mine subsequently. The mission pleaded poverty. But there always seemed to be ample money for any repairs that might be needed on the houses of missionaries.

Salary considerations were another source of disillusionment. In spite of my western background and standards, I just couldn't feel comfortable about my salary. It was small according to American standards but I soon discovered it to be more than twenty-four times the income of the average Indian. The servant who brought it to me received just one-twentieth of what I did. He had a large family to support and I had only my wife and myself. Even more disconcerting was the case of my Indian associate. He was at least ten years my senior in age and considerably more in experience and knowledge of the country, which, after all, was his motherland. When I arrived in the mission college he was the assistant director of the hostels. I assumed that logically he would be made director and I would become his assistant, at least for as long a time as it took me to adjust to the culture of the country. But to my surprise and discomfort I was informed that I would take over the position of director at once with this Indian man as my assistant. Protests were of no avail. It was then that I learned that the pattern of imperialism has come to materially define the social role of all white men in India, whether officials or non-officials. And this role is to be superior whenever possible to the 'native'. It appears to exert almost as much force in the mission system as in the imperial. But to return to my assistant. When I took over the hostels my wife and I, with our few needs, were given a spacious house, comfortably furnished by the mission and equipped with large over-head electric fans in practically every room. His family of eight with their many needs occupied quarters only half as large as ours, with a few scanty pieces of furniture supplied by the mission and no over-head fans. It was some time before I fully understood why we didn't live in the quarters assigned to his family and his in ours. And it was with considerable reluctance and disappointment that I had to acknowledge the part played in this paradoxical situation by totally unworthy and unchristian mission attitudes and policies of the mission.

Crowning this contrast was the fact that he received a salary less than half of mine. Moreover, he was not given the allowances for doctor's bills or the costs of periods of residence in the refreshing hill stations that I received. It wasn't strange, I thought, that this man never became my friend.

The contrast I have just described was largely typical of the total situation in this Christian College. An investigation of the treasurer's books revealed that the five missionary families represented on the payroll of the college received a total of 3,426 rupees per month, whereas the remaining 34 members of the staff were paid but 5,900 rupees. But this amazing

story as told by figures is not complete the way it stands, for to make it accurate there would have to be added to the missionary total a good many hundred rupees for sickness and hill allowance. However, nothing more can, or could, be added to the Indian total!

It is obviously impossible to include in this short story all of the disillusioning revelations that came to me of the inequalities between occidental and oriental Christians, and of the standards of living, the salaries, the retinues of servants and even the race prejudice of the missionaries. I am greatly tempted to tell at some length of the mission station I visited out in a rural area where the missionaries were living in the magnificent house of a former wealthy rajah. Or of the medical missionary who spent a sum that was a small fortune in India, building a beautiful American colonial house in the heart of an Indian jungle. Or of the missionary family I knew that had two sets of dishes, the poorer for their Indian guests and the better for their occidental. However, I must resist such a temptation for there are other experiences yet to be told which I feel to be of greater interest and significance. But it was revelations like these that gave a cutting edge to the statement of an Indian friend who once told me, "You missionaries don't come out here to serve; you come to enjoy." I have often wondered if these material factors don't constitute a rather tragic and all too large a part of the answer to the question of why so many missionaries who have returned to their homelands still desperately long to go back to "the mission field."

MOVEMENT FOR WORLD CHRISTIANITY.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

This is to acknowledge the recent editorial on this Movement which appeared in *The Indian Social Reformer*.

I feel confident that, as the attitudes and the spirit of this Movement become increasingly known, friends who desire a more cordial and co-operative attitude between the great religions will increasingly appreciate it.

While our Announcement made no specific reference to the question of Mass Conversions, I feel that you have drawn the correct conclusion from the whole tenor of the Announcement. While we desire to faithfully represent Jesus and his teachings, we also desire to increasingly understand other faiths and we would urge Christians, not only to make adequate recognition, but to joyfully recognize the great values in other faiths and to rejoice in every bit of progress that those faiths are making toward the enrichment of personal and collective life.

It is so easy for the representatives of a faith to desire to have their own faiths judged by its ideals and aspirations while they judge other faiths by their attainments. Any informed and sincere Christian must, it seems to me, because of the great difference between the attainments of organized Christianity and Jesus' ideals and quality of life, approach any other religion with great humility. We sorely need all the help that the living religions can bring to our troubled life today. In saying this, I do not mean to take an attitude unfriendly to conversion, though I do not believe in Mass Conversion. I do believe that men should follow what they believe to be the truth and should be ever striving for fuller truth. If, as a result of something deep and vital that has happened in a



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man's thought and life, he is impelled to make a transfer from one religion to another, I believe that to be his right. I have been much impressed by the recent discussion in the columns of *The Indian Social Reformer* on the whole question of conversion and, if I have correctly interpreted your attitude, it is very much in accord with my own.

CHICAGO.
May 22, 1936. }

Yours etc.
CHARLES. J. EWALD.

BUDDHISM AND WORLD PROBLEMS.

NAMO TASSA BHAGAVATO ARAHATO SAMMA—SAM

[BUDDHASSA]

(By Bhikku Mettaya.)

As Buddhism solved all the problems of yesterday, so will it solve all the problems that India and the world are confronted with today also. In our own land, there is that bitter question of Caste with millions of our brethren preparing to leave the Hindu fold. But Buddhism knows neither Caste nor creed. Of the Brahmin who reviled the Lord Buddha saying, "Stop there you wretched shaveling! Stop there you wretched Candala!" the Master calmly inquired:

"Do you, O Brahmin, know who the real outcaste is, Or the things that make one an outcaste?" Prayed by him to reveal the true Candala, the Master said:

"He that bears hatred; he that is rancorous, wicked and envious; he that is lost in perverse views and is deceitful, know thou him as the Candala true.

"He that doth living beings harm, whether once or twice born, in whom there is no ruth for breathing beings, know thou him alone as the Candala true.

"He that, when asked to give witness, uttereth lies for sake of self, for sake of others, or for the sake of gaining wealth, know thou him alone as the Candala true.

"Forcibly or with consent, he that keepeth company with the wives of relatives or of friends, let him be as an outcaste known.

"He that, being prosperous, cherisheth not his mother and father with reverent love and kindness, know thou him as Candala true.

"He that striketh, or with cruel words annoyeth, mother, father, brother or sister, or mother-in-law, know thou him alone as Candala true.

"He that, having committed an evil deed, thinketh 'Let no one know my wicked work,'—and covereth his sins, know thou him as the Candala true.

"He that at mealtime, useth harsh words on Saint, Brahmin or monk that cometh through compassion to his door, know thou him as the Candala true.

"He that, being enveloped in ignorance, covetous of some small gain, uttereth false predictions, know thou him as the Candala true.

"He that annoyeth others by word and deed, is avaricious, evil-minded, envious and mean, deceitful and hath no shame in sinning, and feareth not blame nor the results of wicked action, he that is unconscientious, know thou him as the Candala true.

"These that I have described to Thee, these alone are Candalas called. Birth maketh not the Candala and birth maketh not the Brahmin; actions alone make one untouchable and actions alone of man a Brahmin make."

This did the Lord wipe out from the brow of our race the shame that had lasted for long. Further, when the Lord took to sonship the untouchable Sunita of Rajagaha, and extolled his excellence saying:—

"*Sanctifying discipline of senses, holiest living, and virtue and wisdom,—these alone make the Brahmin, and the highest Brahmin is he,*" that day was established for ever the honour of the noble race that renders society the sovereign service.

The Lord Buddha teaches even the lowest to become like a Brahmin and to live like a god wafting everywhere the fragrance of virtue. In Buddhist countries the lowest sit together with the highest and listen to the words of the Master. Further, when one enters the holy order, the highest in the land reverence him even by falling at his feet. An incident in the life of Asoka shows well how in this Aryan religion caste gave way to virtue and wisdom. One day when the devout emperor saluted the disciples of Lord Buddha by touching their feet with his head, a minister told him, "My Lord, it befits thee not to prostrate thyself before bhikkhus of all castes."

To which the emperor made answer: "Yea, by a sentiment of pride and delusion, fostered by beauty of body and power dost thou seek to dissuade me from prostrating myself at the feet of the saintly. And if my head, this worthless object which no man desires even if offered for nothing, meet with an opportunity of purification and acquiring some merit thereby, what is there unlawful in such a worthy action? In the sons of the Buddha thou regardest nought save the renunciation of caste and thou beholdest not their sublime virtues; puffed up with pride of birth thou forgettest thy error, both thyself and others. The Dhamma is concerned with virtue, and that has nothing to do with the caste. *When a man of high birth falls into vice, he is blamed by the world; why then should not a man of low birth win all honour when he attains the highest sanctity and remains yet humble?* It is by considering character that men's bodies are honoured or despised. These unworldly ascetics are worthy of all honour as their character has been completely changed and purified by the words of the Lord of Compassion."

Fa-Hian, speaking of ancient Mathura says: "The faith here is becoming very popular; and all the kings of the countries in northern to the west of the desert are firm believers. When they make offering to monks, they remove their turbans, and together with their families and officials of the court wait personally upon the monks. At the end of the meal they spread carpets on the ground, and sit down facing the president, not venturing to sit on couches in the presence of monks. The arrangements at these ceremonies of the Faith have been handed down by tradition from the time when Buddha was in the world even to the present day."

Let me here mention the fact that Buddhist kings pay homage even to their horse-keepers once they entered the order.

Now we come to war, with the fear of which the whole world trembles to-day. I shall here quote a few verses I had reserved from the Vasala Sutta. To Bharadvaja the Lord Buddha said:

"He that destroys or lays siege to villages, towns and cities, and by such ignoble actions is known as enemy, him know thou to be Candala true.

"He that being no saint, feigns sanctity, and is a thief in all the worlds, know thou him as the lowest Candala." This Mirror of Truth we keep before those mighty names of history, Alexander and Attila, Napoleon and Nelson, Caesar and the Kaiser and even before the Duce and the Pope, that deputy of God who has surprised all the world by praising the triumph of his people, the barbarism that made an end of the independence of Abyssinia.



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Buddhism never allows war and it is the one religion that has an unbroken history of peace and loving service. Never was a drop of blood spilled for the spread of this religion and it is the one religion that can prevent war. *The simplest of Buddhist refrain from the five un-Aryan trades:—viz. trade in slaves and animals, trade in weapons, trade in poison, trade in fish and flesh and trade in liquor.*

Thus the simplest tenets of Buddhism will ensure everlasting peace for the world. Let me here quote the Rev. J. T. Sunderland on the world's religions and war. Says this friend of humanity :

"If we were asked what religion has best promoted peace in the world, I am quite sure we could not say Christianity. Is it not plain that a candid survey of history would compel us to answer, Buddhism? Indeed, it seems to be true that, if we make the single exception of the Mohammedan peoples, there have not been any where else in the world so many and so terrible wars during the last thousand years and more as among Christian peoples."

Again, a beautiful passage in Fielding Hall's great book, the *Soul of a People* says :

"No ravished country has ever borne witness to the prowess of the followers of the Buddha; no murdered men have poured out their blood on their hearth-stones, killed in His name; no ruined women have cursed His name to high Heaven. He and His faith are clean of the stain of blood. He was the preacher of the Great Peace, of love, of charity, of compassion and so clear is His teaching that it can never be misunderstood."

To-day, with the sublimation of brute force by the West, these virtues are looked down upon as qualities of the weak. But India has shown the world that virtue is not weakness. *According to Megasthenes, the inhabitants of Aryavarta were as valiant as they were virtuous, and they even excelled all other Asiatics in valour.*

But great is the danger that lies in this teaching of the West. We find even such a leader of thought as Herman Keyserling spurning such sublime virtues like gentle love, compassion, humanity, obedience, long suffering and altruism as feminine qualities, and declaring that:

"We are already on the point of overcoming compassion, the fatal superstition that making others happy is in itself meritorious, that altruism possesses value itself.....we are on the point of supplanting these ideas by the general recognition that productive effort is ethically justified; that *causing others to suffer is better than suffering with others!*"

Why did Whitman say then :

"*I do not ask the wounded person how he feels, I myself become the wounded person, My hurts turn livid upon me as I lean on a cane and observe.*"

Yes I banish compassion, and banish the sacrificial love that makes the eider duck pluck out under great pain the down of her own breast to make a soft nest for her little ones! The day that the whole world accepts these ugly doctrines, it will come to an end, for "each slays a slayer, and in turn is slain."

But so long as Buddhism is adhered to, the world will be spared the sight of such a catastrophe, for the song that the faithful daily sing is,

"Even as a mother, at the risk of her own life, saves the life of her one dear babe, so should limitless love be practised towards all living beings."

He that practises such love is a true Brahmin, and even in this life and this world he lives like the great Brahma, with faultless and saving thoughts towards all. Further, Buddhism teaches that salvation of the world is through a Brahmin, a Brahmin full of pity, pure and wise. This Brahminhood is limited not only

to the twice-born, but even the humblest can gain it by sacred virtue, sacrificial love, unwearying service in the cause of humanity, and sublime wisdom. In our sacred books it is written that the next Saviour to come, the Buddha Metteyya (Sanskrit, Maitraya the Benevolent or the Mother-loving One), will be born a Brahmin, in the eternal city of Benares. Mother India then will not be a down-trodden land, and Benares will be called Ketumati, the City of Banners, and all India a Buddhist Nation!

MOTHER INDIA AS I SAW HER*.

(BY MARGARET SANGER)

I want to tell you a little about "Mother India As I Saw Her." The population problem, of course, interested me a great deal. Most of our time in India was spent in the large cities, but in travelling we went through many of the outlying districts and villages. We went from Bombay to Wardha to see Mahatma Gandhi and then to Calcutta and then to see the Himalayas. We came back to Calcutta to visit the poet, Dr. Tagore, and then on to Benares, Allahabad, Delhi, and Baroda, and again back to Bombay. In this way, we saw a great deal of the country, particularly in railroads and in railway stations, and we met many people who come in delegations to meet the trains.

Population is, I think, one of India's greatest problems. There are, we are told, some 850 millions of people, with an increase of thirty-four millions in ten years and of twenty millions in the last two years. I do not believe that this last figure is correct. When the census prior to the last one was taken, the non-co-operation movement was at its height and many of the people did not register. This fact alone could account for perhaps some fifteen or twenty millions, which would increase the total at the time of the last census, when the non-co-operation movement had subsided.

One of the recent aims of the public health program has been to lessen infant mortality and to raise the age of marriage. The Women's Conference passed a resolution to put teeth into the laws prohibiting child marriages by urging the penalty of a large fine when parents allowed young boys and girls below the age of fifteen to marry. By that very act they are going to decrease infant mortality, and at the same time save the lives of women. People are also being saved from famine, small-pox epidemics, plagues, and are being helped to live longer. This will, of course, tend to increase the population.

Infant mortality, however, is still high—far too high. Statistics show that one-fifth of the babies born do not live until their first birthday and one-half of them do not live until the age of five. There are three factors affecting infant mortality: first, the economic condition of the family, i.e. the father's wage; second, the spacing of the children; and third, where the child is placed in the family. We are familiar with the first two factors, but let us consider some statistics with regard to the third, and we shall be very much surprised to find how similar they are to our own figures in the United States.

In India, of each 100 first-born children 22.7 do not live, and this is only a little higher than the figure for our country. The second and third children have about the same chance of survival—21.4 of them do not live to complete their first year. The infant mortality rate increases rapidly with the fourth,

* Address given by Mrs. Sanger at the Union of East and West held under the auspices of the World Fellowship of Faiths, New York City, May 21, 1936.



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fifth, and sixth children because they have much less care. Of those who are born tenth in the family 42 out of each 100 died in infancy; and the rate rises to 51 and 60 for the 11th and 12th children.

Figures from the United States Children's Bureau show that the life of a baby in America is also largely dependent upon where the child is placed in the family. As for child spacing, unless the children are properly spaced the health of the mother is greatly depleted and the child is not born with a sound and healthy body. If during the pre-natal life it is not adequately nourished *i. e.* unless the father's wage is such to provide the family with sufficient food, the child, of course, does not have a chance to develop and grow through early infancy.

In all of India there are only 195 people per square mile, but in some villages we find that there are 2000 and even 4000 people living per square mile. These people simply eke out an existence—they are the poor farmer class with barely enough to eat, since they have not learned to use properly what little land they have. They know little or nothing of the newer methods of farming such as irrigation, rotation of crops, and the proper fertilization of the soil. It is said that ninety-five per cent of them do not have what we would consider a "full meal" a day, and that ninety-seven per cent live on less than five cents in American money per day. The figures given out by the British officials do not agree with these figures. They claim that only twenty-per cent of the people are very, very poor. Of course, as in all countries, a few people live in luxury and beauty and have some of the loveliest things of the world. It is difficult to find out the actual facts, just as it is difficult to find out even in America actually what ninety-five per cent of our people earn and what percentage go hungry.

In the large cities in India, we find people sleeping out of doors in the streets—people who have no homes or shelter to go to and who beg in the markets by day. I would far rather sleep out of doors in India where the nights are warm, with the wide blue heavens above me and the thousands of twinkling stars to make my roof, than to sleep in a crowded tenement on the Lower East Side of New York City, where there are eight and ten and even twelve persons packed into a three or two-room tenement with its foul and fetid air, its disease, and its lack of even the most necessary sanitation!

Welfare work in India has been largely concerned with obtaining the proper hospital facilities for women, and where formerly very few of the women had their children in hospitals with proper medical care, sixty-five per cent of the babies born in Bombay are now delivered in hospitals. In India, a new day is dawning. They are saving more babies each year by giving them the proper care in baby clinics—physical examinations, cod liver oil, and the correct diet. They are willing to assume the cost and make provisions for such care, but, as I pointed out to the officials and social workers in one community where they are making rapid strides in infant care, what are the provisions to be for taking care of these children when they reach the ages of two and three? Unless they know now that the families will give the same care to these babies when they become of walking age, the mortality rates for that age group will rise sharply within the next five years. They must plan their budgets to take care of the children until they are able to take care of themselves, or supplement the family income, or give the mothers knowledge of how to space and control births.

These facts had not previously been considered,

but immediately these officials and workers asked how it could be done. They did not stop to parley about the cost or the work. They simply asked, "How?" And the answer is: by allowing the mother to space her children properly so that she can care for each one until it has a fair start in life. Mothers should know how to plan each pregnancy. Naturally the small child of two or three will receive more attention if there is not a tinier brother or sister, and perhaps another baby about to be born. The mother cannot possibly carry on with her strength constantly depleted by too numerous pregnancies, so that her body never has a chance to recuperate and build itself up. And, what is worse, she has very little chance of surviving such rapid demands on her body.

But these people asked: When can we begin? And I am happy to say that when I left India there were fifty contraceptive centres already established under the proper authorities either in hospitals, in public health clinics where the necessary information as to the methods is given by a doctor or nurse under the doctor's supervision to these mothers. There was no question as to this moral, is it ethical, is it proper. It was, they understood, necessary, and that was all. They were delighted to accept the idea of birth control.

We held over forty-three medical meetings, and the attitude of the doctors was splendid. I had with me two scientific films on "The Biology of Conception," and these helped in explaining the technical aspects of contraception to the physicians. Not only were the doctors willing to have these films presented to their own groups, but they invited senior medical students and trained nurses to attend. Here again I was impressed by the difference in attitude—in India when the doctors found something of interest and worth while, they were only too willing to share it and to have it used.

I have just one more story to tell you before I finish. I was the guest for a short time at the home of a very cultured family who had three girls, but no sons. My coming had been discussed and the youngest child, who was very precocious, had thought over what she had heard. Finally she came to her father: and said "Daddy, if you had met Margaret Sanger before I was born, would I be here?" And her Daddy took her up in his arms and gave her the answer which I am sure you will all feel every parent should be able to give his children. He said, "Joan, dear, if there were a hundred Margaret Sangers you would still be here, because we wanted you."

Amendment of Law of Divorce:—The Government of India is considering whether *The Indian Divorce Act, 1869*, should be amended so as to make it clear whether a High Court should pass a *decree nisi* in the first instance in case of nullity of marriage. Section 19 states the grounds upon which a decree of nullity may be granted. There is a conflict of judicial authority on the subject, which, it is desirable, should be settled by legislation in the interest of the children of the disrupted or of future marriages. The Madras High Court is inclined to agree with the Bombay view that a decree for nullity passed by the High Court should in the first instance be a *decree nisi*. It may be suggested that the practical arguments would be in favour of making the decree in nullity cases absolute in the first instance. The petitioner's own misconduct ought not to be a ground for refusing or rescinding a decree for nullity in a proper case, for instance, where the respondent was already married at the time of his marriage to the petitioner. In such cases, questions of collusion are much less likely to arise. In the majority of cases, the grounds on which a nullity decree is granted, are not such as are likely to be affected by facts coming to light after the decree.—*Bombay Law Journal*, [realpatidar.com](http://www.realpatidar.com)



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EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK,*

(BY CLIFFORD MANSHARDT)

This informal opening session of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work may well be an important landmark in the educational history of India. India has always had social work. Men have always helped their neighbours in time of trouble. India has had and has today a long list of noteworthy social workers. There have been in various parts of the country spasmodic efforts for the training of social workers—for the most part short courses of a few weeks' duration. But this School, which is opening today, represents the first attempt in India to raise social work to the dignity of a learned profession, standing on the same plane as graduate schools of law, medicine or education.

Our student body is small. We have purposely made it so. You who are here today are a selected fellowship, drawn from all parts of India, chosen from over 100 applicants for admission to this school, and chosen in the belief that you are the kind of men and women who are ready to profit by this training and to take the lead in elevating the social work of India to a new status.

We have limited our numbers because we desire the School to be a fellowship. We desire it to be a centre where students and faculty can join together in a co-operative attempt to evolve a method of attack upon some of our most pressing social problems.

And if you say to yourselves: "What can 20 students do in the face of India's problems?" I would remind you that you twenty are but the beginning. Year by year your number will increase and the time will come when trained social workers will be at work in every important centre in India. I think back to the year 1904, which marks the establishment of the School for Social Workers, maintained by Simmons College and Harvard University in the city of Boston in the United States. This School opened with one class-room, a small office and 26 students. By 1910, there were schools of social work in 5 American cities. Within the decade, 1916 to 1926, twenty-five schools were established. And at the present time there are no less than 85 full-time schools of social work in the United States and Canada.

There have always been those who have contended that social work should be learned by experience and not taught. There is something to be said for this contention. No amount of book learning can ensure that solid common sense which is so essential a part of the equipment of the successful social worker. On the other hand common sense alone will not solve problems which demand specialized knowledge. The professions of law, medicine, teaching and engineering have all passed through the apprenticeship stage. It is not so many years ago that the proper training for a law student was considered to be a period of apprenticeship in the office of some established lawyer. It is only in comparatively recent times that schools, and particularly graduate schools, have been developed for these professions. The difficulty with apprentice training in social work is that the apprentice student is prepared simply for specific tasks within the organization in which he finds himself. He is denied that essential, well-rounded view of the whole field, which enables him to meet his particular problems in a scientific manner. The School of Social Work gives a perspective which cannot be obtained in any practice situation. A study of the history and

* An address delivered at the opening session of the Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work, Bombay, by Dr. Manshardt, Director of the School, June 22, 1936.

development of social work in other lands, enables us to escape a long process of trial and to avoid the pitfalls into which others have fallen.

The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work is, as its name implies, a graduate school. If social work is ever to attain a status comparable to that of law or medicine, it is essential that the training school be of equivalently high academic character. The student of medicine must have a college background of biology and chemistry. The prospective engineer must have a preliminary knowledge of mathematics and physics. Unfortunately, because of the backwardness of social studies in Indian colleges, we are compelled to offer here certain courses which should have been offered in the colleges, but in time that condition will be corrected. We look forward to the day when the prospective social worker can secure such excellent under-graduate courses in sociology, economics, history, political science, psychology and biology as will render it unnecessary for the School of Social Work to present this background material.

The activities of a high-grade School of Social Work fall into three general fields: the academic curriculum; practical work or field work; and social research.

If social work is, as it is so often defined, a process of adjustment, the social worker must have an adequate knowledge of human nature in order that he may understand the mechanisms of human behaviour. He must have an appreciation of the environmental background—a knowledge of the customs, habits, desires, peculiarities and general outlook of the people among whom he expects to work. He must have an adequate philosophy, in order to see the relation of his task to the social process and to view his work in its proper perspective. Since the time of the social worker is largely occupied in dealing with deviations from the normal, he must have an adequate conception of what constitutes normal human relationships. The social worker is the one person who is expected to know all the available sources of relief for those in trouble—economic, medical, legal, or what not. He is society's trouble specialist.

The major part of the curriculum of most schools of social work deals with what is called Social Case Work and its allied subjects. Under this heading comes the great number of problems connected with family welfare—such as broken homes, individuals in need of advice, of medical treatment, of employment, of interpretation to other members of their group. In our study of social Case Work we enter such fields as mental hygiene and psychiatry, medical social work, child guidance, vocational guidance, juvenile delinquency, probation and parole. We survey the various processes by which the individual who has not achieved a satisfactory adjustment to the demands of life is consciously adjusted to his social environment. The field is so vast that some schools give their entire attention to social case work alone.

While much of social work is conducted by private agencies, a great amount of work in every country is carried on by the State. For this reason we consider the general field of public welfare administration,—studying Government efforts to deal with public health, maternity and child welfare, the care of the blind, deaf and mentally deficient, housing, city planning, industrial welfare and the administration of justice. Although social work in most countries has begun under private auspices, the trend of the times is more and more towards the development of public agencies supported by the public funds. Such departments of Government need competent administrators as well as



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able men and women who can do the rank and file work, especially that of individualizing and humanizing social treatment.

A closely allied field deals with social legislation: the drafting and administration of laws relating to social welfare. The social worker should know the laws connected with such every day matters as adoption, inheritance, eviction, wage claims, street begging, offences against children, prostitution, and the commitment of the insane. He should not only know the laws as they stand, but should also be ready with constructive suggestions for their improvement. The passing of laws providing widows' pensions and home aid to mothers, for example, have practically revolutionized certain departments of social work in the West, making orphanages in many centres practically obsolete by providing home care for needy children. A knowledge of what has been done in the West is of genuine value to India. We would disclaim any attempt to follow slavishly Western patterns, but at the same time worthwhile ideas are worthwhile ideas, whatever the source.

I have already referred to the importance of a knowledge of the history of social movements, but will once more call it to attention in passing. In social work as in walking, the longest way around is often the shortest way home.

So much for academic curriculum. I turn now to a brief consideration of practical or field work. Just as the medical student engages in clinical work in the hospital, so the social worker undertakes field work in various functioning social organizations as a part of his training. Field work is not to be confused with apprentice training. Field work is not a substitute for solid work in the classroom. The purpose of field work is rather an attempt to clarify technical instruction. Just as the botanist goes into the fields to study plants and flowers to supplement his text book knowledge, and just as the geologist turns from a study of books to the study of rocks, so the social worker goes from the class room to the appropriate field work activity, using the field work as a means of clarifying and adding point to the class room instruction. Schools of law make no attempt to provide field work. The young doctor does not begin his serious internship until after he has completed his course. So it should be in social work. Field work must not overshadow the academic studies, its purpose is purely supplementary. The feel of actually "doing something" may give the student a thrill of satisfaction which is more definite than that which accompanies his class room work. But mere doing is not necessarily sound training and the field work question must be viewed in its whole perspective.

The third major activity of a School of Social Work is that of social research. A school of social work is not a graduate school of Economics or Sociology. While sociology seeks to understand social phenomena, social work seeks to manipulate, change and control the materials with which it deals. Sociology seeks to understand the laws of human association, while social work seeks to apply these laws. The research activities of the School of Social Work are therefore eminently practical, dealing with the every-day problems of social life. But though practical, the research for which this School stands is both scholarly and accurate. We want to know how to discover facts and how to interpret them to the best advantage when they are found.

The Sir Dorabji Tata Graduate School of Social Work does not stand for a narrow specialization. The first schools of social work were for the most part training classes held by social work organizations for the benefit of their own employees. The schools

accomplished their purpose of training men and women to fit into the immediate pressing situation, but they did not give that general background which is the necessary accompaniment of all sound social work. Through the years American schools of social work have tended to be dominated more or less by institutional needs. The emphasis in British schools, on the other hand, has been upon social philosophy and the development of a proper attitude of mind toward social problems. A study of catalogues of American and British schools reveals a wide divergence of opinion concerning methods of training. We are attempting in this School to provide both a philosophical background and a practical outlook. We do not believe in a narrow specialization, which prepares simply for one type of social work. A young man does not enter a medical college to study only eye diseases, heart disorders or gynecology. He first takes a general course of study and then undergoes his specialization. Similarly a law student does not confine his studies to criminal law or to corporation law. He covers the whole field of study. It is our opinion that a social worker in order to be prepared to meet effectively the multiplicity of complex situations in which he will find himself, must have much wider background than a knowledge of a particular type of work. He must develop habits of thinking which will stand him in good stead when he is confronted by a situation that is out of the ordinary. He must be prepared to face each new situation on its own merits and without prejudice. He should combine within himself both the critical attitude of the student and the enthusiasm of the man of action. He should cultivate reading habits which will serve him in good stead throughout his career.

The development of reading habits is a point which cannot be overemphasized. The faculty of the institution has been chosen with great care, and will, I believe, direct your class room work in a satisfactory manner. But in addition to your class room work, make it an early habit to use the library. Our library is not large, as University libraries go, but every volume in the library has been carefully selected. Move around among the cases and read those books which seem to you to bear upon your particular interest. Expand your interests. Do not be bound by required readings, but use the library as an indispensable tool for your complete education.

The materials of social work, dealing as they do with social life, are in the very nature of things often transient. For this reason the library is supplemented by a well-stocked periodical room, where you may put yourself in touch with current thought and movements. Looking back upon my own University education, I place the influence of books above that of the classroom, and the reading habit has become so much a part of my life that during my eleven years in India it has been my rule and pleasure to read one solid book every week. I know of no other way to keep one's self alive and abreast of current thinking.

The profession of social work is pre-eminently a profession calling for rich qualities of personality. The individual who is in trouble who needs food, clothing, shelter, medical attention, legal assistance, or help on personal, ethical or psychological problems — comes to the social worker for aid. The satisfactory adjustment of such a wide variety of problems is a severe tax upon the abilities of the social worker. He must not only know how to get things done, but must also be able to hold the confidence of his clients while the machinery is being put in motion. To help men to hope when they themselves feel there is no hope is no mean problem. We in this institution



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cannot "make" personality. Your biological inheritance has had much to say about that question. But we can, I believe, help you to develop intelligent sympathy, social imagination and some of the inner qualities which will give you confidence, poise and balance. An academic curriculum which neglects personal values is not of much worth.

And as a final word, may I beg you to be humble. You are graduates studying in a graduate school, but there is much that both you and we of the faculty have still to learn. It is not our function to belittle the achievements of the host of untrained men and women who are doing social work in this country today. Some of us will never attain to their stature. But the fact that we are here should mean that we sense the magnitude of India's social problems, and in our own quiet way are seeking to prepare ourselves to play some part in bringing about their solution.

CASTE AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.* (BY CHANDRAKANT ANANT PHADKAR.)

One of the most serious disadvantages of the caste system is that it prevents that close correspondence between inborn capacity and industrial function which is such a fundamental element in economic progress and welfare. The moment you divide your men into water-tight compartments on the mere accident of birth irrespective of their temperament and qualifications and at the same time refuse them their birthright to develop their natural capacity and faculties to the highest possible limit, you deny your nation all the advantages that otherwise would have added to the store of national wealth and wellbeing.

Again, in a country where agriculture more or less supports 72% and over of the population, the caste prejudices and habits of the mass of the workers prevent their taking up other occupations to utilise their spare time. A man may have insufficient land to support his family, but if he is of good caste he cannot take to weaving or work for hire because that would lower his social standard or status. This difficulty is enhanced by the laws of tenant rights which have sub-divided holdings until they are minute in area.

Another great drawback is that the caste system prevents free mobility of capital and labour. Mobility of labour is hindered by making a change of occupations or of place difficult. As under the old system of handicrafts the artisan uses his own capital, immobility of labour necessarily implies immobility of capital as well. Furthermore the system leads to the formation of rigid non-competitive groups leading to the over-crowding of certain occupations and an undue advantage being given to others that lie strongly entrenched behind the caste walls artificially protecting them from external competition.

The caste system impedes the progress of large-scale enterprise in various ways. In the first place there is a lack of speedy adjustment between demand for and supply of a particular kind of labour. In the second place the system militates against the minute sub-division of labour characteristic of modern large scale production. Besides, owing to the caste system it is difficult to bring together intellect, manual labour and capital which are often isolated from each other forming separate castes. Then again, consumption becomes localised and sectarian as every caste distinguishes itself from every other in its mode of living, with many differences as regards food, apparel, utensils, etc. A very large variety of commodities is, therefore, to be produced but for each single commodity on a smaller scale.

* Extracts from the prize essay selected by the Bombay Provincial Social Reform Association.

The result is that though the country is large the scale of production tends to be small, making economies of large-scale production difficult of realisation. Another minor point is that improvement in the economic conditions of the socially lower classes is not always reflected in a better standard of life, there being no chance of the lower classes being admitted into the fold of the higher classes and thus by force of example adopting the superior standard of the latter.

The lower castes especially were bound to the village of their birth; they could never be more than strangers in another. In times of famines and distress the people could not leave their ancestral village lest they lose the hold on bare subsistence which their village assured to them. The normal operations of the laws of supply and demand which connect communities of people with natural resources have been rendered difficult in a country where the individual finds himself under caste restrictions. The finest art and workmanship, in India, as in other countries have been produced at times when individual ideas have had freedom to work without restraint from system or tradition in style and methods. Copyists are never efficient craftsmen; they can never produce an original idea in design or execution; and the tendency of caste can only be to produce generations after generations, imitators and copyists. The individual born in a caste can never find his place in society for which he is fitted by his ability.

In a caste-ridden society each man's lot and function are fixed; he cannot change them; he cannot rise above them. The want of spontaneity and enterprise of the spirit that dares and dies is only the natural result of centuries of caste repression and caste domination.

But more than all this is the curse that affects Indian life in its attitude to the depressed classes. These are mainly aboriginal castes of the tribal types; they are regarded as unclean. Washermen will not wash for the lower castes nor barbers shave them. In some castes the touch of a low caste man makes it necessary for a man of higher caste to be the and change his clothes. In others, his entry into a house defiles all the water therein. These untouchables over 50,000,000 in number, are kept in a state of abject submission and helplessness. Such a condition of affairs involves not only the economic waste and the moral degradation of the low caste themselves, but the moral degradation of the society as a whole.

In all civilised societies except those founded upon a rigid caste system, the social ladder exists; and every step forward in democratic organisation, everything that throws the world more completely open to talent, that finds the right man for the right place and the square peg for the square hole—educational facilities, scholarships, personal agencies—all such things contribute to the perfection of the social ladder by which the ascent of merit and the descent of inaptitude are made easy.

The caste system produces amongst people of higher caste a disinclination towards certain occupations and forms of labour normally followed by the lower classes and thus often prevents them from improving their economic position and intensifies the evil resulting from the overcrowding of certain so-called genteel professions.

Another loss entailed by the caste system comes from the existence of caste prejudices against the use of certain methods of improvement in agricultural and industrial production; the objection to the use of bones, fish and nightsoil as manure for agricultural land entertained by many castes is an instance in point.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The Emperor and the League:—The Council of the League of Nations had the greatest day in its rather humdrum existence when the Emperor of Ethiopia, robbed of his crown and country by a fellow member of the League, stood before it to appeal to the conscience of the world which it is expected to represent, for justice against Italy. Mr. Motta, the Swiss representative, tried to get the Council to prevent the Emperor's appearance before it. But the Irish Free State President, De Valera who is one of the few statesmen who are true to their convictions in their speeches, insisted that the Emperor should have his say, and the Council, to its credit, took the same view. The Emperor spoke in his native Amharic, and it is clear even from the highly subdued reports of Reuter that His Majesty spoke with great dignity. The meddlesome who constitute nine-tenths of the League Delegations, will never in their lives listen to a more moving address from a greater man. Some lines learnt by heart at school of the British Warrior Queen, Boadicea, bleeding from the Roman rods, pleading before the hoary Druids to avenge her wrongs, seem to suit the occasion. The Druids could assure her from their spiritual insight that Rome shall perish because of her brutalities. The League delegates had no such intuition. They had only the instructions of their Governments. We do not know whether or not there was an Indian delegation. We hope there was none. If there was, it would be a great humiliation to this country that in this historic occasion it sat tongue-tied, knowing full well that Indian sympathy is whole-heartedly with the Emperor and Ethiopia. The British representative, Mr. Eden, declared that there should be no recognition of the Italian annexation of Ethiopia. As for the sanctions, the Russian representative, Mr. Litvinov, was right when he said that economic sanctions cannot right the wrong done

to Ethiopia. On the contrary, economic sanctions cause far more injury to the civil population than to those who are responsible for the criminal aggression. Mr. Litvinov also said that unless one or two great Powers take upon themselves to act without waiting for all the League Members to join, there was no hope of thwarting Italian plans. This is perfectly true. Where is America? We read that she is building a great fortress somewhere to hoard her gold! Moral issues have apparently no concern for her. We are pleasantly surprised to find that the prevailing opinion in the League Council is that the League's power to take action against aggressors like Italy should be increased and not, as has been suggested in some British papers, that the League should be deprived of even its present powers and reduced to an advisory role.

Bengal Hindus and the Communal Award:—According to a United Press message published in the *Tribune* of Lahore an influential memorial, signed by nearly all prominent Hindus of Bengal, has been submitted to the Secretary of State for India praying that His Majesty in Council may be pleased to make an order for "effecting joint electorates in place of separate electorates and to restoring to the Hindi minority their due share of representation on the basis not merely of their population strength, but also their established economic, cultural, political and administrative importance." The Hindus of Bengal, though numerically a minority, it is argued, are overwhelmingly superior in all other respects. They are 64 per cent of the total literate population of the Province. More than 80 per cent of the schoolgoing population, 87 per cent of the legal, 80 per cent of the medical and 83 per cent of the commercial professions, are Hindus. The memorial requests that "pending the decision of their claims to a larger amount and weightage of representation the *status quo* be maintained in respect of communal representation in the Legislature in the absence of any fresh communal agreement." The signatories are headed by the poet, Tagore, the philosopher, Sir Brojendranath Seal, the scientist, Sir P. C. Ray, the Maharaja of Burdwan, Sir Nilratan Sircar, Sheth Jugal Kishore Birla, Mr. Ramanand Chatterjee, Dr. Radhakumud Mukherjee and several Congress leaders. An influential deputation, it is added, is likely to go to England shortly in support of this representation.



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Demand for Weightage:—The Marquess of Zetland has expressed publicly his opinion that the Communal Award is harsh and unfair to Hindus in Bengal and the deputation will find him personally sympathetic. But he accepted the office of Secretary of State for India on the understanding that he will not seek to give effect to his views on the Communal Award. Now that Sir Samuel Hoare is back in the Cabinet, he is most unlikely to get that body to agree even if he is prepared to risk resignation, to go behind that understanding. However that may be, we are surprised at the demand for weightage on account of cultural, economic and political superiority made by the eminent Hindu gentlemen whose names we have noted. It has been hitherto the strongest point of the Hindu protest against the Communal Award that it did not ask for weightages anywhere and that all that it wanted was that the franchise should be based on a non-communal and equal principle for all sections of the population. The present Bengal demand for weightage on account of economic and cultural predominance, is a deviation from this sound principle. It not only does not enhance the weight of the representation but it lays the Hindus of Bengal open to the retort that a community so predominant in all walks of life, should be able to make its influence felt in the administration, whatever the disparity in its representation in the Legislature. Incidentally, the representation is a public repudiation by the leaders of Bengal Hindus of the Congress' attitude of neither accepting nor rejecting the Communal Award.

The Co-operative Movement:—The Bombay Suburban Co-operative Workers' Conference was fortunate in having Mr. B. G. Kher, one of our most thoughtful social workers, to preside over its deliberations last Sunday. Mr. Kher in his address urged the importance of relating the movement to the life and needs of the community. All the work for improving communications, introducing better methods of cultivation, or raising finer cattle would be just wasted effort, he said, unless the agriculturist was relieved of his burden of indebtedness—and, if we may add, prevented from again getting into debt. In a reference to official influence on the Co-operative Movement in India, Mr. Kher remarked that there was no room for bossing and that the sooner it was freed of its association with the Government the better it would thrive in India. This observation applies with equal force to the concentration of influence in the hand of wealthier members of a society who generally try to convert a co-operative enterprise into a profit-making one. In discussing the possibilities of cooperation, Mr. Kher laid special emphasis on improvements in the food of the community, particularly in regard to milk, which can come most easily through co-operative societies. So long as the middleman is necessary in transporting goods from producer to consumer, there will always be the danger of adulteration. As a social movement, co-operation is invaluable is

so far as it instils a self-reliant spirit in the members of a community. In this sphere the social worker's best achievement lies in keeping himself in the background, unobtrusively. We print extracts from Mr. Kher's address on another page.

Pratiloma Marriages:—Mr. Tatachariar in his article on Dr. Bhagwandas' Bill which we publish this week, apparently regards the measure as too advanced in so far as it permits marriages in which the woman belongs to a higher caste. But as a matter of fact the Bill is principally intended for this purpose. So far as marriages where the husband has the higher caste are concerned, the courts in at least two provinces already recognise them as valid. Mr. Tatachariar's quaint reference to the "seed being ever superior to the soil" is difficult to follow even if it is, as he says, supported by most modern scientists. Mr. Tatachariar is topical in taking his analogy from agriculture but what is the common ground between seed and soil to enable us to judge the quality of the one in terms of the other? More interesting is the question raised by our correspondent regarding the caste of the children of mixed marriages. It is significant that few of the reformers who have initiated inter-caste marriage bills, have considered the point. They have not unnaturally argued that those who contract an inter-caste marriage, are emancipated from caste. To them the marriages contemplated by their reform, are against Hindu law and practice. Mr. Tatachariar, on the other hand, regards inter-caste marriages as sanctioned by Hindu law, provided the man is of a higher caste than the woman. For this reason he wants Dr. Bhagwandas to restrict his reform to such marriages and to consider the caste of the children of mixed parents. The point is of some importance to those who believe in the caste system, as Mr. Tatachariar does, but to the reformer it is only of academic interest.

Matriculation:—Writing on the agitation in Bombay over the poor results at the last Matriculation examination held by the University, the *Hindu* observes that in Madras also the same state of things exists, and that though the agitation there in regard to this question has not been as aggressive as in Bombay, the situation created by the small percentage of eligibles is regarded as quite as serious and the managements and headmasters are giving the subject their earnest consideration. The situation is not confined to Madras and Bombay. It is acute in Calcutta as well. The object of Matriculation is to test the capacity of scholars at the end of the High School studies to benefit by the teaching given in the University. This purpose has been overshadowed in India by extraneous considerations, the latest being that Matriculation is a qualification for voters to the Provincial Assembly under the Hoare scheme of reforms. In Bombay the authorities preparing the rolls refuse to accept Degrees of Universities and insist on the Matriculation



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certificate as the sole admissible credential for this franchise! The results of the Matriculation have thus acquired a political value. The true line of reform is obviously to restore to the Matriculation its primary purpose of being a test for admission to University studies. As these studies are conducted in and through colleges, they are the proper agencies to judge the capacity of students to benefit by their teaching. The examinations which they may conduct, will have no value for any other purpose. That is why we suggested in our leading article (*Reformer*, 20th June) that colleges might be left to matriculate their own students. *The Hindu* says that the experiment of giving discretion to heads of colleges was tried in Madras a few years ago, but had to be given up owing to some serious evils which it gave rise to. It is not difficult to guess what these were. But the University has the power and the machinery to take action against delinquent colleges and if these are firmly applied it should be quite possible to minimise these evils considerably.

Hindu Women's Property Bill:—With the principle of the Hindu Women's Property Bill which Dr. G. V. Deshmukh has introduced in the Legislative Assembly and which will come up for reference to Select Committee at the forthcoming Simla session in September, a very large body of opinion not only of the educated and the reformers but even of conservative Hindus will heartily sympathise. That principle is to equalise the rights enjoyed by men and women in regard to succession, inheritance and ownership. At present a Hindu woman has absolute right to her Stridhan but the property which she gets in this way, is limited. What Dr. Deshmukh proposes to do is to make the widow and daughters equal sharers in the property of a deceased person. He has added the mother and the daughter-in-law in the same category but this seems to be unnecessary as the former will inherit as the widow of her husband and the latter as the daughter of her father. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill does not clearly distinguish between a joint family and a separate family. In a separated family, the widow of a deceased son would inherit as a matter of course. The clause in the Bill which places a ban on women demanding a partition, cuts across the principal of equality which the Bill seeks to secure for women. Further it will cause great hardship to the women coparceners especially if the head of the family happens to enjoy a more than normal longevity. It is, moreover, not desirable to make women feel that the head of the house is an obstacle to their enjoyment of property. The Indian Succession Act provides an equitable arrangement in all these matters and, if Dr. Deshmukh's Bill does not secure the approval of the Assembly, it will be something if a Hindu is enabled, by making a declaration before a responsible authority, to be governed in matters of inheritance according to the provisions of that Act, in case of intestacy.

Kelkar-Nehru Controversy:—The veteran publicist of Maharashtra, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, has taken up twelve columns of his weekly, the *Mahratta*, for a "Rejoinder to Mr. J. Nehru." Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru—Mr. Kelkar studiously denies him the honorific—had criticised the policy of the Responsivists, a political party founded by the late Mr. Tilak with opportunism, using the word in its literal sense, for its creed, of which Mr. Kelkar is the most prominent representative living. Mr. Kelkar issued a "critical challenge" in the *Mahratta* to the Pandit. The Pandit, through the United Press Agency, responded to the challenge and the lengthy rejoinder is Mr. Kelkar's reaction to his response. Three charges brought against the Responsivists by the Pandit have received the special attention of the *Mahratta* Editor. One is that the Responsivists by their action supported British Imperialism. The second is that they were supporters of the repressive measures of Government. The third is that they hobnobbed with high officials. On the first point, Mr. Kelkar claims that so far from being supporters of British Imperialism, Responsivists have been the worst thorn on its side. The opinion of Government, if it can be obtained, would be conclusive on this issue. On the second charge, Mr. Kelkar pleads for acquittal on the ground that he and his friends condemned martial law in Sholapur more strongly than any other individual or political party. Pandit Jawaharlal will no doubt rejoinder that the incendiaryism which was the immediate antecedent of martial law in Sholapur, had nothing to do with Civil Disobedience which to him is the touchstone of nationalism. As regards the third indictment, the accusation against Mr. Kelkar is, on the face of it, untenable. It is impossible to hobnob with any one in a pair of Brahmani shoes, Mr. Kelkar's habitual footwear. As for the amenities generally associated with hobnobbing, the Poona leader's orthodoxy is proof against them. In replying to this as also to the rather trumpery charge about the congratulatory telegram to Mr. Tambe, Mr. Kelkar might have been expected, on account of his seniority and greater experience, to have resisted the temptation to bring in Pandit Motilal Nehru who is entitled to be left unmolested "where beyond these voices there is peace."

The Waiz Memorial Fund:—In memory of the late Rev. R. M. Waiz of the Church Missionary Society, Lahore, a fund has been instituted to encourage Urdu writing among Indian Christians of the Punjab. The Punjab Christian Council, a representative body of Christians, has been appointed its Trustees. Only interest on the amount collected for the Fund will be utilised for its objects. Among the sympathisers who have already donated to the Fund are: Sir Geoffrey F. de Montmorency, late Governor of the Punjab, The Hon'ble Kunwar Sir Maharaj Singh, Sir Syed Raza Ali, The Hon'ble Dr. A. C. L. Desouza of Kenya, Mr. K. J. Varma, Mr. Manilal Gandhi, and others. Donations may kindly be sent to Mr. B. L. Rallia Ram, General Secretary, Y. M. C. A., Lahore.

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SOCIAL REFORM—SOCIAL SERVICE—SOCIALISM.

For the best part of a century social reform in India was devoted to removing the most pressing hardships within the framework of Hindu society. The con-cremation of widows with their deceased husbands naturally attracted attention first by its horrible atrocity. It was worse than lynching. While there is an element of emotional excitement in lynching the custom of suttee had degenerated into a cold-blooded ritual. The Emperor Akbar had used his influence to discourage it but the Moghul Empire did not claim to regulate the social life of its non-Muslim subjects. Many Anglo-Indian high officials were against interference even with a custom like suttee but Lord William Bentinck had the powerful support of the great Indian reformer, Raja Ram Mohan Roy; and public opinion among Hindus was also ripe for the reform as proved by the fact that, notwithstanding the vehement protest sent to Parliament by orthodox Hindu leaders, the country as a whole recognised the justice and humanity of the new law and acquiesced in it. The discussions on the custom led to attention being called to the hardships of enforced widowhood among Hindus. The Act validating the remarriage of Hindu widows was the outcome of the labours of the eminent scholar, Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. Enforced widowhood was particularly inhuman in the case of child wives, and child marriages were, therefore, the next evil which claimed the attention of reformers. With the caution which has characterised reform movements in this country, it was at first thought that the raising of "the age of consent," that is, the age at which a girl is deemed capable of giving a valid consent to sexual intercourse, within the marriage relation, was sufficient to prevent the evil consequences of child marriage. This view ignored the psychological factor and was, therefore, ineffective. The Moropant Joshi Committee, which was appointed to consider the desirability of a further raising of the age of consent, reported that such raising was useless as a measure for the protection of child wives and recommended the fixing of a minimum marriage age by legislation. This led to the enactment of the Sarda Act. This Act is now found to be slow of operation and there is an increasing demand to make its provisions more stringent. As the result of the prolonged discussions on these reforms, it was borne in upon the public that the education of women was the true remedy for all social evils. The transformation of public sentiment on this subject since the beginning of this century can only be described as phenomenal. The great obstacle now to the spread of women's education, is the absence of a sufficient number of institutions to take in the thousands of girls who are clamouring for it. The Women's Movement,

which is the most striking feature of Indian life during recent years, has come as the crown of the labours of Indian reformers for nearly a century.

Sir Narayan Chandavarkar who succeeded Ranade as General Secretary of the National Social Conference, perceived fifteen years ago that the time had come for widening the scope of the social reform movement. This was not possible so far because of the unpreparedness of Indian women to take their proper part in reorganising society. As Lord Linlithgow truly observed in his speech at the Nutrition Research Conference the other day, without the active and intelligent co-operation of educated women, no substantial and permanent change can be effected in the habits and customs of the people. In a striking message to the Indian National Social Conference held in 1919 at Amritsar, Sir Narayan declared: "The time has now come for us, social reformers and workers, to enlarge the meaning and scope of social reform and extend our activity and outlook to such questions as the education of the masses, the sanitation of the country, the housing of the poor, the care of the sick and feeble, the employment of labour on rational lines, the provision of healthy recreation and amusements for the masses, village sanitation and rural education, instead of confining social reform, as we have hitherto confined it, to female education, widow-remarriage, removal of caste restrictions and such other items." In other words he wanted social reform in India to have the same connotation as in Western countries, with this difference that, while social reform in Western countries has largely been carried out by the State, social reform in India has so far had very little help from Government. Social reform in the less wide sense, involves no distinction between the reformer and the people who benefit by the reforms. He works both for himself and the community at large. But the widening of the scope to social service brought into existence the class of social workers who are, no doubt, reformers also in many cases though not in all. Social reformers had even before Sir Narayan's message been extending their activities to the sphere of social service. The pioneer in this direction was Lala Lajpat Rai who, during the great famine at the beginning of the century, established orphanages in Northern India for the benefit of thousands of children who, for want of them, were being swept into missionary institutions. The Depressed Classes Mission, established in Bombay with its schools and boarding houses, belongs to the same category. The Social Service League which celebrated its silver jubilee recently in Bombay was the first organisation expressly devoted to this kind of work. The lack of trained workers has been a great handicap in the extension of social service. This short-coming will be considerably lessened by



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such institutions as that of the Dorab Tata Post-graduate School of Social Work under Dr. Clifford Manshardt whose stimulating speech at its opening last week, was published in the *Reformer*.

The earliest efforts at the amelioration of the condition of workers in field and factory, were also made under the impulse derived from the evolution of social reform. Fundamentally, it was an ethical impulse. The first workers in this field were drawn from the ranks of religious and social reformers. Sasipada Banerjee at Baranagore started workmen's classes and recreation rooms, sixty years ago. He was a devout Theist. The story of his life is briefly told in the sketch which his son, Sir Albion Banerjee, published some years ago. In Bombay the claims of workers were espoused by social reformers who were also founders of the Social Service League. But two extraneous and distracting influences tend to draw the Labour Movement away from its moorings. These are the instilled philanthropy of Lancashire manufacturers and the Socialist movement in Europe. Lancashire sought to kill the competition of the Indian mill industry by instigating Factory Legislation on the lines of similar legislation in Britain. The Socialist Movement is the second extraneous influence which tries to break the continuity of the social movement. Broadly speaking, Socialism aims at effecting by coercion what can be effected only by the slow but sure process of social reform. Socialism aims at securing what it calls economic freedom by political coercion!

THE HINDU INTER-CASTE MARRIAGE VALIDITY BILL.

(By R. V. V. TATACHARIAR)

The Bill sponsored by Dr. Bhagawan Das in the Legislative Assembly is a welcome and timely measure, and is in perfect consonance with the spirit of the ancient Smritis. It has been the burden of all research-scholars' song that though Manu might be hard upon certain classes of people, like Herr Hitler of Germany, he was, in their unanimous view, a great nation-builder of far-seeing wisdom which has since unfortunately been wasted upon the long line of his successors in the ancient legislative gadi. Manu clearly ruled that men of every caste could marry in the same caste or in castes lower down; he only restricted the marriage to this anuloma type; that is, the man must always be of a higher caste than the wife. He interdicted in clear and unequivocal terms the Pratiloma marriage where the wife was higher in caste than the man. His view was that the seed must ever be superior to the soil that received it, and this view is still shared in by many a most modern scientist as well. It was perhaps on this score that patiyam or out-castedness, in the view of some rishis, never attached to the issue at all; and illegitimacy never affected the female issue, nor the legitimate issue of illegitimate sons. It is on the same principle that Vasishtha and Baudhayan among others ruled that the issue of the mixed or rather anuloma marriages belonged to the father's caste where the mother ranked next to him in the order of castes. The central idea of this arrangement was indeed the combined justice and necessity that evermore fresh blood should be imported into the higher but less

numerous orders, while the lower classes should be prompted to elevate themselves by the prospects of connection with higher ones. If the rules of excommunication turn down men of evil propensities far, far below all castes into the so-called Panchama class, this rule of anuloma marriage was a ladder by which an individual, family, class or community was allowed to rise by sheer merit or simple condescension. Adoption of boys of all castes by the higher caste-man was another more direct though now obsolete method of social elevation, where also the adoptive father's caste settled that of the adopted boy. Why, for the matter of that, even the slave took his master's caste, just as a sishya or disciple took his guru's gotram in case he had none of his own; and the wife that of her husband on marriage at the Saptapadi ceremony.

The older rishis like Vasishtha and Baudhayan ruled that inter-caste marriage, inter-dining, or common seat and common conveyance did not in the least injure or in anywise effect one's caste; but only unlawful teaching of the Vedas and improper ministrations of religious services and sacrifices entailed degradation in caste. It is, therefore, in respect of the first two items that the later sages struck when they discouraged and even condemned them by saying that the Pitris cursed the parties to the mixed marriages and their issue, and thus put an end to the aspiration of entering into the higher castes either directly or indirectly. The legal and political sanctions of olden times, we know, always took the religious colour. But this religion that transported human beings to the Swarga or Naraka according to their deserts had to yield before the advent of a truly national Vaishnava (and Saiva) religion and philosophy; and Moksha (or Kaivalya) put an end to the ever-recurring Samsara or transmigration of souls here or hereafter. Thus another impetus was though rather unsuccessfully, given through the new national religion to the consolidating and nationalising forces in the wake of similar forces of Buddhism in the fields of imperialistic politics and proselytising religion.

But now that the present-day accent has been rightly placed as in Manu on the truly nationalistic consolidation of the people of India, this Bill is a welcome measure in the right direction. Only it is a little too wide as it does not, as Manu and his successors did, stoutly discountenance the Pratiloma kind of mixed marriages. But, as the issue of the worst kind of pratiloma marriage of a Sudra with a Brahmin woman was termed a chandala, and the Chandalas formed a sub-caste among Sudras, there being no fifth caste known to Hindu Law, the question of caste of the issue of such marriages has become immaterial or purely academical, if only the issue should inherit and partake of the father's caste. Hence none need be alarmed at the rather seemingly sweeping character of the proposed measure.

The broad-bottomed Hindu Law and the broader and ever elastic Usages among Hindus should not and cannot afford to countenance the sorry spectacle of the people renouncing their religion for purposes of holy marriage when religion is but a handmaid of a (marital) life of contented peace and efficient happiness. How can religion cease to rush to the rescue of even the most surprising aberrations of human nature, in the face of the fact that the brightest stars among the leading rishis have been notorious examples of such and similar aberrations of even the worst and gravest character? And after all who can say why, how and when these aberrations in simply social matters came to be regarded as so heinous and so disquieting as to be peremptorily put down notwithstanding the earlier law to the contrary? The later law perhaps grew in the wake of a revulsion of public



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feeling and public opinion and the social and religious fervour of the latter day Smritikartas. Various kinds of flesh prescribed and graduated for occasions of Sraddhas and visits of kings and esteemed personages came, after the advent of Buddha, to be completely tabooed and the substitution of pure milk-preparations and vegetable dishes were, and till to-day remain, raised to the skies and extolled beyond measure. And inter-caste-dining was also given up along with flesh-diet. And on the heels of these, inter-caste marriage went out of vogue. So what was altogether unimportant from the religious point of view came to be given unexpected and undue prominence; and religion unwittingly trespassed into other regions and countenanced this curious change in the angle of vision. But religion does not and cannot honestly stand in the way of ensuring a close-knit and homogeneous nation of a model or ideal type.

Now, this Bill on the anvil of the Legislative Assembly is *defective in one respect*, that is, wholly silent on the question of caste of the issue of the mixed marriages. The trouble would be whether the older or later principle of the Hindu Sastras has to be applied and acted upon. The original view, as we have seen before, was that the issue took the father's caste, but the later change was to the effect that the issue belonged to the mother's caste. This indivisible distinction within the family of the same man, say a Brahmin, marrying from different castes could not, even in those days, be long maintained for a variety of reasons. In fact this new law soon led to the disappearance altogether of all kinds of mixed marriages, among the main castes and sub-castes as well. Hence if the legislature should now begin anew to validate such marriages it must so enact, in the clearest terms possible, that issue definitely belongs to the father's and not to the mother's caste. This then takes us to the original state of the law on the subject. Once the principle of mother's caste for the issue is allowed, the door is thrown wide open to all permutation and combination of castes and sub-castes known to the later Smritis and to emergence of superiority and inferiority complex among all of them at once, with the natural inevitable consequences of communal jealousies and social boycotts and the reduplication of the same institutions on the original model in each of the main castes and even sub-castes. To quote one instance, the cooks and some other menials among the Brahmins represent their old Sudra prototypes and are requisitioned to serve the other Brahmins, nay, all the other castes as well, whether in public hotels, or railway refreshment-rooms, or on occasions of public functions or social treats or even religious feasts. In fact they undergo all the costly samskaras relating to Brahmins only to descend later on to the veriest level of their Sudra compeers in point of occupation and, worse in their caste-status in the eye of a true interpretation of the Sastras that would rank them with the Panchamas only, or worse, with the Chandalas, for relinquishing all the required duties of a true Brahmin and becoming unfit for further intercourse without due prayaschittas. But nobody would really care to admit that it is this indiscriminate intercourse of high-class Brahmins with these fallen quondam Brahmins in the fields of marriage, dinner, and what not, that has been chiefly responsible for the fast-disappearing results of ever-declining religious mantras. It is a tragic and inscrutable fate and whirligig of awfully revengeful fate, on the part of all the castes, high or low, that we fight shy of doing sastraic things straight and take to most unsastraic and explicitly forbidden things in a most easy-going and

unconscionable manner. To take another instance in point, the Brahmin ceasing to teach the Vedas or their spiritual import to the other castes, has ceased to think of the Vedas himself and has begun to run after learning and teaching English for the sake, not of the rest of the society, but for the sake of finding means of livelihood. He declines to learn or teach the Tamil Prabandhas to the Sudras for whom they were mainly meant. And the Sudra has to shift for himself for enlightenment from the Tamil Vedas and the result is a host of Sudra teachers from whom the Brahmin would not stoop to learn them. And there is a new crop of Sudra purohitas to officiate among Sudras on all funeral and marriage occasions; there is thus a parallel line of institution on failure of the Brahmins to serve the non-Brahmin, whosoever fault it might be. Why this perverted and unwanted reduplication of institutions it is impossible to understand. It is high time that this is put a quick end to and the original state of things restored in the best interests of the entire society. And the Bill in question, with the defect remedied as shown above, will go far on the road to unification, consolidation and homogeneous harmony of the Hindu population of India in the near future.

I WAS A MISSIONARY—II. (BY G. B. HALSTEAD)

It was not long after I arrived in India that I sensed the fact that missions were contributing quite definitely to the denationalization of the Indians, particularly of the Indian Christians. Practically everything I saw of the Indian Christian community impressed me that this community was merely a pale reflection of the missionary group, a fact readily enough understood, but nevertheless very regrettable. Most Christian and many non-Christian graduates of the mission schools and colleges I met seemed a strange composite of brown skin and anglo-saxon mentality; orientals oriented to western culture rather than to their own. The entire mission educational system was necessarily dominated by government policy and imperial considerations. Consequently it was doing a most effective job of educating the Indians against themselves. It was a case of the old imperialist plan of 'divide and rule' translated into an educational system. There was plenty of evidence all about me to support the accusation of Indian nationalists that the white man had deliberately created an educational system for India that would produce brown-skinned bureaucrats, persons who would think as Englishmen but live as cheaply as Indians. Of such would the foundations of Empires be made. Tragically, here again, I found missions had tragically conformed. Consciously or unconsciously they were pawns in the hands of an imperialist power.

However it was through the medium of clothing strangely enough, that this problem of denationalization first troubled me. True, clothes may not make the man, but they often indicate the social attitudes of those who wear them. At least I found this to be so in India. There was little room for doubt, I thought, that the missionaries in importing western civilization along with the religion of Jesus had strangely identified in the minds of Indians the acceptance of His teachings with the use of western clothes. I can still recall ever so clearly spending an entire evening in very earnest discussion with one of our Christian students over the question of his wearing Indian clothes. He argued stubbornly and vigorously that to replace his western suit by Indian clothes would involve a change in his religious views and loyalties. He seemed perfectly convinced that if he dressed



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as a Hindu he would become automatically a Hindu; likewise to appear as a Moslem would magically transform him, quite against his will, into a follower of the prophet. Up to the time we left the college this boy and most of his fellow Christians persisted in their use of western dress in spite of the rising pressure of Indian nationalism that emphasized indigenous clothing. In fairness to this Christian, though, one must recognize the tremendous impact upon their thinking of a foreign culture common to both the mission agents and political rulers. Further, it was perfectly human that these students should conform to a social pattern of a religious governmental bureaucracy that held out the principal hopes of their economic security.

Aside from these somewhat nationalistic implications of dress, but yet a part of the total picture, were certain economic aspects. As an example there is the incident that came to my attention early in my missionary career. One of our Christian students while home on a vacation refused to return to college. He complained to his widowed mother, who was desperately poor, that since most of the other Christian students would return to college with new suits, he must have one too, or face great humiliation. Accordingly, in the universal spirit of motherhood, this poor Indian woman sold one of her only two decent saris (dresses) in order to purchase a suit for this spoiled westernized son in order that he could fit into the social picture created by foreign missions. Now it is important to learn, as I did, that most Indian dress is infinitely less expensive and vastly more practical for India than western. Moreover, this mother might conceivably have spun the thread and woven the cloths for her son's Indian clothes, if he had cared to wear them.

It is partly for such as this that Gandhi has identified simple, home-spun Indian dress and the use of the ancient spinning wheel with the struggle of his land for freedom from western economic and political domination.

On one occasion I attended a Christmas party given at a nearby mission college for girls. A very good Indian friend and associate was with me. We found upon our arrival at the party that nearly everyone present, most of whom were missionaries, were dressed formally. On the way home this friend confided to me how uncomfortable and out of place he had felt in his informal western suit. He had formerly concluded that if he was to rise in the mission system he would have to conform as completely as possible to missionary standards. Accordingly he determined to purchase some evening clothes at once. Now I knew that this man could not afford such a luxury, for the price of tuxedos in India is exorbitant, because of the small demand. Also his salary was very small, in spite of the fact that he was the head of the English Department. Moreover, he had serious and considerable sickness in his family. Evening clothes would have represented a terrible and needless sacrifice.

As months passed I felt increasingly that clothes constituted one of the barriers to effective service by missionaries in India. I was continually conscious that my western suits caused the average Indian to place me in the same category with the none too popular white rulers of his country. Perfectly frank written statements of Gandhi and other leading Indians confirmed my feeling. Also I observed that the few westerners, mainly Englishmen but a few Americans, who had adopted Indian dress seemed to have won the respect, love and confidence of Indians to a marked degree. These considerations finally caused me to abandon western dress completely

and to use Indian. I was not disappointed in the result. But, I must regretfully add, this action evoked no sympathetic response or imitation from my missionary colleagues. I am afraid I became, in their minds, more of a freak, or menace, than ever.

THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.*

(By B. G. KHER.)

I have all along been under the impression—and it is, I believe, the impression of many—that the Co-operative movement in this country is too much under the leading strings of Government officers to encourage participation by public workers independent or intolerant of official connection. This is perhaps one of the reasons why it has not taken root in the soil. I am sure as the movement grows more and more independent of official interference, it will serve the true purpose for which it was inaugurated better. Co-operation is the voluntary organisation of persons, who associate on equal terms for the satisfaction of their common economic needs. There is no place in it for outside bossing—otherwise it will not grow.

We have met to consider a number of important problems and the application to their solution of co-operative methods. The appalling poverty of our countrymen with their average *per capita* annual income of about Rs. 40/—, the miserable plight of our cultivators and their ever-growing indebtedness, the gradual disappearance of hundreds of small industries and crafts which enabled a number of people to earn their living, the capture of the bulk of our trade and commerce by foreign interests, the very unsatisfactory conditions of labour in such manufactures as we possess, the growing unemployment among educated and uneducated alike, these are questions, which have engaged the attention of our public workers for a very long time without any visible approach to their solution, so that many have now come to believe that they are impossible of solution unless and until there is thorough overhauling of our political, social and economic order of things. In this Conference, we shall try to consider how far conditions can be improved by the application of the co-operative method.

India has now been "been reduced from the state of a manufacturing to that of an agricultural country." Nearly eleven crores out of our earning population of twelve and a half crores earn their living from agriculture and they are at present heavily indebted—the total amount of indebtedness being nearly 900 crores. Our first Co-operative measure, the Act of 1904 was specially intended for their benefit but even then their indebtedness was so great that the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale remarked in his speech on the Bill: "The first thing that strikes me on a consideration of the whole question is that there is no provision in the proposed scheme for a preliminary liquidation of the existing debts of those, who wish to avail themselves of the opportunity now offered, to improve their position."

Mr. Gokhale then divided the cultivators into 3 classes: (1) those who were free from debt, (2) those who were not hopelessly involved and were trying to keep their head above water, and (3) those who were hopelessly involved. Even in 1904, the first class was negligible. What has been the effect of the last 32 years on the second class? I believe it will not be an exaggeration to say that they have completely merged into the third. Mr. Gokhale had suggested a preliminary liquidation of their debts and quoted the Government of India as having recognised the need for this as early as 1884.

* Extracts from Presidential Address to Bombay Suburban Cooperative Conference, June 21 1936.

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The Co-operative Credit Societies in India supply only about 7 per cent of current credit and they have not supplanted the money-lender but only supplemented him. Unable to repay his dues to the Credit Society, the farmer, in order to save his "Abroo," goes again to his "Sahukar" and borrows at any high rate of interest. If redemption is impossible, repudiation will be the result. This problem must receive immediate attention.

Co-operative consumers' Societies, Co-operative Dairy farming, small industries carried on on the co-operative basis can do a great deal for the promotion of Swadeshi in its broadest sense and are sure to benefit the country economically. The Banking Inquiry Committee has mentioned nearly 61 small industries which, in its opinion, can be carried on a small organised factory basis or by individual artisans and co-operative enterprise can undertake some of them without much difficulty. They were at one time in a flourishing condition. We can again revive them.

In this District, Poultry and Dairy farming will have special facilities and advantages. One specially important phase of scientific marketing is that relating to the sale of milk. The British farmer gains more from the sale of whole milk than he does from converting the cream from it into butter. The difficulties in this line that will have to be tackled are numerous. The utter ignorance and callousness of persons now engaged in this occupation to all considerations of hygiene and sanitation, their reluctance to tolerate any suggestions for improvement, the transport difficulty, the marketing difficulty are only some of them. Co-operative dairying has been in existence in England for over 80 years. The most distant part from which milk has been brought to London is 513 miles and the bulk of the milk supply comes from within a radius of 40 to 100 miles. This is how the Railway Companies helped. "In addition to putting their milk rates and charges on a uniform basis, the leading companies greatly improved their milk train services, opening branch lines for Sunday traffic, constructing special milk vans on framework similar to that of the best passenger rolling stock, concentrating milk from specified districts at suitable junction stations and carrying it thence in special and often non-stop milk specials run at a speed of over 40 miles an hour, and setting apart, more especially at London stations, certain lines with platform and approach road, exclusively for milk traffic."

In the Chapter on "How Co-operation can help" we find the following:—

1. Establishing closer relations between producer and retailers;
2. Setting up central depots at which by means of the most perfect machinery, the milk can be subjected to cleansing and proper cooling before being despatched by train.
3. Regulating the quantities of milk sent to the towns in order to avoid any fall in prices owing to the supplies forwarded being in excess of the demand.
4. Retaining the surplus and converting it into cheese or some other marketable commodity, thus not only avoiding a fall in prices for the milk but ensuring additional profits in other directions.
5. Opening up possibilities of a further resort to co-operation by the joint purchase of feeding stuff fertilisers, and other requirements, and
6. Encouraging the keeping of the cows by small holders, as is the case on the Continent, there being good reason for expecting that with co-operative marketing of the produce, the cow may become the mainstay of the small holder.

I will not try your patience by going into similar details about eggs and poultry. But here again there is a wonderful field for operation. I have seen some poultry farms run by individual enterprise and there is no question but that the occupation will be very remunerative if properly carried on.

I find that you propose to consider the question of village industries. Mahatma Gandhi has already given a great impetus to this movement and the All India Village Industries Association is engaged in valuable research and investigation—the result of which will no doubt be of great assistance to all.

Co-operative Housing Societies are of great assistance to the middle-class house-owner. There are many Societies in the City and the Suburbs also in Ahmedabad and many other places which show the advantages of co-operation in the matter of building houses. The amount of money that has been invested in Building Societies in England is tremendous. Co-operation, I believe, is likely to be very successful in the matter of housing and as the demand for decent houses increase, this activity is bound to flourish.

During the last six or seven years, women have been taking a prominent part in all our public affairs. If they turn their attention to Co-operative activities in the nature of starting stores of and organising the Co-operative movement in the country, I think the movement will be greatly benefitted. May I appeal to the ladies present here to take keener interest in the movement in future?

There is one more question to which I wish to refer before concluding and that is the formation of a Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank for the Suburbs, Thana and Colaba. Of course no one will oppose such a measure. The principal object of a Land Mortgage Bank are: (1) the redemption of the land and houses of agriculturists, (2) the liquidation of their old debts, and (3) the financing of costly agricultural improvements either in houses, methods of cultivation or otherwise.

I have already indicated my own views about agricultural indebtedness. But perhaps being a Congressman, my views may be considered extremely biased. In a meeting held recently at Nasik Mr. B. V. Jadhav, our Ex-Minister, is reported to have expressed the view that Land-Mortgage Banks can help very little and that more drastic remedies are called for if real help is to be given to the Agriculturists. I think the State must first undertake the liquidation of all old debts in a certain number of years, if any relief is to reach the suffering cultivators at all. If we are a country mainly populated by agriculturists and subsisting on agriculture, our Government must be run mainly in the interests of the Agriculturist, but as it happens, it is the Agriculturist, who is being exploited by all.

Situated as we are in this City of Bombay, the thing all of us can easily do is to try and spread the light of knowledge of every kind amongst our more ignorant countrymen. We can do a good deal of propaganda. We can make available to our Agriculturists in their own language a great deal of knowledge and information, about their occupation, improved methods of production and of marketing—we can help in the spread of literacy by simple methods—we can teach them to be vocal, to refuse to be exploited. Publicity and propaganda are mighty weapons which your Conference can resolve to utilise: "In human Society, improvement that is worth the name is never affected by one set of people forcing their ideas down the throat of another set. All improvements take place by consent, by men seeing eye to eye believing in common and acting together in good faith and mutual loyalty for the given end. This loyal and continuous consent can never be

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obtained on a large scale except in communities, whose members as human beings are on good terms with one another, respect one another, trust one another, believe in each other's good intentions, and take a generous view of each other's merits and demerits."

If this is true and I believe it is, there is enough work out for us to proceed in our search for a better and a happier world.

SIKHISM A UNIVERSAL RELIGION.

(BY NARAIN SINGH.)

As a modern universal religion Sikhism is unique in itself. Its foundation stone rests on sincere devotion and universal brotherhood. In northern India it is a spiritual brotherhood which is known for the simplicity of its teachings and the purity of its faith. It is believed that the Divine inspiration which is its fountain head is distinctly impressive, and soul-penetrating, and produces its effect of purity at once. This is because of the deep-going simplicity of its language and its sublime literature. These essential factors are nothing but Divine and Spiritual from one end to the other. The great peculiarity of it is that once the music of Love enters the devout heart, the appeal to the sublime spirit is irresistible and immediate.

The essence of this religion, and spiritual society of universal brotherhood was first revealed by Guru Nanak. This inspiration first originated from the Punjab, from a place called Talwandi, in the Lahore District. The spirituality of worship, devotion of its followers and the purity of its doctrine had such a powerful and charming effect in them that Nanak's teachings spread all round, and had the force of an irresistible penetration in the human heart. They have always the immediate effect of raising the slumbering soul to the Divine and heavenly heights, in spite of everything else. They give the charm of sweetness to the craving and hungry heart. They point out to the heart, by means of a true revelation, the charming reality that heart is simply dying without that Divine Love which is the indispensable food for the heart to live and grow on. They show to it also the sublime method of worshipping that True Love which nourishes humanity and strengthens brotherly relations between man and man.

In the sublime Sikh scriptures the whole of the Divine Philosophy is reduced ultimately to the Supreme Being whose grandeur and the highest glory of Love is illustrated through the common working of the ordinary phases of human living. The relationship between the father and his son, between the husband and his beloved consort, are taken to exemplify and show to humanity what exactly ought to be the spiritual relationship between the mortal creature and his creator. The doctrine, in itself a philosophic discourse of lengthy and intricate proportions elsewhere, is most delightfully dealt with in the beautiful poetry of our scriptures.

There is nothing much of the possibility of ambiguity, equivocation or mystery anywhere throughout the teachings of this great religion, which seem to have been revealed by the Supernatural Being for the elevation of the modern age.

Like other religions in India, of our times, its aim has been to reduce the deep philosophy, and its difficult dogma, to as much of a simplicity as could benefit the modern easy-going man of the present age. All inexplicable points which baffled the human understanding, and were likely to lead us astray, have been simplified and put before us in as easy and clear a form as it was possible to be done.

Hindu philosophy, with all its mixed up essential details, has always been believed to be an ocean which it was not at all possible for every one to dive in to get the pearl of virtue or research in hand. Here in the Sikh philosophy, in a gloriously easy form, everything has been put clearly before the follower of the religion for him to solve the problem of his salvation in the right way.

It is an epitome or abstract of almost all the Hindu scriptures which were most difficult of understanding on account of the difficulty of language and of the great dearth of easily accessible literature. What is believed to have been enshrined in the unfathomable depths of the deep ocean of the original Hindu philosophy which seems to have receded beyond the reach of the modern humanity, is now revealed in the Sikh scriptures so that the same benefit may be derived after an easier and more acceptable effort.

The greatest beauty of our Sikh teachings lies in the choice made of the language in which the philosophy of the life and death of man is preached. The language of the Sikh poetry and its entire music is not always the Punjabi language of the land of the five rivers alone. But it is what may be called by the only suitable name of Brijbhasha. It is believed that the language of the sacred books of the Sikhs can easily be understood, as it is, throughout the greater portions of India. For instance, the U. P., Punjab, greater portion of the C. P., Sindh, N. W. F. P., and in many other parts of the country this language of the Granth Sahib is not very difficult to follow. At least, it is not so difficult to follow as that of the unapproachable treasures of the Sanskrit scriptures in which the old Hindu books deal with their teachings for the uplift of the adherents of the Hindu religion.

The universality, the extreme sublimity and the simplicity of the Sikh teachings for preaching their spirituality, in its most pure form for the benefit of man, is seen from the fact that inspiration, in its pristine purity, has been derived from different philosophies of contemporary religions. Islam has naturally contributed a lot for the clearer exposition of the details of spiritual points,—on a universal basis.

This fraternity, in itself, is not a small factor in proving the universality of Sikhism. For instance, what is common in the two has been beautifully brought to light in the same sweet form of musical song in the very words of the saints of those religions, and spiritual professions. There is quite a large number of poems in Persian which have been included. Contributions, in their own original form, from Mohammedan saints, and saints of the depressed classes of those days, under their own names, have been freely and reverently admitted into the portals of the sacred scriptural verse of our sublime Sikhism for the edification of man, and for his ultimate freedom from the trammels and tortures of the human life. Here the straightest path to the salvation of the long suffering human soul has been clearly shown for it to get rid of its hereditary vice and evil doings.

There is, however, one aspect of the rigidity of formalism linked to the spirituality of this religion which has at certain places seemed to form a deep ditch of difference of opinion. Some people think it to have marred its universality by restricting its growth rather in a narrower sphere. But, if one were to attach the same sanctity to this outward ceremonious formalism as is generally attached to so many other important phases of our life, there is nothing much that could be said about it. It may, in the ordinary sense, be looked upon as merely a badge of distinction just as the Hindu tuft was, or is, for the members of the Hindu community of a



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certain type. All the same, if it is viewed in a liberal sense, and then hedged round by narrower considerations, the true essence of the universality falls a little bit under the cloud and loses its charm to a great extent. Besides, such old fashioned ceremonialism and communalism is altogether incompatible with the rush of the advancing tide of modern trend of thought and its easy-going methods.

AMERICA FACES THE EAST.

(By WALTER BROOKS FOLEY.)

Japan is a beautiful country to look at. The islands of the Inland Sea are charming when seen by sunlight or moonlight. The greens of the rugged volcanic hills meet the blue green of the sea. The fishing boats scud before the breeze or lie at anchor in tiny harbours.

The great modern cities of Yokohama and Kobe and Tokyo and Osaka are indications of how western industrialism has conquered much of the country. Yet the arched electric street lights in the shopping section of Kobe, made as they are like hanging lanterns, indicate that just below the industrialized surface the art and beauty of the country are still at work.

A visit to Kyoto, an interior city of palaces and Buddhist temples, of weirdly trimmed evergreens, of Shinto lanterns and red-lacquered torii, is stimulus enough to bring memories of splendid parks and the lights of the surrounding hills appearing after dark.

Our friends sat with us in the Roof Garden of the Hotel with its carefully worked-out service for guests with western tastes and we found ourselves in a veritable fairyland. The exquisite red lacquer tea-pot we brought away with us is a constant reminder of our time spent in Kyoto.

In the background of every landscape painting and in the lacquer, china and carving of the Japanese people is the actual or suggested outline of Fujiyama, the sacred mountain. It is beautiful whether seen by sea or by land. A picture of it travels with us wherever we go.

Japan is a land of beauty if one can think only in such terms as we have suggested. But Japan is not attracting world-wide attention today because of the beauty of her national landscape.

MILITARISTIC JAPAN.

Japan has always been like many western countries in her attitude of reverence for the soldier, the warrior. Until about 1867 the country was divided and sub-divided in many political sections. But the place of the soldier, the knight, the ronin, the samurai was always high.

So when Japan came to shift from feudalism to a national state it merely meant that the loyalty of the soldier was transferred to a larger political unit. One of the divisions assumed the leadership and maintained it by force as well as diplomacy.

The Japanese people have always had their personal liberty restricted. One reason for the exquisite Japanese art is that in the field of art the people had a chance for self-expression which they did not have in politics or economics or social relations.

The political loyalty of the people was made practically synonymous with a religious ancestor-emperor worship. The emotions of the people were keyed to this tune and have remained so to this day. The combination of nationalistic loyalty and religious devotions makes it comparatively easy for the small

group back of the emperor to manipulate the affairs of the country. This is done through the army and navy, which though seeming to have minds of their own are a part of the authoritarian system still in control of the nation.

A Filipino friend of mine just returned from Japan gave us one impression of that country the fact that so many thousands were in uniform from boys and girls to adults.

Paying respect to the emperor has come to be a method of enforcing military discipline on the entire population.

EXPANDING JAPAN.

Japan is definitely controlled at present by the idea that she is the leader of Asia. No matter what group of Japanese citizens one talks with the same sentiment is expressed.

One would have no particular objection to the idea if it were based on moral and ethical principles. But the Japanese method—similar to the European method—of proving superiority is to take possession of other countries by military and naval force. Her doctrine of approval of the soldier of feudal times has fitted in very well with the western emphasis on the power of the sword as a basic means of settling disputes.

The military expansion has been linked with commercial developments. Industry has been the handmaiden of the emphasis on controlling the Asiatic sector of the planet. The march of the Japanese armies southward into China has gone hand in hand with smuggling of Japanese goods into the country without paying any customs and without regard for the integrity of China.

The expanding of Japan is not for the purpose of settling millions of Japanese in the other countries. That has not been done and will not be done. It is for the purpose of satisfying the grandiose schemes of Asiatic dominion and also of providing natural resources for the industrial life of the Empire. The population of Japan began to increase rapidly with the development of industry.

There are times when one could wish Perry had never insisted on opening Japanese ports to trade!

CHINA WILL WIN.

Japan may seem to swallow China economically and politically. But when the final pages of that chapter of history are written Japan will be only a province of the great Chinese Republic of the future.

Japan is only following, in exaggerated fashion, the practice of England and France and Germany and other countries in regard to China. We must not forget that England fought a war with China to force China to buy opium, or that the United States has warships on the Chinese rivers! Why? For the good of China? Not exactly! For the sake of trade. For the sake of controlling the life of China in the interest of western nations.

Now, when western nations are otherwise occupied with their disastrous militaristic policies and antipathies, Japan is making the same mistake. And she will lose. China will win unless she, too, comes to believe that military power is the final resort in human relations.

We ought to get into our thinking the idea that militarism emphasizes destruction, while what Japan and all the rest of us need is construction. We can't go on dealing in death and expect life as a result. Japan in dealing out death will destroy, in the end, not other countries, but herself.

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THE GERMAN'S VACATION.

(BY PROFESSOR DR. RAUECKER.)

From the 1935 annual report of the Savings Banks and Bankers Association (Sparkassen-und Giroverband), which is the central organization of German Savings Banks, it can be seen that even during the darkest days of the economic depression in 1932, the amount of monthly deposits never sank below 330 million marks. In 1933, with the revival of confidence in the nation's political leadership, and a renewed recovery in business, the monthly deposits in savings accounts rose to between 370 and 438 millions. In 1935, they fluctuated between 392 and 664 millions. The peak figure of annual savings deposits was reached in 1934 with 5,660,000,000 marks, as against 4,700,000,000 in 1932, 5,070,000,000 in 1933, and 5,580,000,000 in 1935. Here must be taken into consideration that the trifling decline in deposits in 1935 was more than offset by the very marked decline in payments during that year. The total amount drawn out of savings accounts in 1935 was 5,080,000,000 or considerably less than the deposits, and this is the decisive factor in determining the saving propensity of any community.

The report of the Savings Banks and Bankers Association also refutes the myth—and is not here, perhaps, the wish father to the thought?—of the exploitation of the German workman. It is, often a fact that on the average more savings have been accumulated in the rural districts in the Eastern, Northern and Southern parts of the Reich. But even in the industrial regions of Central Germany, where the population is largely composed of factory labourers, the average of savings is high. Another, and no less convincing, proof that the German labourer has set aside a certain proportion of his earnings, is the increase in what is called the "travel savings," or the weekly or monthly sums deposited with the "Labour Front" organization, which gives the labourer or employee the right to participate in a vacation trip arranged by the national organization, "Kraft durch Freude". The amount of money saved through this medium and for this purpose reached the total of 3,200,000 marks the first year the organization was in operation. Apart from the advantages gained, this system also prevents the thrifty workman from drawing his vacation money and spending his vacation time making money "on the side." For this form of savings can only be applied for the actual expenses of a holiday.

It is also an interesting fact, recently confirmed by the International Labour Bureau, that of all the labourers in the world who have a legal right to an annual vacation, more than 50% are German labourers. This high percentage is liable to be still higher when the "Kraft durch Freude" organization has completed its scheme of vacation schedules. This scheme was the subject-matter of the proceedings at the annual meeting of the organization in November 1935, when a so-called "three year plan" was announced in the following form: The keels of two 15,000 ton ships have already been laid, and a third, of 22,000 tons has been ordered. The lodging accommodations in the several Provincial Recreation Homes has been doubled by the addition of 30,000 beds. By 1938, the first of five seashore resorts at Lins on the island of Ruegen, built to accommodate 20,000 persons, will be completed. This enterprise has furnished the architects and contractors with a novel problem. As the length of sojourn of each individual is tentatively fixed at one week, so that arrangements must be made for the arrival, housing, feeding, amusement, and departure of about 400,000 guests annually, the problems of transportation and provisioning and the way in which they

will be solved will undoubtedly be of great interest to those concerned with similar problems in other countries.

For after all, the plans, arrangements, and general functions now being put into effect by "Kraft durch Freude" do not constitute an enterprise which should be considered as being limited to Germany. The fundamental social idea, not only to secure for the less well-to-do labourer the legal right to a vacation, but also to give him the opportunity to spend such vacation to his best advantage, is one which must appeal strongly to many industrial nations to-day. Its realisation embodies the surest and most successful means of reconciling the working man with present-day industrial conditions.

CASTE AND INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS.

(By C. A. PHADKAR.)

The caste system is a negation of the beneficial principle of equality and injures the higher as well as the lower castes. It breeds in the former a false and distorted sense of superiority and in the latter a mental attitude fatal to the development of self-respect. An extreme example of this is offered by the depressed and the untouchable classes, who are subjected to unheard of humiliation and to many disabilities not only social but also economic. The unfortunate victim of this system is constantly a loser in ordinary commercial operations through his inability to enter a shop or even to pass through streets where shop-keepers dwell.

The influence of Western thought and the introduction of so much of the modern machinery of civilisation like railways etc. is tending in some measure to break down the barriers of caste. Owing to the linking up of the village with the outside world and the growth of trade and modern industry an increasing number of people have begun to find it advantageous to give up their old traditional occupations and seek employment in the new mills, mines and workshops. With the growth of commerce and introduction of machinery in production the old social organisation has become unsuitable and is bound to be subordinated to the exigencies of economic life.

Western education and culture, university and college life where the low caste man rubs shoulders with the high caste man, the growth of large towns, the influence of the ruling race, the development of spirit of scepticism are all undermining the spirit of caste exclusiveness. While reducing amongst the higher classes the inclination to insist on their privileges they are making the lower classes less disposed to admit without question the superior status of the higher castes. Again, there is now only one law applicable without distinction to high and low caste and the state no longer encourages the pretensions of the higher classes, nor does it favour their admission to the superior posts in government service. On the contrary appointments are now preferably given to the lower castes and a sort of inverted caste system is being introduced. The lower castes are becoming more self-conscious and alive to the necessity of removing their old disabilities by concerted communal action. Various Hindu political leaders have started a "crusade" against the caste system and Mahatma Gandhi has initiated a movement particularly directed towards the removal of the curse of untouchability.

In spite of all this, however, it would be a mistake to suppose that the caste system is moribund. Unfortunately, it still holds its sway in practically unabated strength. We have referred above to the general awakening among the lower castes and although this is a welcome development in many



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ways, in practice it is often seen that devotion to one's caste means a fanatical hatred of the superior castes and much energy is thus being wasted in feeding fat the ancient grudge against the higher castes. The new rights conferred on the people by the reform are not infrequently misused for fostering narrow sectional interests to the neglect of the wider national interests and the various castes with their improved organisation and strengthened self consciousness are made to serve as a ready-made system of standing political causes. While the different castes are giving free vent to their grievances against the caste higher up they are generally not prepared to treat on terms of perfect equality the castes lower than themselves in the social scale.

(Concluded.)

ITALY IN ETHIOPIA.

The Royal Consul-General for Italy in Calcutta has issued the following:

ADDIS ABABA: The Viceroy has issued a proclamation raising the dignity and status of women as mothers and wives, declaring that women should not have to descend from horses and vehicles, when they meet the motor-car of the Viceroy.

The Economic Commission of the Empire has started its work. The tribunals in the city's sectors are regularly functioning and the Bank of Italy is carrying out all banking operations from the 16th instant. Representatives of various confederations and of big Italian commercial concerns have arrived at Addis Ababa.

Home newspapers are already being sold and very soon the first Italian library will be inaugurated. The working of hotels, restaurants and public resorts has been regulated. Sanitary measures have been taken in respect of animals and of the slaughter of animals. Arrangements have been made for controlling the conditions of consumable articles. Constructions of buildings are in full swing.

The express Marconigraph Service between Addis Ababa and Rome has commenced.

Submissions of Shoa chiefs are proceeding. The organisation of the Empire has so far touched the military problems, the administrative organisation, the development of roads, the study of the resources of the soil and the sub-soil, the commercial possibilities, judicial and religious arrangements, the health of the population, schools and buildings.

The activity of the Fascio of Addis Ababa upto now is summarised in the opening of Italian schools with 1,000 students, the institution of the Ethiopian Youth of Littorio with 1,000 native boys, and the foundation of the Institute of Culture.

A Commission has been appointed for studying the economic and financial reconstruction of Ethiopia, for the speedy and disciplined exploitation and enrichment of the territory. At present 80 per cent of the wealth of Ethiopia has not been exploited and the remaining 20 per cent has only been exploited in a preliminary form.

A decree has been issued prohibiting the export of foreign money. The same decree further states that owners of foreign bonds and securities are bound to declare them. This law applies only to Italian citizens and to the colonial subjects.

ROME: The Duce has laid down that all offers in money from private persons or institutions for the celebration of the foundation of the Empire should be allotted to charitable institutions and to the support of summer colonies for children.

RACE RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

A survey of race relations in South Africa during 1935 by J. D. Rheinalt Jones, Secretary of the South African Institute of Race Relations, is published in *Race Relations* (Johannesburg, South Africa), official journal of the Institute. During the year public attention has been drawn to cases of assaults by Europeans on non-Europeans. There are no statistics available to indicate whether these are increasing or not. But there is "a sounder public opinion on such matters," and some of these cases have shocked a large portion of the public. In certain sections "the relations between the police and sections of the non-European public are very strained," with the result that there are assaults by the police on the Non-Europeans and by them on the police. Stock theft by natives is a frequent cause of racial friction, but a magistrate has commented that the first step in the protection of stock is for farmers to "pay their natives a decent wage and see that they are properly fed."

The treatment of natives by the courts has roused complaints that the sentences imposed on natives are out of proportion to the offense and to those imposed on Europeans for similar offenses. For instance, a European convicted of four assaults on natives was fined in all £15 with an alternative of two months and 24 days' imprisonment. The fine was paid. But a native convicted of stealing a fowl was sentenced to two months' imprisonment and eight strokes of the cane!

The "colour bar" is another important question. It is said that non-Europeans are allowed, "at the discretion of the chief steward," to enter the dining saloons on railroad trains "for the purpose of obtaining meals after all Europeans are served." In Johannesburg an effort was made to prevent the erection of a church "unless the Bishop inserted a clause in the trust deed prohibiting the use of the church by non-Europeans." In the same city there is an ordinance which forbids European women to attend dances "in premises licensed for the entertainment of non-Europeans." The appointment of a Zulu poet as assistant in the Department of Bantu Studies in the University of the Witwatersrand was opposed as indicating "a policy of social equality" and as "a danger to the safety and welfare of the students." Legislation to prevent intermarriage has been proposed, although in some sections of the country there is an effective bar since there is no legal provisions for interracial marriages. The most frequent cause of racial feeling is the employment of Europeans by non-Europeans, usually Indians.

The problems of harmonizing the economic interests of whites and natives is, of course, particularly serious. But the need for it is being "more generally realized. The permanence in our urban areas of large numbers of whites who have migrated there from rural areas is being recognized, as well as the necessity for ensuring that they have permanent employment under conditions which will enable them to live decently. Similarly, it is more generally admitted that the non-European who is a permanent town dweller needs, for the maintenance of a decent civilized life, at least the minimum wage and living conditions which the white worker requires. While the approximation of white and non-white living standards in urban areas is becoming steadily closer, both groups are seriously handicapped by the low wages which native seasonal and temporary labour from the Reserves earns in urban areas."

It is interesting to note that "in remote Native Reserves the [Abyssinian] War is a topic of conversation and the cause of anxious concern for the fate of what is regarded as a native state."



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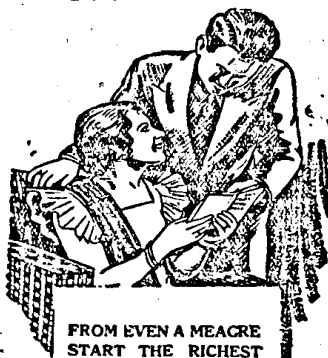
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Indus Valley Culture:—Dr. Charles L. Fabri, the Hungarian archaeologist, has been appointed by the Government of India to classify and catalogue the finds of Mohenjo Daro. Dr. Fabri, it would seem, is unacquainted with the progress made already in solving the problems arising out of these finds. He told a Karachi audience last month that at present we had not the faintest idea as to what race they, the people of Mohenjo Daro, were, if they belonged to any race at all, what was their religion, what were their customs. Their script, he added, had not yet been deciphered. The *New Review*, which, by the way, has been maintaining a high standard of scholarship since it was started two years ago, publishes in its current issue an exceedingly interesting paper by the Rev. Father Heras entitled "Light on the Mohenjo Daro Riddle." The script he calls proto-Dravidian, parent of the two Brahmi scripts North and South, of India. The Tamil script is the Mohenjo Daro script directly continued and developed by the people of South India. The Brahmi script of the Asoka inscriptions is the same script as developed by the Aryans. However that may be, the words which Father Heras cites as from the finds, are several of them in common use in Tamil. Some words have dropped from Tamil but are found in Telugu and Kanarese. The inscription on the Mohenjo Daro seal, number 321, which Father Heras transcribes, sounds like a verse taken from the oldest Tamil classic extant, the *Kural*, both as regards words and metre. Not only the words but the construction of phrases in proto-Dravidian is identical with that in Tamil. Surely, the people of this buried city were of the same race and language as the people of the Tamil land. Then, as regards religion, they were surely worshippers of Shiva. Three or four words reproduced in Father Heras' article are names of Shiva, *Mun-tan*, the three eyed. Dr. Fabri said that in the Vedas they speak of horses which were unknown in Mohenjo Daro.

But Father Heras reproduces from one of the seals the picture of a dog (*nai* in proto-Dravidian as in current Tamil) and the horse and the dog were domesticated at about the same stage of human civilisation. Further finds will disprove Dr. Fabri's conclusion that the horse was unknown in Mohenjo Daro. Sind from ancient times, was the country from which the best horses were imported into other parts of the country. Sindhu horses of noble breed are praised in the *Chammapada*. What is more, the Vedas themselves refer to horses from Sind as of special value. (*Vedic Index*, Vol. I page 43). Father Heras with one or two South Indian scholars would have been a more appropriate choice to catalogue these finds than this Hungarian scholar of Sumerian reputation.

Indian Science Institute:—The *Times of India* published on Tuesday what purported to be a summary of recommendations of the Council of the Indian Science Institute at Bangalore, based on those of the statutory Quinquennial Committee which reviewed the work of the Institute some months back. The alterations now proposed, according to the *Times* summary, will make it clear once for all that the Institute should concentrate mainly on scientific research applied to the immediate industrial needs of the country. It is sought, thus to correct, it added, the over-emphasis on Physics and Mathematics and generally for abstract research which, it is alleged, has been the policy of the present Director, Sir C. V. Raman. If this is really the purpose of the Council's recommendations, it will be regarded as an extremely retrograde step in the scientific world. Not long ago a manifesto signed by leading British scientists was issued protesting against the tendency to subordinate Science to Industry. The aim of Science is to enlarge human knowledge. Incidentally, its discoveries have been applied to develop industries including the armaments industry. No true scientist will agree to substitute for the pursuit of Truth which is the sole aim of Science, any ideal which makes it subservient to other ends. Sir C. V. Raman at the Science Congress held in Bombay some months ago stressed this point, as against Lord Brabourne who in his opening speech had advocated the cause of applied Science. It can be easily shown that even from the point of view of Industries, the maximum benefit accrues in the long run from the labours of pure researchers. The statement that the recommendations



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are intended to reverse the policy of the present Director, Sir. C. V. Raman, smacks of propaganda. It was somewhat of a surprise that he, with his passion for pure science, should have tied himself down for a period of years to a position involving much work of an administrative character. The recommendations of the Council so far as they relieve him of this distraction are to be welcomed. It is also well that each Professor should be free to work on his own lines without interference from the Director or Council. What is objectionable is that Science in the Institute should be made the handmaid of Industries. If and so far as this is done, the Institute will cease to rank among the great centres for the advancement of knowledge. This was certainly not the object of the far-seeing Founder of the Institute, Jamshedjee Tata, or of Burjorji Padshah who conceived the idea and laboured hard to give it shape and form.

Congress and the Elections :—Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel speaking at a meeting at Congress House this week, asked the country to return Congressmen at the next elections to the reformed Provincial Legislatures in such numbers that they would exceed the strength of all other parties. He suggested that this would enable them to refuse, to take office without incurring the gibe that their action is dictated by necessity. This is certainly an ingenious way of appealing to the large section of opinion in the country which is opposed to Congressmen or others who have condemned the Reforms as unworkable, taking office under the scheme. But we doubt if it will catch. The position of the Congress in the country, nobody can know better than the Sardar, is not what it was at the last election to the Legislative Assembly. This is due to many causes. The Congress members of the Assembly have not acted uniformly as men with a definite and serious purpose. There has been too much of Government baiting merely as a pastime. Such lapses from ordinary courtesy as not getting up when a message is read from the Viceroy or even when he addressed the Legislature in his official capacity, do not impress the public as essential or helpful to the transaction of public business. There has been too much diffusion and too little concentration in the proceedings of the Congress rank and file in the Assembly. Singleness of purpose has been conspicuous by its absence. The strength of the Party has been wasted in skirmishes and the battle line has often presented inexplicable distortions. The fact that many of the members had gone to prison, which had a great influence at the last election, no longer commands the same amount of it. Also, the uncalled for personal attacks on leading men who do not worship in the Congress pavilion, at a time when every effort should be made to soften asperities and invite co-operation on the principle that those who are not against us are with us, has also affected public opinion to the detriment of some Congress leaders. Babu Rajendra Prasad did his best to promote this end but

he was not sufficiently supported by all his colleagues. The country is in no mood to give a carte blanche to anybody not even to Congressmen. We are not unfriendly to the Congress. We can not think of any other political group at the moment which contains a larger proportion of men and women who have earned the respect of all classes by their spirit of service and sacrifice. If, therefore, we suggest that the Congress leaders should get down from the fence and tell the people what exactly they propose to do if returned in a majority, relative or absolute, it is with no desire to detract from the Sardar's appeal.

The Tenth All-India Women's Conference :—

The Report of the Tenth All-India Women's Conference was held at Trivandram in the closing days of last year and the opening days of this year. We have now before us the report of its proceedings, compiled with great care and printed and got up admirably at the Government Press, Trivandram. The excellence of the report and the promptitude with which it has been issued, are typical of the organising capacity of Indian women. The Women's Conference is remarkable in many other ways also. It is refreshingly free from the taint of communalism, the canker which has a blighting influence on so many men's movements in this country. The one touch of Nature which makes the whole world kin, is, in India at least, concentrated in women. The membership of the Conference as well as its executive is representative of all communities, Christian, Muslim, Parsi, Hindu and Jew. English, Anglo-Indian and Indian women meet here on equal terms—Maharanis, middle class matrons, University graduates, women engaged in the learned professions, doctors, teachers, social workers, politicians, women who had gone to prison for civil disobedience, women who have been decorated by Government for public service, they are all here. Another noteworthy feature of the Women's Movement in India is the total absence of the rancorous attitude affected by feminists in Western lands towards men. Her Highness the Maharani of Travancore in her presidential address made gracious reference to "the innate chivalry of our countrymen, which we must ungrudgingly recognise" as having helped the removal of all political restrictions on account of sex in nearly all provinces, as also the admission of women to the liberal professions. She rightly claimed that "one of the biggest successes of the Conference lies in the promotion of the idea of unity of Indian women" and that "we have successfully fought against the communal and provincial outlook which has been a disquieting feature of public life in India." Even a cursory perusal of the proceedings (conducted in the English language) is enough to impress one with the intelligence, good sense and quick grasp of questions, displayed by all those who took part in the Conference. The report prints at the end all the important resolutions passed at this and previous Conferences, names of delegates and office-bearers at head-quarters as well as



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in the provinces and also a statement showing the sound financial position of the Conference. This report furnishes the readiest means to an understanding of the Indian Women's Movement and should be included in every collection of literature bearing on modern Indian life. It is priced Re. 1-8 and can be had from the office of the Hon. Organising Secretary, Gilchrist Gardens, Chetput, Madras.

Arab Women's Appeal:—As we have repeatedly observed the sympathy of the people of India, irrespective of race or creed, are with the Arabs in Palestine in their struggle against the imminent danger of being overwhelmed by the influx of Europeanised Jews under the aegis of the British mandatory. We have received a copy of a moving appeal by the Arab women of Palestine addressed primarily to British women and generally to women of all countries. In clear terms the women of Palestine declare that they are not fighting against the British mandatory and that they are not financed from any outside agency. They give statistics showing that the number of immigrant Jews has multiplied enormously since the early years of the mandate. If this goes on they fear that their culture and civilisation which to them are as precious as those of the British to Britons are in danger of destruction. The appeal is a dignified, sober, temperate statement of the position and will, we are sure, evoke sympathetic response in those to whom it is addressed. There is one matter in which the appeal is creditably distinguished from the appeals made in India on behalf of the Arabs in Palestine. In India the tendency has been for some Muslim agencies to treat it as a purely Muslim issue. These agencies have, unconsciously it may be, in view to exploit the Palestine question to consolidate Muslim communalism rather than to help the Palestine Arabs in their national struggle.

Mischievous Outburst:—The *Unity* of Chicago is a journal uniformly friendly to India. Its Editor, Dr. John Haynes Holmes is one of the leading religious thinkers of America and a whole-hearted admirer of Gandhiji and his message of non-violence. In America he is generally believed to be in touch with Gandhiji. It is, therefore, with surprise that we read the editorial headed "Gandhi Meets Force Again" in the *Unity* of the 1st June received by last week's mail, which is likely to be taken as authentic. We knew that the allegation that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had declared against non-violence was baseless and we strongly suspected that the remarks quoted as Gandhiji's were also "faked". They are not the sort of language one associates with Gandhiji. For these reasons we felt it necessary to refer the paragraph to Gandhiji. We have received the following categorical contradiction from him. Mahatma Gandhi writes:—"The editorial you have sent me from *Unity* is extraordinary. The views attributed to me and reproduced in inverted commas were never uttered by me, and, what is more, they have

never been held by me. From nothing that I have heard from Jawaharlal's lips have I ever even suspected that he contemplated the use of violence for the attainment of India's independence. It is surprising how Dr. Holmes has allowed himself to be duped into thinking that I had ever made the remarks said to have been made by me."

The Unity Editorial: Here are parts of the *Unity's* paragraph:—The long threatened break between Gandhi and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru seems at last to have come. Elected President of the Indian National Congress at its recent meeting at Lucknow, Nehru came out for the use of violence in the struggle for independence, and is reported to be "planning a movement to shake British rule in India." There can be no personal break between Gandhi and his youthful follower, the Mahatma does not work that way even though he confesses at the movement that his "life work is ruined." Meanwhile, Gandhi has met the situation with utter realism and imperturbable sweetness of temper, also with unshaken confidence in his principles of non-violent resistance. "Not even the firmness and repression of the British government," he says, "have harmed my work as much as the new policy outlined by Jawaharlal Nehru." The sincerity of this utterance may be measured by the fact that Nehru has declared that "our members must fight, and not spin," and seeks an armed revolt of the organized peasantry and trade unions. But when this campaign fails, continues Gandhi, as it will "in two or three years," then Nehru may return, and he will be welcomed. So Gandhi, however much disappointed, serenely bides his time! "When Nehru realizes his mistake, he will find me not only willing to help him," says the Mahatma, "but ready with a new program which will startle Britain even more than did my civil disobedience campaign."

An American Experiment:—We publish this week the first of three articles describing the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The Tennessee Valley is an area which sprawls across parts of seven American States. Two million people inhabit this well-watered region. It is one of the richest tracts, with a temperate climate and well endowed in mineral resources. But the people have been agricultural and forming a colonial society they have been exploited by an economic system which restored nothing to the residents. The Tennessee Valley Authority was started in 1933 (May 18) to develop the potential usefulness of the entire Tennessee River. The immediate good to the United States was the relief of unemployment; nearly fourteen thousand men were put on the vast enterprise. For the future greater prosperity is envisaged for not only the Valley people but for all America through cheaper electricity. It is a vast experiment in State operation of a mammoth hydro-electric undertaking. But it is more than this. It is an attempt to change the lives of two millions who under the past system had been reduced to a form of serfdom. realpatidar.com



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BOMBAY, July 11, 1936.

SHOULD INDIA REMAIN IN THE LEAGUE?

July 4 marked the lowest point in the fall of the League of Nations from the high pedestal on which it was placed when it was inaugurated. The League Assembly adopted a resolution 'closing' the Abyssinian affair. Immediately after, it proceeded to deal with this very affair by voting out two resolutions proposed by the Negus. The first was that the League should not recognise any annexation obtained by force of arms, and the second was a request for a loan of ten millions sterling to enable Ethiopia to carry on her struggle against the Italian invader. Instead of the direct reference which the first resolution might be understood to make to the annexation by Italy of Ethiopia, a resolution confirming one which was adopted four years ago in regard to some quarrel between two South American States, was passed; and this was supposed to cover the annexation of Ethiopia. The object of this round about method appears to be not to give offence to Italy whose presence was desired at the conference about the fortification of the Dardanelles by Turkey two days later. Under Article XVI of the League Covenant "any Member of the League which has violated any covenant of the League may be declared to be no longer a Member of the League." But for such a declaration to be made, all the Members of the Council, except the Covenant-breaker, should concur. Not only was there no possibility of such concurrence, but the Member States were most anxious to keep Italy in the League while condemning its action against Ethiopia. The words in which the late Czecho-Slovakian Foreign Minister, now President of the Republic, Dr. Benes, defined the position of his Government last November, represent that of most others. "Czecho-Slovakia," he said, "is neutral in this question and will remain so: she does not interfere in the actual dispute between Italy and Abyssinia nor will interfere in the future. In so far as she is compelled directly or indirectly to deal with the dispute in any way, she does so solely and exclusively on the basis of decisions made at Geneva by the League of Nations and binding on all members of the League." The present Foreign Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, went further. Speaking before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the National Assembly on May 2th, Dr. Kamil Krofta observed: "We have fulfilled and continue to fulfil the obligations which arise out of our membership of the League of Nations, striving at the same time to maintain not only an absolutely correct but also a friendly attitude towards Italy." Anticipating the suggestion that the unwelcome obligations imposed by membership of the League, should be avoided by giving up membership, Dr. Krofta added: "As

a State which does not desire to, and indeed cannot, surrender the advantages accruing to it from the League of Nations, we could not, of course, allow our actions to deny the principles of collective security and assistance, the application of which we might one day be called upon to ask for ourselves." This, more or less, is the attitude of the European States. Members of the League, including Great Britain, and France the two most important of them.

How does India stand in this matter? The League of Nations can do nothing for her either by way of advancing her political status or by way of improving her economic condition. The Indian delegation has no independent voice on questions coming up for discussion before the League. The Irish Free State delegation, the South African delegation and the New Zealand delegation, could and did express their dissent from the British view about the raising of sanctions at the Assembly meeting last week. The Indian delegation sat tongue-tied although feeling in India is unprecedentedly strong against the aggression of Italy. Occasionally, Indian representatives are permitted to grumble about the sparsity of Indians employed in the League establishments and of the comparatively heavy contribution which India makes to the League's revenue. Otherwise, they have to say ditto to Mr. R. A. Butler. The social and humanitarian side of the League's activities are of relatively little benefit to India. The Labour Conferences make recommendations which often ignore the actual needs of the Indian worker and aim at satisfying imaginary ones. In any case an agency which focusses attention on one aspect—an important one certainly,—without reference to the conditions of industry as a whole, does not help industrial growth. The Indian worker himself would more appreciate an increase of his wages than a reduction in his present hours of work. But the tariff policy of the Government of India is so erratic and is governed by considerations extraneous to the interests to Indian industries, that no steady advance is possible in the direction of increased wages. Recently, they reduced the import duties on cotton goods as the result of the report of a Board appointed to enquire into the demand for enhanced duties from the Indian mill industry! In another social activity of the League, namely, that which has reference to narcotics and deleterious drugs, India's insistent cry regarding the havoc wrought by alcoholic drinks, finds no place. On the other hand the League with its social amenities operates as propaganda for the liquor habit. Indians who by heredity and habit were total abstainers have taken to the wine habit in the League atmosphere. The League propaganda against prostitution, has not been a success. For some years after the War, prostitution in Western countries seemed to have materially diminished. The improvement has not been maintained. A recent investigation in New York City showed that until 1933 the city's prostitution was individualistic with a few 'bookers' operating small



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strings of apartments. Since then it has grown into a powerful organised business with some 200 houses and 1000 girls and profits amounting to over 12 million dollars a year. It may be noted in passing that Prohibition was repealed in 1933. In the light of these facts, it behoves Indian leaders to consider seriously whether this country gains anything by its membership of the League to compensate for the humiliation it suffers from being a silent participant in the cold, calculating decisions which that body is obliged to take in such grave matters as the unprovoked war on Ethiopia by Italy, without the least regard to the moral issues involved.

THE COMMUNAL QUESTION.

Dr. Clifford Manshardt came out to India nearly ten years ago. He has throughout that period participated actively in the social welfare activities of Bombay and he has to a remarkable degree won the confidence and affection of citizens of all communities and opinions. A book by him on any subject might be expected to throw fresh light on the issues involved. His recent publication on the communal question is therefore disappointing. The conclusion of Dr. Manshardt's thesis on "The Hindu-Muslim Problem in India"* that the solution lies through the method of intelligent goodwill, is unexceptionable. In fact, it is so obvious that one wonders whether it was worth while writing 128 pages to support it. And among Indians of all communities, whether intelligent or otherwise, it is as commonplace as the good old maxim that honesty is the best policy. It is possible that our lack of appreciation of this "scientific" study is due to a fundamental difference in temperament between the Occidental and the Asiatic. "Only true scientific discipline," writes Dr. Lin Yutang in 'My Country and My People', "can enable a scientist to take delight in the discovery that an earthworm has a certain protective covering, for it is on the accumulation of such minutely observed facts that science grew from generation to generation to its present magnificent attainments. Without that scientific outlook, and with a large share of humour and common sense, the Chinese must necessarily consider the study and observation of the life of an earthworm or of a gold-fish as beneath the dignity of a scholar." And this applies equally to the Indian. It is surprising when a distinguished social worker puts up five methods for consideration and finally selects as the most useful that which the "instinct," common sense—call it what you will—of the Indian people has long recognised as the only one. Intelligent goodwill, in fact, will not only solve the problem. It will completely exterminate it.

A book, however, should be judged more by what it is than by what it fails to be. Dr. Manshardt has brought to the study of

the communal problem the technique of American social workers and he says as much in his last chapter. But he has unfortunately discarded the experience of the United States in treating of Indian conflicts. One cannot understand, for example how any student of world affairs can quote with complacency Theodore Morison's summing up that "the Hindus and Muslims who inhabit one village, one town, or one district belong to two separate nations more distinct and spiritually farther asunder than two European nations," in 1936. What about the Jew in Europe? How does post-war Europe look on its American residents? Sir Adbur Rahim is quoted as saying that Indian Muslims feel total aliens when they enter the Hindu quarters of a town. There are even, we do not doubt, many Hindus who feel the same way. But does Sir Abdur speak for his co-religionists? His Highness the Aga Khan who as the head of a religious community is able to take a closer view of the problem, has born frequent testimony to the many common interests and sympathies of Hindus and Muslims. And the Census Commissioner gives a direct answer to Morison when he explains the difficulty of distinguishing between Hindu and Muslim castes in Bengal and the Punjab where Muslims are seen in their largest numbers, in Bombay and Madras where they are minorities. "Repugnance to inter-marriage," say Dr. Manshardt, "is another cause of tension." Surely Dr. Manshardt does not seriously maintain that every sect will fight with every other that does not marry into it. Even the West is giving up this primitive conception of marriage as a test of friendship. Dr. Allen Hunter, on the other hand, in "Social Perplexities" states emphatically that, if the American white can be persuaded that the coloured man does not want to marry into his group, much of the difficulty of settling the different races together would disappear. India is used for generations to communities living together without inter-marriage, without even inter-dining, and this can be no true cause of communal tension. Besides, if it were really so, we would be in perpetual strife. Every Hindu girl who married a Hindu man should provoke Muslims to riot and *vice versa*.

But it is not so. Few people have realised how many problems India has in common with the United States. The communal question is one of these. The Hindu Muslim conflict drags on because both communities are equally weak and defenceless against hooliganism, rowdysm and mob-violence. The White-Negro conflict is unequal. Therefore, the tension seems less. The Negro is suppressed and has little hope of winning in a revolt against White America. Therefore lynchings which result in more lynchings but never grow to riots. How many riots have there been in India from 1930 to 1935? Thirty at the most. There were 94 lynchings in the United States, with one-third India's population, between 1930 and 1934, lynchings in which 95 per cent of the Whites of the districts concerned participated.

* Messrs. George Allen & Unwin, price 5 s.



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ed. "During the whole business," writes an eye-witness to one of the incidents, "it was impossible to find a law officer. The whole trouble was they were for the lynching themselves." And how the women supported it. One out of every seven or eight people at the lynching party was a woman. Then they started going around trying to find Negroes to beat up." If the development of political parties in India will solve the communal problem, why do such things happen in the United States where, according to Dr. Manshardt, "Catholics have strong religious sentiments but in political affairs they think in terms of politics?" Even about Catholics the statement is not quite accurate. Did not American Protestants raise the Catholic cry in a presidential election against Al Smith? Dr. Manshardt cites Madras as a province where the party system has displaced communal trouble. If he really believes that he will believe anything in Indian politics. An extension of the Madras Party system would shock Dr. Manshardt out of his present admiration, but it will not solve the communal problem.

Dr. Manshardt, with a caution one is compelled to admire, avoids any criticism which might be interpreted as an attack on the policy of the British in India. But no solution can work which does not take into account the British factor in the communal problem. He traces the history of Hindu-Muslim relations—up to the advent of the British. Discussing political issues, he presents without comment the claim of the Muslim Deputation in 1908 for larger representation than its numbers entitled it to because of political importance; which was accepted by Lord Minto. He makes no criticism of the peculiar Communal Award which preserves both separate electorates and weightages for the Muslim community. "It is the political situation," he says, "which is militating against the improvement of communal improvements in other directions." But he intends this more as a reflection on Indian leaders than a condemnation of State policy. For he does not stop to enquire why here alone where an outside party "holds the ring," there should be discord. In explanation of conditions in the Indian States where communal strife is comparatively absent, he quotes with approval the Simon Commission's conclusion that there was peace because there was little for members of one community to fear from the predominance of the other. Just as in his comparisons with Europe and America, the Jew and the Negro are discreetly kept out, so in India the British contribution to the communal problem is slurred over. There is reason, therefore, for the hope expressed in his preface that other studies may arise out of his which will "really carry this problem along the way to solution." Dr. Manshardt's only justification for rushing into a discussion of this involved subject is the impartiality possible for an outsider. But that he has failed to bring to it. It is not by cautious and timid treatment like this that the communal tangle will be unravelled.

PLANNING FOR SOCIAL WELFARE : A GREAT EXPERIMENT.

The Tennessee Valley Authority was created by an act of Congress of the United States of America, May 18, 1933 and amended August 31, 1935 "for the purpose of maintaining and operating the properties now owned by the United States in the vicinity of Muscle Shoals, Alabama, in the interests of the national defense and for agricultural and industrial development, and to improve navigation in the Tennessee River, and to control the destructive flood waters in the Tennessee River and Mississippi River basins." So begins the second annual report of the Tennessee Valley Authority, a public owned corporation created by Congress at the request of President Roosevelt.

To direct the project, three directors particularly well qualified for such work, were designated; Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, Chairman, who had had a long and remarkable record as a practical and social engineer and as President of Antioch College in Ohio, and who, in addition, was interested in the development of small industries and co-operation; Dr. Harcourt A. Morgan, who, as President of the University of Tennessee, was a recognized authority on soils and agriculture, and an advocate of decentralized industry; and Mr. David E. Lilienthal, a lawyer, specialist in Public Utilities. The three Directors have incorporated as the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The purpose of the Authority is: (1) "Control and proper use of water resources; (2) Conservation and preservation of land resources; and (3) A more wide-spread use of electrical energy." But all this has for its main objective, as all three directors constantly say, "the well-being of the people of the whole area and ultimately of the whole country."

40,600 square miles about the size of the deltaic plain of the Ganges is included in the area, which consists of parts of seven states. The length of the Tennessee River itself, from Knoxville south through Tennessee into Alabama, where it turns abruptly back north to flow again through Tennessee and into Kentucky to empty into the Ohio River (a tributary of the Mississippi River), is 658 miles but with its sources it is over 900 miles.

THE DAMS.

For the control, conservation, and maximum use of water resources of the area, the Tennessee Valley Authority (T. V. A., as it is called) took over preliminary plans already made by U. S. Army engineers, and developed them into an integrated system of dams for the whole valley. Muscle Shoals, now known as Wilson Dam, with its nitrate plants—one of which is now a fertilizer plant—had been built as a war measure. Norris Dam, some 400 miles above Wilson Dam, and Wheeler Dam, only 155 miles above Wilson Dam, had been proposed and their location selected. Construction of the Norris Dam began in October 1933, under the T. V. A. which was also authorized to proceed with the construction of Wheeler Dam. Though the power-house at Norris Dam was not yet finished, it was important to catch the 1936 spring flood waters, and on March 4th, 1936, President Roosevelt, in Washington, touched a golden telegraph-key which gave the signal for the closing of the eight great sluice gates and the impounding of the waters forming the great new Norris Reservoir, with its nearly 800 mile margin and 34,000 acre surface, began. Wheeler Dam, with its 50 feet high lock is substantially ready, and active work on a fourth—Pickwick Landing



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Dam—has been under way since January 1935; Guntersville Dam was started December, 1935 and Chicamauga Dam on January 2, 1936, while six new dam projects were recommended to Congress by a T. V. A. report of March, 1936.

These great dams whose height and length and storage lakes, power houses and fertilizer plant are so impressive, are only part of a planned series of high dams on the main river and storage dams in the deep canons of the tributaries,—a gigantic engineering 100-year long project for the eventual unified water control of the whole area. Obviously this will do much for navigation and flood control, as the great resulting storage dams can help prevent floods by holding back the waters during the wet season and can help navigation by releasing them as needed during dry periods, thereby securing a relatively steady depth of channel and flow of water.

PRELIMINARY WORK.

It is not possible to go into the careful surveying of even the most minute details which was necessary, the tests that had to be made before work could really get started. All engineers would be familiar with many of these technical studies, but, as Dr. A. E. Morgan says, "laymen could not know, for example, that it took a twenty-seven days' test of the rock at the Norris Dam site to discover how strong concrete it would make before deciding whether we should have to build a railroad to bring in sand and gravel from a distance"—they did not need to. Nor would they know, for instance, the research which went into the study of the all-time records for flood possibilities in this country and in Europe,—(as for example, of the Danube near Vienna the flood of 1055 A. D. which was 50% larger than any flood since)—which necessitated a study of even the ring-growths in trees to carry the data about floods of the area back further than the written historical record, so that for all time there need be no question of the Dam's being able to withstand a record-breaking flood.

Moreover, similar thorough research is, of course, preliminary to every step of the work. The concern for "securing the maximum use" of the area demanded that, before the dams could be started, all the wealth of the valley, little as well as great, human as well as economic, should be known, especially in those parts that would be submerged by resulting reservoirs. The whole area consequently has been thoroughly surveyed by airplane, excavations, studies, photographs, tests,—for mineral deposits, natural resources of all kinds, soils, crops, even archaeological and Indian remains, possible sites for agricultural and industrial developments, forests, towns, highways, railroads and bridges that would be flooded and must be replaced and ready, water power for electrical energy, human interests in homes, churches, cemeteries—that all possible values might be conserved and the residue removed, destroyed or burnt lest it should pollute the valley. In all this, the human side was never forgotten. The people living in the areas that would be under water were transferred with gentlest consideration to sites they, themselves, selected under the wise counsel of impartial experts from the University of Tennessee and elsewhere. No one scoffed at the reluctance and regret of those who had lived all their lives, in, perhaps, the very cabins their pioneer ancestors had built in Daniel Boone's time. Even the embers of the fire "brought over the mountains" before the day of matches, were carefully preserved and moved, and the small, scattered cemeteries reverently relocated in the most beautiful spots in the mountains. All this was done in the spirit of

respect for human personality, so characteristic of the Authority, at once so outstanding, so amazing, so all inclusive.

Long-time integrated planning for the good of the area as a whole must, moreover, see to it that never again could a million dollar bridge authorized by one group of officials, be built just above a dam (also authorized by government officials a year or two earlier) which, when completed, will put the bridge under water. There must be co-ordinated planning.

EROSION CONTROL.

But the "conservation and preservation of land resources" called for more than dams and reservoirs. One glance at the muddy, sometimes turbulent, sometimes sluggish, waters of the Tennessee River would suffice to show anyone, even the least informed that dams alone will not be enough. The soil, itself, must, somehow, be kept in place. If you could see the barren, treeless, sharply-sloping mountains, the deep, deep gullies that seam the mountain and hillsides like dreadful crevasses in a glacier, ten, fifteen, twenty feet deep, running from ridge top to valley levels, over range upon range of mountains, you could get some idea of the top soil that goes down to clog and eventually fill up river channels, reservoirs, the dams themselves, or be washed out to sea and forever lost to agriculture. You would realize then why it is that the Tennessee Valley Authority has for its second purpose the conservation and preservation of the land resources, and why it is conducting such an intensive campaign against soil erosion, and inaugurating and recommending the building of "check dams," reforestation, planting of cover crops and terracing.

The hills are alive with "C. C. C. boys" (Civilian Conservation Corps) vigorously building stone or log check dams, making tangled masses of brush and cedar boughs in the gullies which are then seeded over, or better still, under the direction of the expert and able Tennessee Valley Authority Forestry Division, setting out thousands and thousands of young trees. It is a joy to see them, not swelling the ranks of the unemployed but, in their splendid young manhood, tossing off hard and strenuous work as if it were play.

The farmers, too, becoming erosion-conscious, have formed soil conservation clubs and are planting cover crops, particularly of lespedeza, and terracing the land, doing everything to catch and save the precious soil, or letting their farms be used, under the direction of experts from the T. V. A. and some seven Agricultural and Land Grant Colleges, State Universities and their experiment stations, for demonstration purposes for crops, soils, and fertilizer use. Slowly they are learning to change their traditional crops of corn and cotton into something equally good as crops, and not so destructive of land values—land which, even as they use it, they can enrich; learning too, that the earth is a heritage belonging to the race where "owners" are trustees and must so treat their soil their crops, their forests, and help to create an intense and active public sentiment in favour of erosion control. Incidentally, it is said that this programme of natural water storage by sods, leguminous crops and reforestation throughout the area would eventually create a water storage capacity equal to that of the Norris Dam Reservoir itself!

The soil has not only been carried away, but also so exploited that much of its fertility has been lost; hence plant food must be supplied through fertilizers. The nitrate plant built at Muscle Shoals during the War had lain idle for years, during which



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time newer and better ways for making nitrates have been discovered both for war and soil purposes. Even so, the best, quickest and most satisfactory way of putting nitrogen back into the soil, is of course, simply by planting leguminous crops. But plants need also phosphates, potash and lime. Now the Eastern part of Tennessee is peculiarly lacking in phosphates, while other parts of the area are extraordinarily rich in phosphate desposits from prehistoric animal remains. Could these be made available for fertilizers? (The great drawback, of course, was the cost of transportation of the heavy phosphate rock.) The fascinating story of that search and that achievement is embodied in Nitrate Plant Number II at Wilson Dam, now cheaply making and distributing highly concentrated phosphates for experimental purposes, and ever still pursuing at the same time studies for the better and cheaper ways and means of producing more highly concentrated phosphates as well as for the use of potash and lime.

June 10th 1936.

CAROLINE J. PORTER

I WAS A MISSIONARY.

(By G. B. HALSTEAD.)

III

It was the indifference of the missionary group to the injustices of India's foreign rule that became my most disillusioning and disheartening experience. Finally I became convinced that this lack of concern on the part of missionaries for India's political condition constituted an appalling betrayal of the Christian cause and purpose. The argument advanced by so many of them that missionaries were engaged solely in a spiritual task in India and thus were not to be concerned with political issues, struck me as utterly untrue to the facts of the wide range of missionary activity, as an expedient and convenient rationalization of an embarrassing challenge, or evidence of a spiritual blindness to the full social implications of the Gospel of Jesus.

Several considerations caused this conviction that missionaries were betraying their Gospel and India. The grave consequences of past and continued British rule steadily became clearer to me as I read books and pamphlets on the British connection with India and received the confidences of Indians, young and old, men and women. Further, the drive of my own idealism was pushing me increasingly closer to India's most serious problem. Vicariously I tried to put myself in the place of nationally-conscious Indians. From this vantage point I saw a group of American missionaries professionally representing a religion whose Gospel told of the largest human freedom and of the most abundant Life for all men of all races and nations. Yet they presumed to spread this Gospel in a land under foreign rule that had rendered any genuine fullness of life for the masses virtually impossible. I could readily imagine these Indians silently asking us, is not the spiritual freedom and abundance of the Gospel you missionaries preach, predicated on the attainment of certain inalienable political and economic rights? Men may not live by bread alone, but surely they need at least bread to live.

These Indians saw us, moreover, not only as Christian missionaries, but as Americans, citizens of a free nation, a nation that prized freedom highly. It seemed logical for them to believe there might exist a great invisible bond of fellowship and sympathy between India and America, for both countries had known the heavy hand of British imperialism. Also in the past century the United States had believed in its then new revolutionary sentiment of "life, liberty

and the pursuit of happiness" with justifiable enthusiasm and pride and had even sought to spread these principles to other peoples. Was it to cease this political ministry in the twentieth century? Or were these doctrines to be limited to the west only? If liberty had been of inestimable worth to this western land of the missionaries, would it not be just as valuable to the eastern land they were supposedly serving? How, then, was it possible for these missionaries to be indifferent or critical of India's struggle for the very rights that play such a great part in the historical tradition of all Americans?

Further, I thought of the influence missionary motives had exerted in abetting, if not definitely promoting, early western expansion and the subsequent development of modern economic imperialism. Now, in partial atonement, could not missions exert just as effective a force in checking and perhaps ultimately destroying this evil movement, which spelled disaster for both the religion of Jesus and the victims of imperialism?

Finally there were the considerations growing out of Gandhi's unique organization of the power of love and sacrifice into a method constituting a moral equivalent for violence. Here for the first time in all human history was a large scale demonstration of a great people struggling for freedom and justice by means that would not vitiate the ends. Many of our Indian friends, but few of our American, sensed the larger significance of Gandhi's weapon. One of them, a young instructor in a Calcutta college, appealed fervently to his fellow Indian Christians for these reasons to join the Gandhi Movement. His love of justice and liberty soon became a criminal offense and he was put safely behind prison bars. But wasn't he right when he wrote, "India is on trial...But Christianity in India is also on trial. Our Christian profession has already committed us to this struggle both as to its objectives and its methods. For as Christians we are bound to stand out against all injustice and oppression. As to non-violence, it is our Master's method; the Way of the Cross; and it is certainly up to us to be interpreters of its meaning and guardians of its integrity in the Holy War that has already begun... If we appeal to Christians...to join this Movement, it is because we believe that this Movement under Mahatma Gandhi will lead to a partial realization at least of that great goal before mankind, the Kingdom of God..."

In January Gandhi returned to India...I was among the millions that went to Bombay to shout themselves hoarse in tremendous ovation to their revered leader. A few days later he was arrested. It was then that I wrote a public letter to my fellow missionaries in India calling on them to unite in ethical and spiritual judgment on the basic issues of India's present struggle. I published it over my own signature alone, for I had realized by then the utter futility of expecting the missionaries I knew to take any initiative in protesting against this recent example of British repression. However, I had no plans in mind for the formation of any definite organization or the shaping of any specific lines of action. It was intended to be merely a moral indictment of British Imperialism in India. In part I wrote, "The Indian struggle...is based on deep, underlying moral issues...Clouded as it has been by economic, social and political smoke screens...laid down by vested interests, the supreme issue has been obscured...(By what) ethical principle (can one) nation continue to hold another in bondage...Upon the right of every nation...to express and develop itself to its highest and greatest cultural, spiritual, economic, social and political capacities depends in great measure the prosperity...and stability of the world today and the world



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tomorrow. That India has not that right is clear..." It concluded with an appeal to all Christians, regardless of face, to protest Britain's injustice to India. Three days after it was printed the Government, through the office of the President of the College, ordered that I leave India within ten days or face forceful deportation under arrest. I knew the mission would not challenge this Government order, so I had no other alternative but to leave.

My letter caused widely varying responses. The missionary body, with few exceptions, joined in unqualified condemnation, destructive criticism or repudiation of my action. In contrast were the many enthusiastic tributes showered on us by a few Indian Christians and a large number of so-called non-Christians. Of the messages I received perhaps the most significant and stirring was that sent by an ardent Indian Christian nationalist. He wrote, "Let me tell you that your declaration has touched my heart deeply. Like a torch in the darkness it has reflected to me the latent possibilities in the Christian forces of the world for helping the cause of India's freedom. For years I have longed to see some missionary who would speak in this language and direct the Christians in this way and dare as you have done. May God make your voice heard throughout Christendom..."

Another letter, written by Govindh Ballabh Pant, one of India's foremost leaders and a close associate of Gandhi, expressed a point of view typical of most of the letters we received from non-Christians. In addition to profusely thanking me for what he termed "a sacrifice in our cause," he said, "I concede that it (the Indian struggle) is not exclusively a parochial concern; the triumph of non-violence over violence and of freedom over bondage are bound to raise the moral stature of humanity. In this light our struggle transcends all territorial and racial limitations." Why in the world could not missionaries understand this, I wondered. Had their eyes been blinded, their lips sealed, their minds closed and their hearts turned to stone by the insidious poison of imperialism?

Although the mission administrators spared me the discomforts of any paternal lectures on the folly of my ways, I was not so fortunate at the hands of the local ranking British official, who happened to be very high up in the Indian Civil Service, since the city in which I lived was the capital of the United Provinces. In a manner befitting the prestige of his high office he strongly 'recommended' that I return, in penitence, to my Bishop for 'further spiritual tutoring.' It was evident to him that I had grievously missed the path to be trod by devout Christian missionaries in India. Graciously he referred me to the Bible, to that famous or infamous, passage in Romans where Paul had written, "Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For... the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God..." Wasn't it strange, I thought later, that this was the exact scriptural reference used by Napoleon the First to give his empire spiritual sanction and himself divine authority? But stranger still, that it had been these Britishers, very probably some of the ancestors of my host, the official, who had so irreverently 'resisted' this particular 'ordinance of God', finally to overthrow it at Waterloo. The official also had something to say about 'biting the hand' that was feeding me, referring of course to the grant given our mission college by the government. I had chance to rhetorically inquire of him from whom the British received the money to make these grants and to pay the huge costs of their administration of India. How strangely vision can be distorted by imperial moats, in imperial eyes!

Finally the day of our departure came. I waved a sad farewell to India and faced homeward disillusioned but wiser in the ways of missions and empires.

A CREED OF SERVICE TO HUMANITY.*

Three years have passed since I had the honour of delivering an inaugural address to you at the first Parliament of Religions in Chicago. I am proud to have this further opportunity of associating myself with your noble labours to bring to the solution of many dire problems the universal truths which are fundamental in all religions. Three anxious years ago we were drawn together by our belief that the practical application of such truths to the conduct of our personal lives and public affairs would make the world happier for ourselves and for our fellow men.

When to-day we survey a sorely troubled world, riven by intolerance, prejudice and greed, with complex problems of such magnitude that they almost defy understanding, we may well be dismayed at the thought of the task to which we have set our hands. Nevertheless, we may go forward with resolute hearts and high hopes. We have with us leaders and exponents of every kind of religious belief, and we may be said to represent millions in every country who think as we do—that in the brotherhood of man lies the salvation of the world.

If, as I am convinced, that belief exists, it behoves us to study where religion is failing to achieve its ultimate objective and to eliminate its faults, and so failing to harness and direct a tremendous potential force, the effect of which would be irresistible. For I doubt if anyone will care to deny that the cumulative effect of worldwide goodwill and understanding must be irresistible.

But if we are to succeed, we must be completely frank in our analysis of religion and its present-day shortcomings. It will not serve our cause to deny that the insular intolerance and prejudice, which we find so blameworthy in national and international relations to-day, have their counterpart in religious rivalry and prejudice. Nor can we deny that the gross materialism which we would replace with that innate spirituality of man which strikes at the root of all evil, is largely the outcome of religious apathy, ignorance or struggles for supremacy. And if that be true, we must accept our share of the blame for the unhappy condition of the world in which we live.

Our primary need is to return to simpler beliefs, common to all religions, and to base on them a fellowship of faiths wherein there is not only toleration, for that is insufficient, but co-operation for the good of humanity. It is not to a new religion that mankind should be urged to turn, but to consideration of the fundamental beliefs which are common to all religions and to their evaluation in the light of modern needs and conditions and in accordance with the great truths of science.

After all, this conception of a fellowship of faiths cannot be regarded as a new one. Bana, in his Harshacarita, tells us how the great Hindu King Harsha presided over a religious conference consisting of men of all creeds and of no creeds, where fruitful and friendly discussions of fundamental religious problems were held. In the sacred scriptures of India, we find the different religions compared to different rivers flowing to the same sea, and being coloured by the soil of the countries through which they pass. In the Upanishads they are likened to parallel streams of rain

* Speech by His Highness the Maharaja Gaskwar of Baroda, at the Public Inaugural Meeting of World Fellowship of Faiths.



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water flowing down the sides of a hill, or to different vessels fashioned from the same clay.

In the Mahabharata we read of a universal religion and the specific religions. The universal religion is defined as faith in a truly moral life, universal friendship, charity and goodwill, and in ancient times Hindu monarchs encouraged the observance of the principles of this universal religion among the adherents of different faiths in their kingdoms. The famous King Asoka had the principle of this religion inscribed in popular language in rock edicts and on pillars, throughout the length and breadth of his vast empire, while religious ministers were appointed to impart such principles and to encourage their observance.

The long and peaceful reign of Asoka, whose work for the uplift of humanity is almost unequalled in the annals of Indian history, is a glorious and abiding testimony to the security in peace and goodwill which can be secured by moral and religious uplift without resort to force and fear. What a pity that this magnificent example was not followed through the many changes of later centuries. Yet the writing is still there for those who care to read. I would that in India, the land of many religions and superstitions, my countrymen devoted more attention to the great truths preached by Asoka and worked with sympathetic understanding for the well-being of society. If they did so, I am sure that the majority of their trials and tribulations would soon disappear.

The creed which Asoka accepted and preached so fruitfully is fundamental in all religions and all moral philosophy, and it is true of all ages. Among the truly enlightened, religion has always implied fellowship of faiths and fellowship of mankind. The Buddhist preaches universal friendship and universal compassion, and where Hinduism says "A wise man looks upon others as himself," Christianity preaches "Love thy neighbours as thyself." It is only the bigoted adherent of a particular faith who emphasises the narrow meaning of religious union as restricted to members of that same faith.

Unhappily, those earlier and simpler truths have become obscured by rites and rituals, and too often we find ourselves slaves to shibboleths and outworn ceremonies. Though we deplore the development it is at least understandable. In earlier times, religion, with all its rites and rituals, served to unite people in different groups on the basis of the faiths they possessed. The import of any religion, the rites and rituals, changed as the religions migrated from one country to another, according to the genius and temperament of the different races among whom such religions found shelter. They changed also in accordance with political, social and economic developments and with variations in world conditions. In short, religion, like every other phase of life, is subject to environment and to the laws of nature.

Christianity as taught by Jesus in Palestine is different from Apostolic Christianity, and that again is very different from the Christianity as practised in Catholic and Protestant countries to-day. Buddhism as preached by Buddha underwent manifold changes as it spread in India among adherents of the Vedic faiths and through Central Asia and the Far East.

It remains, however, that we can still distinguish a variable and an invariable part in religion. The variable part consists mainly of creeds, rites and rituals which have changed and are still changing according to racial genius and temperament, and to psychological and other requirements. The invariable part consists in the function of religion in uniting the adherents of all faiths in ties of fellowship and

friendship and in common acceptance of those fundamental truths which are universal and ageless and transcend the confines of the narrow nationalism and international selfishness which are the bane of modern times.

Let us base our labours, then, upon the simple moral tenets common to all religions and make them a common ideal in our dealings between man and man, between nation and nation. Let those tenets enter into the daily lives of our children as essentials of their earliest education. The child of to-day is the citizen of to-morrow, and it is in childhood that character can best be moulded. As true enlightenment and sympathetic understanding spread, so will our troubles diminish and disappear. The old order is passing and values are changing apace, but whatever comes to pass, there is no problem, personal or international, which cannot but benefit from consideration in the light of the fundamental truths on which all religions are based. But our influence and our labour must not be of a passive nature, and we must not submit meekly to inevitable setbacks and disappointments. The brotherhood of nations is a righteous cause, and we must strive for its attainment, for a new world and a new society, with pride and with unrelenting energy.

Looking back through the long years of my life, I cannot avoid the reflection that never before has there been the same compelling need for goodwill, understanding and co-operation in all our relationships. It is, indeed, rather a sad reflection upon the march of civilisation that many centuries after the great prophets preached the fellowship of man, and only twenty years after the world war which brought sorrow and suffering to millions, nations should again be arming and our natural desire for peace and amity be obscured by tendencies which we all deplore. Nevertheless, I remain an optimist and a firm believer that good must ultimately triumph over evil. Let us take the best from all religions, and base on their fundamental truths a creed of selfless service to humanity. Whatever religion we profess, it does but colour our lives, whereas the fundamental truths which we share, irrespective of our country or religion, are those which mould the substance of our lives and relationships and will lead us to the attainment of our highest ideals.

Let us, then, continue to emphasise in theory and practice the supreme value of those fundamental truths as a great unifying force through a fellowship of nations and a fellowship of faiths. The difficulties are many and the way is long, but if the inherent goodwill and commonsense in man is brought to bear upon our problems, the world will find peace again in the wider vision of God and the brotherhood of man. Civilisation to-day is blindly groping. Let us try to give it direction and restore its lost or wavering faith. It is a noble work to which we have set our hands and hearts. Let us go forward in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln: "With malice toward none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right—let us strive on to finish the work we are in."

General Evangeline Booth:—Information has just been received at the Territorial Headquarters of the Salvation Army, Bombay, that it has been decided for General Evangeline Booth to visit India and Ceylon. The General will arrive in Bombay on November 28 and conclude her tour at Colombo on January 14, 1937. From there she will proceed to Java. Beginning at Bombay, meetings will be held at this and other centres finishing at Anand. Further particulars will be published later.

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FAMILY SETTLEMENTS AMONG MUSLIMS.*

(BY NAWAB SIR AMIN JUNG BAHADUR.)

The Muslim Law of Waqf-alal-Awlad (family settlements in perpetuity) is contained in the British India Act No. VI of 1913 (Muslim Law Waqf Validation Act). No such Act has yet been passed by the Hyderabad Legislature, but I am quite sure the High Court of Judicature at Hyderabad will unhesitatingly act on the principles enunciated and embodied in that Act. It is because they are principles binding alike on Shias and Sunnis throughout the world with but slight modifications in certain particulars. A great part of Muslim *corpus juris* is derived by analogical reasoning from the Quran and Traditions—a reasoning which easily lent itself to difference of opinion among the great jurists of early Islam.

I need not go behind the Anglo-Indian Act to explain why the Judicial Committee of the King's Privy Council in England long fought shy of the elements of *perpetuity* and *remoteness* embodied in the Family Waqf, how in the end it agreed to them but tacked on a proviso that the benefit to "the poor" or charity should be *substantial*, and how Legislation in British India validated the Waqf's other element, *vis.*, that the ultimate benefit to "the poor" or other religious and charitable objects, be it however "remote" and howsoever "unsubstantial," was a good charity according to Muslim Law of all Schools. Thanks to the powerful advocacy of the law by the Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali both as an author and judge in India and as a Member of the Privy Council in England, and the skilful piloting of the Bill by Mr. M. A. Jinnah in the old Imperial Legislative Council of India, the Waqf Validation Bill was passed for the preservation intact of the extensive estates of ancient or rich Muslim families which ran the risk of fragmentation and disappearance in the course of two to three generations by the inevitable operation of the Muhammedan Law of Testamentary and Intestate Succession. This great benefit was clearly pointed out by my old friend Mr. C. Vijayaraghavachariar of Salem who was a member of the Imperial Legislative Council when the third reading of the Bill was passed. It should be noted that this legislation did not *make* law but merely *declared* what had always been the law.

The law is there for the benefit of any Muslim who wishes to avoid the rigour of the temporal side of the Sharai-Sharif by taking advantage of its spiritual side, *vis.*, the dedication "in the way of God" (= *fi sabil-lil Lah*) of one's property to Charity in the widest sense of the word. It is based on the universally accepted principle "Charity begins at home." The Quranic injunction concerning it is:—

Ata-al mala ala Hubbihi, sa-wil Qurba wal Yatama, wal Masakeena, wa idrus-Sabeel, was Sai-illeena, wa fi-Riqab.

—Quran 2: 177.

Give property out of love for Him (God) to the near of kin, and the orphans, and the needy and the way-farer and the beggars, and for the emancipation of the slaves.

Note, "the next of kin" comes first in the order of enumeration of beneficiaries. The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali in an appendix to his classic Muhammedan Law, Vol. I, gives several authentic ahadis (traditions) which commend Waqf-alal-Awlad (Dedication for Descendants) which I would call *Family Settlements in Perpetuity*. Mr. Abdulla Yusuf-Ali has summed up those Traditions in these words: "In the view of the Prophet, to provide for the comfort and dignity of one's own family is quite as much an act of piety,

quite as genuine a form of almsgiving, as to provide for the poor in general."

The best thing which a man of property among Muslims could and should do, is to take advantage of this branch of the Sharra to Waqf, *i. e.*, "to tie-up" his immovable and movable property (including Stocks and Securities) in his family till it becomes extinct and thereafter to leave it for the benefit of any public Charity implied in the phrase "the poor". I have included in Waqfable property "securities and stocks" on purpose to point out that the best opinion among jurists of modern days is that the so-called "interest" received from Stocks and Securities does not come within the prohibition of "riba", *i. e.*, usury. It is asserted that a constitutional Government of these days is a concern as good as any other business firm in the world and to take its stocks and securities is, as it were, taking small shares in it. Still whatever be the opinion as to stocks and securities being Waqfable, there is no question as to dividend-paying shares of Joint Stock Companies being properties that could be lawful subjects of Waqfs of all kinds.

All that a Muslim in these days need do for a settlement of his property in his family, according to law, is to draw up a Declaration (a) giving particulars of his property, (b) saying, as clearly as possible, that he has transferred his property *fi-Sabil-lil Lah* (in the way of God)* for the benefit of his descendants of all degrees and, in case of there being none of them at any time, for the benefit of the poor or any religious or charitable object. As a rule such a declaration is made as a Will to take effect after the death of the declarant called Wa-qif. But if he wishes that his declaration (= Waqf) should take effect at once in his own lifetime (not after his death as usual) he should appoint a Manager or Trustee generally called "Mutawalli" and hand over the property to him and separate himself from it altogether. But if he happens to be a Sunni Mussalman of the Hanafi School (hanafi-ul-mazhab), he has the privilege of appointing himself as Mutawalli and of reserving for himself a life-interest in the property and of managing it himself during his lifetime. This privilege is peculiar to the Hanafi Muslims only and is expressly recognised by the Waqf Validation Act. It is not, however, allowed to the Sunnis of other three Schools or to the Shias generally. All other provisions of the Family Waqf Law, are however, common to all Muslims whether Shia or Sunni.

The Wa-qif, *i. e.*, the Declarant of the Waqf, may make any lawful condition or limitation as to the preservation of the *corpus* of the property and as to enjoyment and distribution of its *income* by the beneficiaries, *i. e.*, his descendants and the poor. On this point Ameer Ali quotes the Rad-dul-Muhtar which says that "the conditions laid down by the Wa-qif, if lawful (*i. e.*, if not illegal), are to be strictly carried out in the same way as if they were the commands of the Law-giver." The Courts are bound to give effect to the Wa-qif's wishes if they are rules of law for his particular Waqf.

World Congress of Faiths.—H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda presided at the first public meeting of the World Congress of Faiths in Queen's Hall, London July 3. He announced he had sent a message to the King, to which His Majesty replied: "I earnestly hope the deliberations of the Congress will help to strengthen the spirit of peace and good-will, on which the well-being of mankind depends".

* It is necessary to put in the phrase "in the way of God" or "for the love of God" to show that the Wa-qif takes advantage of the spiritual side of the Sharas.



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NEWS OF THE WEEK.

Nicaragua And League :—Nicaragua's reason for notifying her resignation from the League is that the questions at present convulsing the League are foreign to the permanent interests of American countries and Nicaragua's fear is that she may be drawn into other people's wars.

The Bank of India Limited :—The transactions of the past six months have resulted in a profit of Rs. 9,09,417-8-8 from which sum has to be deducted Rs. 75,000/- for Income Tax and Super Tax, leaving a net profit of Rs. 8,84,417-3-8 for the half year ended 30th June 1936. To this amount has to be added Rs. 6,03,990-4-7 brought forward from the last account, making a total of Rs. 14,88,407-8-3. This sum the Directors have disposed of as follows:—In payment of an ad-interim dividend at the rate of ten per cent per annum (Rs. 2/8/- per share) free of Income Tax on the paid up capital of Rupees One Crore for the half year ended 30th June 1936, which will absorb Rs. 5,00,000/- carried forward to the next account Rs. 9,88,407-8-3.

Indian Athletes for Germany :—India will follow the fortunes of the Indian Athletic Team which left this week to take part in the Olympic Games in Germany with much interest. From one point of view, it is a great advantage to the Indians that the games are held in Germany. Germany was the first European country to study and appreciate Indian culture. Her great thinkers like Goethe, Schopenhaur, Nietzsche and others had high admiration for Indian philosophy. Max Muller rendered the greatest service as a pioneer of Sanskrit learning in England. In Germany, therefore, Indians will find an atmosphere more congenial to them than in any other European country. As in our arts and crafts the results achieved in Indian athletic exercises owe more to the man than to his tools and apparatus. The Indian athlete's training is carried out in simple, every-day surroundings and with the use of very few accessories and these are cheap and easily made. Indian athletics, therefore, answers the definition of art which from a few common things evolves objects of great beauty. This is a lesson which the West has to learn from the East.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The Late Sir Fazli Hussain :—The death of Sir Fazli Hussain at a critical moment in Punjab politics is a great loss to the country. Whatever might have been his earlier leanings, he during recent years had grown considerably in width and stature as a nationalist and we have no doubt whatever that, had he been spared, he would have managed to evolve order out of the rather chaotic public life of his province. It is remarkable how the hand of death has seemed to guide the course of India's politics. The death of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale in 1915 left the field clear to Mr. Tilak who signified his leadership by getting the National Congress to place its seal of approval on communal electorates, to which Sir Pherozeshah and Gokhale were irrevocably opposed. When the fate of non-co-operation was hanging in the balance, Tilak who looked upon it as ridiculous, died, and Gandhiji became the Dictator of the Congress. C. R. Das died soon after he foreshadowed a new orientation of Indian nationalism with reference to the British connection. Pandit Motilal Nehru was opposed to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact but he died just when it was being negotiated. Sir Fazli's death at this moment has something of tragic destiny like unto these.

Labour-Saving Machines and Unemployment :—The introduction of labour-saving machinery a century ago led to large numbers of workers in village industries and handicrafts being thrown out of employment. There were riots in which machinery was smashed but eventually these unfortunates were forced to take employment in factories and workshops. Ruskin and others of less note inveighed eloquently against what they regarded as an iniquity but the *laissez faire* doctrine was then in the ascendant and their protest was a voice crying in the wilderness. The industrial revolution led to agriculture being more or less completely neg-

lected in Great Britain. But it was not much affected by the adoption of labour saving machines. "Since Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin in 1793," we read in *Information Service*, "no mechanical contrivance has contributed much to cotton production except where gang ploughs pulled by tractors may have been used to prepare the soil. For the most part the use of horse power or man power for soil preparation and for cultivation is much the same as in colonial times. Necessity, it has been said, is the mother of invention. The invention now announced by the brothers, John and Mack Rust, of a mechanical cotton picker which, it has been demonstrated, can pick as much cotton in 7½ hours as the most diligent handpicker can, pick during the regular season of three to four months, does not owe its birth to necessity." The necessity at present in the United States is to reduce the production of cotton. Under the cotton acreage adjustment plan 10 million acres have been taken out of cultivation and 500,000 families have been thrown out of employment. The general adoption of the new invention, it is estimated, will throw about 7 million persons out of employment. In order to avert this result which will seriously aggravate the unemployment situation, it has been suggested that the machine should not be sold but only rented and the income derived from rents used to establish the former tenants on lands of their own. This will be no easy matter. But there is one country in the world where the new machine is expected to produce no hardship to workers. It is to be taken to Russia this autumn. "In case the Russians adopt it," concludes the Bulletin, "an interesting demonstration will be given of its contrasting effect in a planned economy based on common ownership, and in a profit-making economy under private ownership." It quotes the opinion that it is the profit system and its necessities, and not the machine which relegate human workers to the scrap-heap and concludes that "where production is for use planned, and under national ownership, any method or machine which lessens the amount of labour necessary in any stage of the production cycle will redound to the interest of the worker in the form of increased leisure as well as freedom from primitive toil."

Roads and Railways :—The address with which the Viceroy opened the second meeting of the Transport Advisory Council on Monday was



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a plea for protection of Railways against the expanding traffic by motor vehicles. It was more or less on the same broad lines as the speech of the Commerce Member on the Railway Budget in February last in the Legislative Assembly. The Central Government depended for a part of its revenue on Railways and a fall in their earnings was, therefore, a matter of grave concern to it. His Excellency made a rather novel point, that railway freights were discriminatory. They were based not upon the cost of service but rather upon what the traffic can bear. Lord Linlithgow did not for good reasons go into details. The discrimination of our railways has not always been used on behalf of indigenous and inland traffic. Sometimes there have been complaints of preferential treatment of foreign goods and commodities for export. However that may be, the claim which His Excellency made of the part played by railways in the agricultural and industrial development of the country, has a set-off in the deterioration which they have been the means of causing in the health and prosperity of Bengal, which is no longer a matter of controversy. The extension of railways in this country was carried out without regard to the needs of the country and in order to facilitate foreign trade. Indian politicians for many years complained that the irrigational requirements of the country were sacrificed to railway expansion. For that and other reasons, chiefly the scant consideration shown to third class passengers, Indian railways have always been unpopular. To a certain extent, the rapid development of motor road traffic is due to the disfavour with which the Indian public has come to look upon railways. Any attempt on the part of Government to coerce people to travel or move their goods by railways, in order to provide revenue for them would be unjustified. The vast majority of the travelling public in this country travel short distances; and motor vehicles are more convenient for their purpose than railways. "Let me assure you," said the Viceroy, "that my Government will strive constantly both to improve the services of all kinds available to the public on the railways and to effect all possible economies in their management." If this undertaking is steadily carried out, there should be no need for any special measures to hamper motor traffic.

Congress and The New Constitution :—Writing on Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel's speech exhorting electorates of the new Provincial Legislatures, to return Congress candidates in such an overwhelming majority that the Party, without being suspected of making a virtue of necessity, may decide, in the plenitude of its strength, not to accept office, we suggested, in no spirit of unfriendliness, that voters should be told definitely what the Congress Party intended to do if it obtained such a majority, instead of asking them to give a blank card on which Congressmen may write what they liked whenever they liked or not write anything at all.

Since then we have read two important speeches, one by Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya and the other by Mr. Satyamurthi, which throw some light on what the Congress Party would do if it finds itself in power. Mr. Satyamurthi was the first to suggest a change in Congress policy towards the legislatures. It met with a hostile reception from some who are now among its most convinced advocates. Mr. Rajagopalacharya in the old Swaraj Party days had the reputation of being an implacable No-Changer, that is, one who was irrevocably hostile to Congressmen entering the Legislatures. The conversion of Mr. Rajagopala to Council-entry, was of the greatest help and it was his unrivalled organising abilities which ensured the sweeping victories of Congress candidates at the last election for the Legislative Assembly, in the Madras Presidency. In the expectation that the Justice Party would emerge triumphantly and would give a lead to other Provinces, the polling in Madras was timed to take place before all other Provinces. The arrangement had a directly contrary effect. The Congress victories in Madras undoubtedly assisted in securing the return of Congress candidates by large majorities in other provinces also. When the Congress Parliamentary Board was formed, the first place in it should have gone to Mr. Satyamurthi. But the leadership has reverted to the Southerners. The immediate cause of this transfer of leadership was Pandit Jawaharlal's presidential address to the Lucknow Congress with its reflections on "scientific socialism." It threw the Northerners who have all along enjoyed a certain preponderance in the non-co-operation Congress, into confusion. The South without a moment's hesitation denounced the President's heresies in its ancient role of custodian of Indian tradition. The fence is a safe position but it is not a commanding one to sit on.

A Working Programme: The leadership in the movement for the acceptance of office by Congressmen happens thus to be in Southern hands. It is to the speeches, of the Tamil leaders, therefore, that we should turn for light as to their intentions. In passing we may call attention to their attitude to the admission of non-Congressmen in the South. Referring to the recent admission of Dr. Subbarayan to the Congress Party, Mr. Rajagopalacharya said, in his speech at Madras on July 12 that it was not the right way to think and speak of Dr. Subbarayan being a prospective Congress Minister, as some responsible Congressman had recently done from a public platform. While on this point he threw out a hint that one of the first measures of the Congress Party if and when it came into power would be to cut down the salaries of Ministers so that "in the Congress Administration a ministership is not and will not be a paying concern or a bed of roses." In his speech in Bombay on Monday, Mr. Satyamurthi repeated that the salaries of Congress Ministers would be "very small," and that "they would have their



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resignations in their pockets" which they could not, if their salaries were as large as they are now. As a shrewd business man put it some years ago, one can not reasonably expect a pleader who was perhaps making five hundred rupees in a mofussil district, to give up a job carrying ten times that amount, because he was over-ruled by the Governor. After all, the Governor might be right and, in any case, if he resigned another man was waiting to step into his shoes and the interests of the country might fare worse in his successor's hands than in his. The programme of the Congress, Mr. Satyamurthi observed, should be based on the Karachi Congress resolution which, we believe, fixed Rs. 500 as the maximum pay of Ministers. The Congress programme in office would include, according to him a declaration of Fundamental Rights, the graduation of land revenue according to the wealth or poverty of the landowner, the relief of agricultural indebtedness, something to be done for raising the prices of agricultural produce in the country, encouragement of cottage industries, "education, sanitation, water supply, properly tackled for the benefit of the country," Prohibition in 20 years. Summing up, Mr. Satyamurthi said that the Congress Ministers would have to carry out a programme of elevating the administration and serving the poor, and they should strive to get the greatest happiness of the greatest number. All this is vague, but they do not spell "wrecking" which, at the outset, Mr. Satyamurthi declared was their main objective!

Anti-Nehru Propaganda in America:—In last week's *Reformer* we published Gandhiji's letter categorically denying the statements attributed to him with reference to Pandit Jawaharlal's presidential address at the Lucknow Congress, in an editorial paragraph in *Unity* of Chicago. Parts of the paragraph were also reproduced. The Rev P. O. Phillips of Nagpur sends us an editorial from the *New Outlook* of Toronto dated May 27 much on the same lines as the *Unity* editorial. He adds that the *New Outlook* is the official organ of the United Church of Canada and has a very wide circulation in that country. Mr. Phillips, like ourselves, doubted the authenticity of the statement attributed to Gandhiji and wrote to Mr. Mahadev Desai who replied to him to the same purport as Gandhiji's letter which we published. The origin of this canard, according to Chowdhuri Krishna Gopal Dutt who recently returned from the U. S. A., was a message circulated by the Associated Press of America dated from Wardha and published in the *New York Times* and also presumably in many other papers.

A Weighty Pronouncement:—The presidential address of Mahamahopadhyaya Pramathanath Tarkabhushan at the Hindu Conference held at Barisal, of which we publish a report, is remarkable for the sure grasp and the breadth of view which it shows in dealing with the problems of Hindu Society with special reference to Bengal. Orthodox Hindus are supposed

to be incapable of taking broad views on social questions. The Mahamahopadhyaya is one of the most orthodox Hindus. His photograph with his body bare except for the thin Brahmanical thread across his chest, may pass for that of any Shastri from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. But he is a very learned man which few professional Shastris are. And the weight of his learning has not robbed him of the power of observation and judgment of current events. It is obvious from his speech that in his view the political situation, except for one exception, does not directly bear on the problems of Hindu society. These problems are the dowry evil which prevents an increasing number of Hindu girls in Bengal from having a chance of marriage, the caste system and, as part of it, the position of outcastes. Deriving both authority and inspiration exclusively from the ancient Scriptures and Acharyas, the Mahamahopadhyaya calls upon his co-religionists to remove these evils which cloud the greatness of their religion and sap the vitality of Hindu society. He felt it his duty to depart from his non-political attitude with reference to the advocacy of Socialism in Pandit Jawaharlal's address to the Lucknow National Congress. The Hindu social system in its integrity harmonised individualism and socialism. Pandit Jawaharlal's plan would destroy equilibrium which is the keyword of the Hindu scheme of things.

Bengal Hindus' Protest:—Something has happened to effect a radical change in the political outlook of the Hindus of Bengal. The Communal Award on the distribution of seats in the new Legislatures, according to the public testimony of Lord Zetland, now Secretary of State for India, did much less than justice to the Hindus, especially in Bengal. But he had accepted office on the understanding that the Award would not be touched. The National Congress by its curious decision neither to accept nor reject the Award, put a wet blanket on any attempt to get it modified. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Aney and other Congressmen were obliged to form a party apart from the Congress, because of their opposition to the Award. They had no support from the Congress members in the Assembly for their opposition. The Law Member of the Government of India, a Bengali himself and one of the stoutest opponents of the Award, told the Legislative Assembly that there was no hope of getting it changed. Owing to other circumstances also, it seemed unlikely three months ago that any public agitation, least of all one in Bengal, to get the Award modified, was practicable. The manifesto of Bengal Hindu leaders against the Award, and the confident language in which it was couched, was to us a complete surprise. It has been followed by a monster demonstration this week, which was presided over by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, who usually keeps aloof from politics.



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INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

The Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastry in a talk to the students of the Annamalai University of which he is Vice-Chancellor, is reported to have said : "Whatever be the strength and reasonableness of the agitation against our participation in the League of Nations, it is still to be contended that it will not be ultimately in our interests to cut away from the League. If the League starts functioning properly tomorrow and really achieves its object of being the guardian of world peace, then India will find it difficult to re-enter it. If India throws up her membership voluntarily, Britain may not be in a position to help us to the membership again if and when we seek to have it after a period. It will, therefore, be prudent for India not to cut away from the League at this stage." With great respect to Mr. Sastry, we ask what chance is there, having regard to the present European and world situation, of the League starting to function properly tomorrow or even ten years hence. The prudential considerations which weigh so heavily with the veteran Vice-Chancellor, were no doubt present to the minds of Japanese and German statesmen, when they decided that it was not to the interest of their countries for them to remain in the League. The case of Germany is particularly worthy of note because, unlike Japan which was an original member of the League by virtue of her having been one of the allied and associated Powers during the War, Germany was a vanquished enemy and it was with great difficulty that she was admitted to the League. Japan and Germany, it may be said, are strong and powerful nations who can at any moment enter the League and be welcomed, but India is a dependency, poor, weak, divided, and, if she gets out of the League to which she was admitted by the recommendation of Great Britain, she must for ever remain outside, for Britain may not be able or willing to recommend her again for admission into the sacred circle. This is what is said to be a realistic view but is no more than a pessimistic view.

The League membership includes many States far worse situated than India. Iraq was admitted at the recommendation of the Mandatory Power who surrendered the Mandate in order to have Iraq entered on the League Roll. France proposes to do the same in the case of Syria. Ethiopia was admitted two years ago on the recommendation of Italy. It would seem that Italy was really opposed to Ethiopia's admission, but supported it in order to circumvent another Power. The League is far from being exacting in the qualifications it expects in its members. From the pecuniary point of view alone, the withdrawal of India would be a loss to the League. But there are other ways

in which India's membership is an asset of value to the League. Although many of the men who have figured as Indian delegates left behind them no traces of their membership, some others, prominent among them Mr. Sastry himself, by the impression which they made on their colleagues from different countries, raised India in the world estimation. It is curious how little the political, economic and subject position of India enters into the general estimation of her in Western lands. India's withdrawal will be felt widely as a loss in League circles and there will be no difficulty at any time in her being re-admitted on a footing in which she can exert much greater and more effective influence in promoting world peace, which is pre-eminently the mission which her history and culture has marked out as hers. Mr. Sastry takes much too modest a view of his country's position and prestige.

Our position there now is one of sufferance. We can not speak what we think and must say what we are told to. The Aga Khan on landing in India a few months ago stated in a Press interview that the success of Italy meant the collapse of the League. In the League itself where he leads the Indian deputation, he must sit silent or mouth some platitudes to coincide with the moods of the British delegation, which do not remain the same for any length of time. There is another point which Mr. Sastry overlooks. Whatever might be the original object of the League, it is no longer the same. The League today does not think of being guardian of the peace of the world. Any one who has followed the speeches of British, French and Italian statesmen, cannot have failed to note that what they are all anxious to ensure is not the peace of the world but peace in Europe. For the peace of Europe they have sacrificed Ethiopia. To induce Signor Mussolini to condescend to attend the Dardenelles Conference, they hastily "closed" the Ethiopian affair. But the Duce did not attend. Instead the world heard with astonishment the simultaneous announcement in Berlin and Vienna that Austria has become a German State with the Duce's blessings. The European nations, although they talk of it, no longer rely on the collective security of the League for their national security. They have formed independent groups outside the League to guard themselves against attacks from their fellow Members. If India is attacked by Italy or Japan and Great Britain is unable owing to her own pre-occupations to defend her, the collective security guaranteed on paper by the League will not avail us. We shall all be poison-gased like the Ethiopians into submission to the invader. Mr. Srinivasa Sastry admits that the arguments of those who wish India to quit the League are strong and reasonable. Prudence lies in acting upon reasonable grounds. His counsel to sit tight in the hope that the League may suddenly be transformed into the guardian of the peace of the world, is based not on reason but on the fear of being left out when the Transfiguration takes place.



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India will have to give two years' notice of her withdrawal from the League. If the League does not pull itself together during that period, there is sure to be another war which will put an end to it and many other things besides. If it does assert itself in two years, India may withdraw her notice and elect to remain within the League. Let us therefore give notice immediately. It may stimulate the League Members to forget their differences.

PLANNING FOR SOCIAL WELFARE: A GREAT EXPERIMENT.

II

Of course, the intense heat (2750°-F) necessary in their manufacture (of phosphates) was possible because of the use in their furnaces of electricity from near-by Wilson Dam. Now the manufacture, use and sale of electricity is the part of the T. V. A.'s programme most under attack. Yet one of the most cherished goals is the constantly widening use of electricity not only in the area itself but in all American homes. For this Mr. Lilienthal proposes a four-point programme which, greatly condensed, is this:—

1. Change in our ways of thinking of electricity as something to be used in a niggardly way, as at present, to electricity in unlimited and universal use throughout America, with ever developing new ways of putting electricity to work. At present, the average monthly use of electricity for domestic purposes in this country is about one-third the monthly use in the province of Toronto, Canada. It should be a universal servant.

2. Drastically lowered rates for electric service to increase (1) the number of consumers, as well as (2) the amount of electricity each consumer uses. Incidentally, where it has been tried in the T. V. A. area, while rate reduction initially inevitably resulted in lowered revenues (a) total consumption has equally inevitably ultimately increased, ranging from 267% in 23 months, 222%, 272% and even to 293% in 18 months, (b) the number of consumers has increased, and (c) the amount of electricity used by the average household per month not only more than doubled but even became more than twice the amount used in the all-America average home; so that in some cases by the end of the first year the "percentage of profit has been substantial," and in the case of several communities, revenues were completely recovered inside a year! Net income has accrued and is available for new expansion, new construction, retirement of debt, and possible future rate reduction.

3. The discovery, manufacture, sale and distribution of all sorts of electricity-using appliances (from better electric irons, washing machines, boilers, stoves, refrigerators, heating and air-conditioning devices in the homes to electric motors, water pumps and electric-run machinery on farms and in factories) at the cheapest possible cost and on the widest possible scale at such rates that the "bulk of our people cannot afford not to own such appliances." The T. V. A.'s programme has already stimulated the inventive genius and practical resourcefulness of electrical engineers. The designing rooms and experimental laboratories of the manufacturers are now humming with activity. Almost unbelievable advances in the electric home equipment are being made and may be ready for announcement in the coming months. What will a cheaper

price, say, for electrical refrigerators do, if in ten years the sale of 30,000 refrigerators at price of \$450 each (valued at \$13,500,000) was increased to a sale of 1,400,000 refrigerators at a price of \$172 each (valued at \$240,000,000)! Do Public Utilities need fear an expansion of business such as that would bring? And if one item alone changes the amount of electricity needed to such an extent as that, what will be the result when all these new inventions are ready for use? "Estimates of demand have reached the conclusion that power demand in the Tennessee Valley region will soon exceed the dependable power supply of the area, and that power available at the Authority's dams will be needed and therefore have a ready market." "Studies clearly indicate an impending shortage of power of considerable magnitude in the systems that supply most of the markets in the South East."

4. Concentration on the problem of reducing the cost of operation, obviously a problem for the engineers.

Publicity:—"Less than 12% of the American farms have ever experienced the benefits of electric power," so Dr. H. A. Morgan says. Hence, "just as every housewife who has ever used them—or seen them used—knows what a transformation the electric bulbs have already made in the comfort, convenience and safety of the home," so housewives, farmers and businessmen everywhere must be enabled to see what a difference there will be through the "universal use of the limitless, unpredictable future possibilities" of electricity and electricity-using appliances, as yet undiscovered and undreamed of. What this will mean in social welfare, Mr. Lilienthal only hints. Back in the mountains, where water is drawn from wells and carried by hand, where logs are cut and stacked for fires for heating and cooking, where the one and two room cabins are still lighted by candles or dirt-making kerosene, the lives of the farmers and the farmers' wives have been as full of hardships as those of their pioneer ancestors, and here and everywhere people should be brought to look forward hopefully and confidently to a better, a freer, a fuller life, a life relieved of many of its burdens and drudgeries, demanding more skill and creating newer, better, more challenging jobs, better commodities, more leisure, more happiness, more joy in living, more sharing. For here the towns already see that their prosperity depends on the prosperity of the whole area, including the farms, and electric rates on the farms are no higher than in the towns, as electricity becomes the servant of all. It is the hard-boiled public utility expert who carries around with him the vision of this, for the integrated control of the area which the T. V. A. dreams of is unique, it consciously plans for the "better life" for all, not just better business for some.

LAND PLANNING AND HOUSING.

It is for the area as a whole, too, that the Land Planning and Housing Division has photographs and charts and plans to show the best places for roads, bridges, buildings, farm-lands, factory sites and towns (with plans for low-cost houses), and for the location of forests. You should see the topographical maps worked out with infinite care by surveys and airplane photography in co-operation with the Coast and Geodetic survey, Geological survey and other government agencies, so that work may be not haphazard, with inevitable wastes, but permanent, because the end was planned from the beginning.

For the forests, a Forestry Division of experts is working ceaselessly. Forests must be restored and replanted in the right places, in marginal lands around the reservoirs, and on the steep mountain sides. Under long range planning they must be scientifically

* The first article of this series was published in last week's *Reformer*.



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cally cut and guarded from fires. Foresters are being trained and prepared right on the spot. Large reservations and parks are bought and set aside, and with the aid of the government and other agencies, rivers and lakes stocked with fish and forests with game, and—perhaps partly as a sort of protective measure for the forests—playgrounds and recreational spots, even swimming pools, are alluringly placed and equipped.

For health, there is, for instance, their own programme for malaria control for the reservoir areas they create—apparently the first instance in which malaria control has been an important determining factor in the development of plans for a system of dams and reservoirs—and fullest co-operation with all the public health agencies, local and national. Experimenting goes on in this as in all other lines—for example, highly mobile, motorized hospitals—tiny to be sure, but fully equipped for emergency operations,—have been devised for instant use in remote clearance areas and for other distant emergencies and so light in weight, too, that a gang of men could carry them where there is as yet no possibility of roads—way into the uncleared tract.

SOCIAL WELFARE.

Through the Social and Economic Division, the T. V. A. is making plans for a well balanced agricultural and industrial long-range programme for the fullest possible social-economic development of the area so that this heretofore stranded and isolated population can be given a chance, and become largely self-supporting, self-dependent, in a fuller, richer life. Dr. A. E. Morgan says: "Every stage is present from prosperity to poverty, from excellent farm management to a bitter fight for a bare living," but in the greater Appalachian mountain region there are now 6½ million white people most of whom have never known prosperity in any form. The T. V. A. area itself has a population of 2½ million people. One country in this Southland, surveyed by a member of the Faculty of a Southern University, showed an annual average total cash income (1934) of 845 for each farm in the country. Yet the people are of good American stock with a remarkably high native intelligence and ability. "Nowhere in America," says Dr. A. E. Morgan, has he found "a superior labour force in adaptability, intelligence or workmanship," and the T. V. A. is giving them what they have lacked—opportunity.

PROMOTION OF WELL-BEING

For, through all the constant experiments and, various programmes of dams, surveys, reservoirs, power houses, rural electrification, road-building re-forestation, erosion and flood control, intelligent planting and improvement of crops, terracing and manufacture of fertilizers, it is very evident that, as Dr. A. E. Morgan says, the promotion of well-being is purpose, all the rest is method.

For the well-being of the 14,000, or so, human beings, the employees themselves, working in about 80 different divisions, thoughtfulness and consideration are expressed in every possible way. It began in the selection of the workmen; tests were given to 38,000 people of the area, and no job was assigned to an outsider, or "foreigner" if there were a man of the area equally well qualified to fill it. Nor was prejudice allowed to keep anyone out. Dr. A. E. Morgan had been told, "No use looking for workers in that town" (a small township near Norris Dam), "they are all a shiftless, lazy, lying, worthless lot, thoroughly undependable." Quietly the Personnel Division made their own investigation, picked out 100 workers and put them to work. They have proved themselves to be among the most highly dependable, loyal and satisfactory. They never complain, nor can anyone complain about them. All they needed was "a chance."

Handicapped people are given special consideration. A blind stenographer is one of the best in the stenographic pool. Infantile paralysis sufferers are given suitable positions; and one girl, frightfully disfigured, was welcomed so heartily into one of the divisions that she never even suspected why she so easily found her place, but quickly lost all self-consciousness and became one of the most beloved members of the group, because of her loyal devotion and willingness to help. Failures in one division are transferred to another, and usually become successful under changed conditions. The turnover in personnel is almost negligible. "On Norris Dam to date (March 1935) we have had the remarkably low rate of less than 1% a month."

June 10, 1936.

CAROLINE J. PORTER

HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHT TO PROPERTY BILL.

The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association state that they entirely accept the principle of the Hindu Women's Right to Property Bill for removing the inequality at present existing in the rights of Hindu women to property as compared with those enjoy by men. The Managing Council of the Association strongly recommend that the Bill be referred to Select Committee and with a view to make improvements in the Bill for giving effect to the principle underlying it and to make it more acceptable to public opinion, submit the following suggestions for the consideration of the Select Committee.

(i) *Section 3.* This is superfluous as, under the prevailing Hindu Law, sex is not a disqualification and a female is not incompetent to own property by reason of her sex. If the object is to enlarge limited interest in the case of certain females into absolute estate, the purpose is served by Section 5.

(ii) *Section 4.* This Section has mixed up the case of Hindu dying as a member of a Joint Family and of the Hindu dying separated from it and thus leads to confusion. It should, therefore, be split up into two separate Sections for providing for each case.

(b) In the first part, the widow, mother, daughter and wife of predeceased son of a Hindu dying intestate are placed on an equal footing in sharing his estate along with his sons. No system of jurisprudence provides equal shares for all these female heirs. It is therefore suggested that differentiation should be made in assigning the individual shares to these female heirs, not only inter se, but also in relation to the sons along with whom they share the estate.

Besides, the daughters will inherit in the family of their birth, before marriage, and in addition, both as wife and mother in the family into which they will be married. Then, the position of advantage over the sons, in which the daughters are placed under the Hindu Law of Stridhan is ignored.

In the case of a Joint Family, the mother will on each occasion get a share in the event of the death of each of her sons dying in her lifetime. As regards the widow of a predeceased son, it would be inequitable that she should get a share when her son will not get any share in the estate.

(c) The Council have indicated a few of the discrepancies and inequalities brought about by placing all the females on equal footing in sharing the estate with the sons and on closer examination of the bill, further difficulties will appear. In order to avoid them, the better plan would be to provide for the case of each of



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the females separately and the bill be modified on the lines of the legislation in the Baroda, Mysore and Travancore States on this subject.

(iii) *Section 5.* The scope of this section should be widened, so as to cover the case of the females inheriting the property of a Hindu who died separate and was not a coparcener in the Joint Family.

In the event of the provisions of the Bill being considered too drastic, making a radical departure from the existing Hindu Law, the Council suggest that it may be simply enacted that the interest of a member of a Joint Family shall not be by birth under the Mitakshara Law, but the interest of the coparcener in a Joint Family shall be according to the Dayabhaga, so that a coparcener can dispose off his interest in a Joint Family by gift or will. The position of a coparcener in Joint Family will thus approximate to that of a member who has separated from it and a Hindu will then have full power of disposition, in favour of his female relations, of his share in the Joint Family property as in the case of his self-acquired property. If this proposal is accepted, then, in the event of his dying intestate, it may be provided that the shares of the females will belong to them absolutely as provided in Section 5 of the present Bill.

The Council earnestly feel that radical amendment in the prevailing Hindu Law of succession is necessary in order to do justice to Hindu women and to secure to them the rightful economic and social status in the community, and for this purpose, the conscience of the Hindu Community should be roused. If, however, it is found that the general sense of the community is not in favour of this radical alteration in Hindu Law, it stands to reason that those sections of the community who are convinced of the justice of the claims of Hindu women for equality with men in the Law of Succession and inheritance, should be allowed the liberty of giving effect to their convictions by enacting permissive legislation enabling them to change the devolution of their interest in Joint Family property. The Council suggest that, for this purpose, legislation may be enacted making it permissible for a Hindu to declare that his estate should be governed by the Indian Succession Act. The Council will prefer to accept the amendment of the present Bill or a fresh Bill so as to enable any Hindu to make a declaration before a prescribed officer appointed by Government that his property should be governed as regards succession by the Indian Succession Act and that such a declaration should *ipso facto* be tantamount to his separation from the Joint Family if the declarant is member of the Joint Family. If an analogy is required, it may be found in Sections 22 and 24 of the Special Marriage Act of 1872 as amended by Act XXX of 1923.

In expressing their views in favour of the present Bill generally, the Council are fully conscious of the difficulties which beset the path of the reformer. There exist several schools of Hindu Law in India and the interpretation of the original texts and the judge-made Law on this subject vary in the different provinces, thus making it difficult to promulgate a common measure of legislation for the whole of India. But the Council submit that those difficulties are not insurmountable, owing to the growing uniformity of public opinion on this subject. Hence, the Council suggest, that, in the event of the present Bill or the alternative Bill proposed by the Council not being found acceptable to the Government or the Legislature, a Commission may be appointed, as prayed for by the Women's Associations in November 1935 at public meetings held in the several provinces so that it would be possible for such a Commission to

take evidence and arrived at a common measure of agreement on the main points of difference and a Bill acceptable to all sections of the community may be framed on its recommendations.

IDEALS OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

(By NARAIN SINGH, B. A., P. E. S., RETIRED.)

The question of national education is receiving the serious consideration which it deserves. Everybody is anxious to say some thing about it which to his mind, seems to have been confirmed by the kind of experience which he has had in his own life.

The real aim of education is not a riddle which cannot be solved. Those who are actually engaged in the task of imparting instruction in our Indian schools have a good idea, and a clear notion of what they are about. Our school teachers have by now become fully aware of the material that they are called upon to turn out from their classrooms, and what functions their students have to perform in life in their own good time.

The method to be adopted by the teacher towards this end is not a matter of any uncertainty, or wavering, in the daily discharge of his duty. This supposition is, I believe, correct.

Without any idea of interference with, or discussion of, the matters of fact lines of his day-to-day work, I wish to invite the attention of our practical educationalists to the young minds of today which our teachers are supposed to develop and educate in their classrooms. The younger generation is believed by many to be much more intelligent, active, spirited and clear-headed than the previous one. Our young men are decidedly more ready-witted, fresh-minded, exact, straightforward (verging to the extent of being even unmannerly and impolite), but less hypocritical. They are more assertive, and are prone to question the authority of discipline much more openly before they submit to its yoke. They are also a bit restive in spirit and restless in mind.

The difference in the respective standard of mental development of these two or three generations is due apparently to the difference generally, in the standard of the civilisation and culture, of the parents of today, and the parents of the past one or two generations.

But young students have been observed to be more careless with regard to the general trend of their own affairs and are certainly less responsive to general responsibilities in their own particular spheres of school, college or home life. This defective tone of daily living, more generally on the increase, day by day, seems to come down in most cases to all functions of their life. But, even when they become unruly, my idea is that they do so purely out of a spirit of playfulness and not with a view to show deliberate wilfulness or studied disrespect to the individual confronting them.

Such instances must be numerous in the daily experience of the schoolmaster. And if on every such occasion he is going to have merciless resort to his ready rod, he will surely make his position worse in the classroom. He is not likely to gain much by his anger. At all such moments patience, cheerful forgiveness, loving control (subjective and objective sides of it), paternal tenderness of mind are the most essential qualifications for being brought into use in a practical and prudent spirit. By a wise resort to the large reserve stores of his own practical foresight a great deal of the bad situation can easily be brought under control without any loss of one's prestige or of the school standard of discipline. In a large number of cases, our school masters possess false notions about both of these



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essential factors in the school-life. This simple fact, as it must have come to the notice of many experienced teachers, cannot be disputed.

The sooner a schoolmaster loses his self-control by getting over excited, or over enthusiastic or nervous, the sooner he comes to grief. The larger the number of eccentricities, or even of personal peculiarities, in him, the greater the chance of his drifting along to the sphere of superficialities, and to a wasteful activity in work. Solidity, steadiness with a sure grasp of the end in view, in a serious spirit, unflagging energy and practical determination of the efficient discharge of his duty, are the most essential qualifications demanded in abundance, from all those who aspire to be makers of future generations.

Coming to the narrower sphere of our daily duty, in the classroom, I should like to revert to the consideration of a few minor points of practical importance in our work of education. Both the teacher and the taught, for their own respective advantage, have to realize the importance of the following essentials which are helpful to their work. Positive essentials in the sphere of the school room and the home are:—

- (1) Steadiness of Conduct: Ahistgi.
- (2) Correctness of Conduct: Darustgi.
- (3) Mannerliness & Propriety of Conduct: Shaistgi.

These three essentials should always be carefully kept in mind everytime, even in the subsequent course of life. Much of our success and happiness are known to depend upon the right understanding and proper use of these essential points of daily conduct.

Similarly, from the negative side, I shall deal with three other points. I ascribe the existence of this deficiency to certain other factors operating just at present in Indian society. I am not prepared at this place to discuss any of these special factors that I am referring to. It must be a matter within the ordinary experience of many thinkers. The difference of individual opinions may not be a matter of serious moment, but the particular deficiencies of conduct in the youthful mind demand most serious consideration from all those who are directly concerned with the bringing up of youth.

These three negative points affording a great material of an undesirable nature for us to ponder over are:—

(1) Disregard to advice, and to a steady effort at guidance. The origin of this defect is youthful recklessness or careless disregard to consequences. No doubt, youth cannot be expected to be much mindful of what will happen if a certain line of conduct is adopted. But, the loving guidance, gentle control and tender considerations of the elder, be he the teacher, or the parent, must work a great deal to the benefit of it. It may be theoretically right to assert that the child must be given full independence of action on the lines that he or she chooses.

(2) There is manifest generally a persistent attempt at disobedience. This effort to disobey is deliberate and is an indication more or less of the venturesome and adventurous, risk-loving spirit of this future generation. It is a part of what I have remarked above.

(3) Finally, there is after all this, an intelligent attempt to disprove the accuracy of the advice given to the junior by the responsible senior. There is visible a dogged determination to put forward a possible alternative to what has been suggested to the junior. Within certain limits, this may not be altogether a discouraging indication in itself. But, a lengthened experiment of such hazardous proceedings is likely to lead to a total trampling down of the discipline and general orderliness of the institution or the family in which such scenes occur.

HINDU SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

The fourth Backergunge (Bengal) Hindu Conference was held at Barisal commencing from the 27th June. All castes of Hindu were represented including the depressed classes. A large number of women was among the audience. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhushan presided.

In course of his presidential address Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Pramathanath Tarkabhushan said that if in a gathering like this he could indicate some lines of action which might be beneficial to the cause of the Hindu society, particularly of the Bengal Hindu Society at its present critical stage, it was only then that he would consider himself worthy of the honour done him by calling upon him to guide the deliberations of the Conference. But that depended on the collective good-will and hearty co-operation of those who were interested in the welfare of the society. What they were required to do was to sacrifice personal and party interests for the greater interests of the Hindu Society at large.

Reviewing the work that was being done by the Hindu Sabha, the Hindu Mission and similar other organisations in the matter of solving the various social problems, the speaker said that eight years ago when he participated in the Mymensingh Conference Hindu Society was confronted with two very grave problems, namely, Suddhi and organisation. The resolution on Suddhi that had been adopted at that conference gave rise to a storm of agitation both friendly and hostile. Judged by the standard of prevailing customs, that might seem unseemly, but that this line of action which had been followed by the Vaishnavacharyayas was extremely necessary for the present-day Hindu society, had been admitted by all educated and right-thinking well-wishers of the society from one end of India to the other. A hundred doors lay wide open for going out but the entry was prohibited—such an arrangement could hardly be conducive to the well-being of the Hindu Society. And even in olden times when India was looked upon as the Guru of Greater India such an arrangement had not the approval of the leaders of the society—this fact was now acknowledged as a historical truth. The controversy in this matter might not be wholly over but even those who opposed it on the grounds of the Shastras or general practice had to admit the most forceful of all logic—the logic of facts. If Hindustan was converted to non-Hindustan their Aryan civilisation, culture, religion, usage and purity of family life none of these could be saved—this fact was quite evident in India, particularly in Bengal to-day.

Their second problem, continued the Mahamahopadhyaya, was organisation. There were innumerable impediments in the way of organising the Hindus. Various attempts had been and were being made to remove those obstacles. For certain class known as Hindus, the service of washerman, barber, boatman and bearer would not be available; but once the former embraced Christianity or Islam they received ungrudging service of the latter. Nothing could be more illogical and iniquitous than that. They could easily visualise the consequences of supporting this sort of humiliating and irrational arrangement. The reason for the gradual decline of the classes among the Hindus earning an independent livelihood was the narrow-mindedness of their own people belonging to the same society. That was a great loss to the whole society. Inclination to cut off all connections with a society where one was deprived of indispensable necessities was only natural. And therefore if the so-called depressed classes, officially designated as Scheduled Castes,



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wanted to get away from the Hindu Society they could not be charged with having a perverted sense or an unnatural crookedness of conduct.

TEMPLE-ENTRY QUESTION.

Another reason why the backward classes felt uneasy in the Hindu Society was the bar to temple-entry. It was futile to repeat what the Shastras had enjoined, in this connection because that was now a matter of history. It was gratifying to find that the liberal practice that had been prevalent in Bengal from before with regard to temple-entry was now being gradually observed in other parts of India. They had found from newspapers reports that even some of the old temples in the Deccan had been opened for this class of people. The All-India Sanatan Dharma Conference under the leadership of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya annually declared the backward classes' right to have access to public places of worship in the same manner as they had access to wells, tanks, highways and schools. The object of this Association was to organise all classes of Hindus and to lead them on in the path of necessary reforms. It was a hopeful sign and a matter of rejoicing to find that the Pandits had begun to rally under its banner in an increasing number. In the opinion of Pandit Malaviya, giving 'Mantram' to the backward classes was the principal means of removing the barriers from their way. The way he met the volume of opposition in going to adopt that means and the calmness and fortitude with which he overcame the difficulty and stuck firm to his duty were well-known to all. But removal of the barriers in the way of the backward class was not alone sufficient for the organisation of the Hindus. They would also have to take serious note of other evils that had crept into the society. What did they find to-day? Want of bride and bridegroom, intolerable dowry system and extinction of certain classes for want of facilities for marriage. The dowry system had brought untold sufferings to fathers, especially among the middle class Hindus. The way in which it had now become an anathema and menace to the life and safety of unmarried girls was manifest everywhere. The large number of unmarried Hindu girls was a peculiarly difficult problem of Bengal. The oppression of villains and the crime of abduction of women were on the increase with the result that it had been impossible for the Hindus to live in those places where non-Hindu population preponderated. And yet the great evil of the dowry system was growing all the while in the society. What could be more lamentable than this state of affairs? The absence of any earnestness or organised efforts to make an end of this pernicious system of which every householder was a miserable victim, was possible only in a society that was dead to all feeling of compassion.

Proceeding the speaker said that during the last eight years the Hindu Sabha, the Hindu Mission and similar other organisations had been trying to tackle these problems. But before there could be any solution of these problems, they were confronted with many new ones, namely, inter-caste marriage, Hindu women's claim to share of property, the system of co-education, the bread problem among the Bengali Hindus, the Harijans' movement for conversion to other religions and the newly preached socialism of Pandit Jawaharlal. Considering the manner in which complications were accumulating one after another in the Hindu Society like mushrooms in the rainy season, it was difficult to come to a decision about one's duty on any well-defined principle or plan of action. If this most ancient race in the world were to survive by adjusting itself to the environments of the modern age, then they had

got to face fresh problems from day to day. That was inevitable. But it must be borne in mind that their aim was to attempt a solution—and not to create unreal problems. For the solidarity and well-being of the society it was wise to take the straight and easily accessible path—but the result of entering into a thorny jungle was forsaking the path leading to one's destination.

SOCIALISTIC VIEWS.

Referring to Pandit Jawaharlal's Socialistic views the speaker said he was not a politician and as such it was not for him to say whether socialism would bring in a solution of the thorny political problems of India. It only appeared to him that in this unfortunate country of theirs necessity was not the mother of invention but it was invention that gave rise to necessity. At the last, Lucknow session it was declared by the Congress President that his object was to ameliorate the condition of the poor and the down-trodden and that the means for achieving that object was the awakening of all classes of labour. That this awakening would lead to a clash between labour and capital was sure.

But that did not matter. Zamindars, mill-owners money-lenders and businessmen were all capitalists; they all enjoyed the lion's share of the world's wealth depriving the labourers of their legitimate share in it. In India British Government was the patron of these capitalists. In the struggle for attainment for Swaraj native princes and landlords were indifferent. The strength of the capitalists and the middle-class people had been by trial proved to be inadequate. And therefore the supreme need of the hour was the awakening of the masses which meant that they had got to organise the agriculturists and the labour population, to inspire them with the new ideas and ask them to be careful about their own interest. It was this organised mass strength that would crown the political battle of India with success, this was Pandit Jawaharlal's faith.

Socialism, continued Pandit Pramathanath, was foreign to the soil of India. Where the ruler and the ruled were of the same nationality, where literacy was wide-spread, where landless labourers crowded together in small urban areas—in a homogenous country like that was born Socialism out of long-continued want and grievance. But if, in a country where there were differences and dissensions all round, where ninety per cent. of the population were illiterate agriculturists who lived together separate from one another in large areas of land, any one entrusted with power for one year thought of imprinting socialistic ideas on the minds of the masses, it was nothing short of an unreal dream. Such ideas might have a certain amount of influence in crowded mill areas where labour might declare war against capital, or it was possible that in a province where village after village were inhabited by agriculturists, over head and ears in debt, the raiyats in a body might raise the standard of rebellion against money-lenders and zamindars. But what next?

In a country where lack of organisation itself was a peculiar problem it was not very difficult to sow the seeds of disension there, but what was beyond one's power was to make an end of such dissensions. The Congress history of the last half a century gave proof of it. During the last thirty years there were disputes between moderates and extremists, landlords and tenants, between Hindus and Mussalmans, co-operators and non-co-operators and so on. But which of these disputes had been settled? If that had not been done, the creation of additional troubles in imitation of the West only served to make them forget their real problems and run after will-o-



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the wisp. In a conference of the Hindus a discussion on the doctrines of the Congress President was in a sense irrelevant. But he would only ask the social workers to take serious note of this and exhort them to be careful.

Concluding, he said that their primary concern was to devise remedies by which they could help in increasing the solidarity of the Hindu society. What they wanted was unity and organisation. The absence of fellow-feeling, sympathy and co-operation was manifest. The pressing need of the hour was unity and co-operation among the Hindus. And the success of this conference would depend upon the amount of work it could do in that direction.

INDIA'S UNTOUCHABLES.*

(BY GORDON B. HALSTEAD)

Three paths to freedom from past and present restrictions of untouchability are proposed by those who claim to have the interests of the untouchables at heart. The first, but by no means the most popular or significant, is that the untouchables shall renounce en masse the Hindu faith and accept some other religion. A return to the former Government-inspired policy of separate political representation as a community in the various provincial legislatures and in the National Legislative Assembly comprises a second but questionable road. Gandhi and the powerful Indian National Congress, along with the vast majority of Indian social reformers and indigenous social reform organizations, favour the third road. It leads to the abolition of untouchability through the medium of mass education, the voluntary and willing removal by caste Hindus themselves of the disabilities affecting the untouchables, and the improvement of their economic conditions through the bettering of those of India's masses, both caste and outcaste.

Dr. Ambedkar, an American educated (Columbia University) untouchable and a Government nominee to the Round Table Conference of 1931, has identified himself with the first two paths. Knowledge of Dr. Ambedkar's past relationships to the British Government is of considerable importance for those who may wish to note the present policies of Government in respect to the future status of the untouchable community. The ultimate solution of a social problem touching the lives of 43 million Hindus cannot be viewed with unconcern by a Government whose interests too often have coincided with the continuing disunity of India's various religious communities.

It was Dr. Ambedkar who caused considerable consternation in the rapidly dwindling ranks of Hindu orthodoxy last fall with the declaration that while he had the misfortune to have been born a Hindu, he would not die a Hindu. Accordingly, he recommended that all untouchables make a similar resolve. Dr. Ambedkar made this statement as president of a provincial depressed-classes conference—a conference of untouchables, but definitely not representative of the mass of them, who are not yet organized.

Although Dr. Ambedkar's meeting, passed a resolution asking the untouchables to sever themselves from Hinduism, it refrained from mentioning the names of any faiths that might be embraced. Subsequently an All-India Conference was held in Lucknow in February, supposedly to consider the question of the new faith. The question remains unanswered, and if I may venture a prediction, it will remain so for some time—perhaps indefinitely.

*The concluding portion of the article on "India's Untouchables" from the *Current History* June 1936.

Group or mass renunciation of Hinduism by untouchables and subsequent conversion to another faith is by no means a new idea in India. Sufficient experience has been had with such a phenomenon during many decades to arrive safely at some definite conclusions. An authoritative study of Christian mass movements, painstakingly made over a period of two years (1930-31) by a competent group of scholars under the direction of Dr. Wascom Pickett, affords conclusive evidence that mere conversion to Christianity does not remove the disabilities of untouchable converts. In fact the published report of the study goes even further, saying:

"The process of liberation (from untouchability) is not helped, but is hindered, by the claim that the mere public profession of Christianity is sufficient to effect immediate removal from the ranks of the depressed."

Even more recent evidence of the illusory character of conversion as an escape from untouchability is found in a speech made last November by Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, President of Christ's Church College, Cawnpore, India. He said: "In the United Provinces out of a total Indian Christian population of 173,000 over 125,000 are village Christians belonging to the untouchable classes, and their lot is as pitiable as that of the classes from which they have come into the Christian fold. In many places they are denied the elementary human rights to draw water from public wells, their children are not allowed to attend public schools and their acceptance of the Christian faith has resulted in additional economic and social disabilities being imposed on them."

Embracing Islam has been equally unsuccessful as an attempt to lift restrictions, it has been shown.

Mahatma Gandhi at the 1931 London Round Table Conference forcefully pleaded the case of Indian nationalism against the Government inspired policy of "separate electoral" representation of the untouchables in the provincial and national legislatures. In part he said:

"It (separate representation) means perpetual bar sinister. I would not sell the vital interest of the untouchables even for the sake of winning the freedom of India... And I would work from one end of India to the other to tell the untouchables that separate electorates and separate reservation is not the way to remove this bar sinister. Let this Committee (Minority Committee) and let the whole world know that today there is a body of Hindu reformers who feel that untouchability is the shame, not of the untouchables, but of orthodox Hinduism, and they are, therefore, pledged to remove this blot... We do not want on our register and on our census, untouchables classified as a separate class. Sikhs may remain as such in perpetuity, so may Moslems, so may Europeans. (Would untouchables remain untouchables in perpetuity, I would far rather that Hinduism died than untouchability lived.) Therefore, with all my regard for Dr. Ambedkar and for his desire to see the untouchables uplifted, I must say that here is a great error under which he has laboured. Therefore, I want to say with all the emphasis that I can command that if I was the only person to resist this thing, I would resist it with my life."

The logic of this appeal seems irrefutable, if viewed from the perspective of the national interests of India. Gandhi and the vast majority of Indian leaders, do not intend that these religious differences, which have already been intensified by foreign rule, shall be further widened or multiplied by

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according them permanent political recognition and status.

It was this policy of separate electoral representation of the untouchables as embodied in the final results of the Round Table Conference that precipitated Gandhi's famous "fast unto death" of September 1932. As a result of this fast, the original policy was radically altered so that at present the untouchables are guaranteed seats in the legislatures, but their representatives are elected by the general Hindu electorate. This is regarded by Indian nationalist leaders as a definite step forward and they will resist vigorously any attempts to return to the former method.

The third road to freedom, calling upon untouchables to join hands with high caste in the fundamental task of abolishing untouchability through mass education and reorientation and the reconstruction of their national economic life, appears to be the only road promising emancipation without sacrificing the ultimate unity of India.

The present work of Gandhi and his associates in the mental, physical, social and economic rehabilitation of the outcastes, or of the Harijans (children of God), as he chooses to call them, might well be called India's silent revolution. There are many who feel that here is Gandhi's greatest movement and contribution. However, great as it is, we must not lose sight of the fact that he is building upon a foundation laid by many other Indian leaders over the past one hundred years. Without the far-reaching effects of the lives and teachings of Ram Mohan Roy, Dayanand Saraswati, Bhandarkar, Ranade and Gokhale, and Vithal Ramji Shinde, to mention only a few, Gandhi's present movement would not have the significance and appeal it has. Likewise, his recently created Harijan Sevak Sangh (the fellowship of the servants of the untouchables), is but the last in a long list of Indian national organizations, such as the Brahma and Prarthana Samaj, the Servants of India Society, the Depressed Classes Mission Society and the Indian National Congress which have aimed at the removal of untouchability, root and branch, from Indian soil.

Many Indian scholars and leaders are now presenting evidence indicating that untouchability, and in fact even the caste system, are not only dispensable accretions of the Hindu faith, but inconsistent with the moral ideals of the early sacred books of Hinduism. To quote a resolution to this effect passed by a recent session of the important Hindu Maha Sabha, a relatively orthodox Hindu reform society:

"Whereas the caste system based on birth as at present existing is manifestly contrary to Universal Truth and morals, whereas it is the very anti-thesis of the fundamental spirit of the Hindu religion, whereas it flouts the elementary rights of human equality ... this all India Hindu Maha Sabha session declares its uncompromising opposition to the system and calls upon the Hindu society to put a speedy end to it."

The true nobility of the high-caste Hindu personality, the fresh, dynamic impulse of the awakened spirit of freedom and the high quality of India's present national leadership cause one to predict that the untouchable masses eventually will take this third road. As Hindus and Indians, their complete emancipation seems inextricably linked with the larger freedom and unity of the Indian masses, whether caste or outcaste, Moslem, Christian or Parsi.

INDIAN INSTITUTE OF SCIENCE.

The Indian Institute of Science at Bangalore, of which Sir C. V. Raman is the Director, has come in for a good deal of criticism at the hands of those who are unaware of the purposes and ideals of the Institute, says the *Statesman's* Bangalore correspondent. It is forgotten by its critics that the late Mr. J. N. Tata's foundation is *not* intended to be an industrial research institute for investigating and promoting commercial enterprises. Under the terms of the benefaction advanced scientific instruction (in the lecture room, laboratory and workshop) is the Institute's primary object.

One of the most obvious defects in the organization of the Institute, said Sir C. V. Raman in an interview, has been that its activities do not include a sufficient number of subjects of importance related to one another to give it the broad basis so vital to any institution of University rank. Then again though academic ideals have not been altogether ignored in the past, nevertheless, the work of the Institute has not been sufficiently influenced by them. To no small extent this has been due to a confusion of ideals and to the fact that the Institute has often been expected to perform functions which are incompatible with its primary object as a centre of advanced study and search.

Amongst the suggestions often pressed upon the Institute is that it should be a national testing and analytical laboratory, or a place for carrying on semi-commercial experiments, both of which objects, in the opinion of the Director, are incompatible with its primary aims, and are calculated to retard progress in the right direction.

The income of the Institute which in the financial year 1920-21 stood at Rs. 3,50,000 suddenly increased to Rs. 5,75,000 in 1921-22, as the result of the sale of several of the house properties in Bombay and re-investment of the proceeds in Government securities by the Bombay Board of Management. One of the terms of reference to the special committee presided over by Sir William Pope which sat in November-December, 1921, was to consider and make recommendations as to the manner in which the increase of income which was expected could be most advantageously utilized. The Committee went into the question thoroughly and presented a carefully worked out scheme of development.

The Committee emphasized their conviction that the success of the Institute demanded the creation of a number of new Chairs dealing with subjects not already represented at the Institute and indicated their opinion that the Chairs most likely to be immediately useful were a Chair of General Physics, an additional Chair of Chemistry, and a Chair for Thermodynamics and Heat Engines.

Sir C.V. Raman stated that, with the support of the Council, he had effected a number of changes which had resulted in utilizing to the fullest possible extent and to the best advantage the existing resources in staff, buildings and equipment. He had also cut out superfluous and wasteful expenditure in every direction, avoided all duplicate effort and expense, and with the money thus saved opened out new departments on the general lines recommended by the Pope Committee in 1921.

Summarizing the developments initiated and carried out during the past three years Sir C. V. Raman stated that a Department of Physics had been newly organized with a laboratory equipped for investigations in chemical physics, spectroscopy, magnetism, X-rays and electron-diffraction.



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A beginning had been made in the organizing of a Department of Mechanical Engineering intended for the promotion of study and research in Applied Mechanics and Thermodynamics. The Department had been provided with a new building and a large and well-equipped workshop with facilities for the practical training of students and for the construction of apparatus and other requirements of all departments of the Institute.

One of the urgent needs of the Institute was a means of bringing to the notice of the scientific world, both in India and abroad the results of the researches carried out in its laboratories. This need has been supplied by the establishment of the Indian Academy of Sciences, whose *Proceedings* published the valuable results arising from original work done at the Institute. The Academy had succeeded in bringing the staff of the Institute into close co-operation with other scientific workers at Bangalore, elsewhere in India and abroad.

In consequence of these the developments, scientific life of the Institute had been greatly quickened and its publications had increased greatly in volume and what was more important, in quality. Especially gratifying was the fact that, for the first time in the Institute, its scientific work had begun to receive marked recognition and appreciation in the scientific world.

Sir C. V. Raman incidentally referred to the new and flourishing chemical industry which had been successfully established at Bangalore, under the aegis of the Director, for the extraction of rare earths from monazite and for the manufacture of incandescent gas mantles.

Questioned as to the admissions of scholars to the Institute, Sir C. V. Raman said that emphasis was being laid on quality rather than on number. At present, only students with a first-class honours degree in science could ordinarily find admission to the research departments of the Institute. Women, provided they are well-qualified, could now hope to enter the Institute as regular students. A Women's Hostel had been established at the institute for their benefit.

At the conclusion of the interview Sir C. V. Raman declined to express any views on the press reports of the proceeding of the emergency meeting of the General Council of the Institute held last week. The report of the Irvine Committee, he said, had not yet been released for publication and it would not be proper for him to discuss the contents of a confidential document.

CHRISTIAN CHURCHES DENOUNCE VIOLENCE.

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America adopted on June 5 a message to the Churches on suppression and violence. The full document is as follows :

"The present denial of freedom and the resort to violence over wide areas of the earth, and the threatening signs of trends in this direction even in our own country led the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America to address a message to the churches, directing their attention to the crucial nature of the issue before the nation and urging a united stand in support of the ideals which lie at the heart of our American commonwealth and for which the Christian Church has stood."

"In Europe today civil liberties are threatened from opposite directions. There is a communist challenge on the one hand and a fascist challenge on the other.

Both rely on coercion instead of enlightening discussion and free persuasion. However much they may differ in other respects, communism and fascism have been alike in suppressing political freedom and in turning to force as a solution of social problems.

"Against such dangers we must be on our guard, and no groups more so than churches. In Russia communism deliberately sets out to destroy the Church and to eradicate religious belief. In Germany a fascist state attempts to coerce the Church into supporting policies which are contrary to fundamental teachings of Christ. Our opposition as Christians, however, to the denial of freedom rests not only upon the danger to the Church and other minority groups, but upon the conviction that the substitution of coercion for freedom is a direct challenge to our Christian faith in the value of human beings as the creation of God.

"In our own country there is disquieting evidence of influences moving toward a similar denial of freedom and a temper of violence. The menace of communism to both religious and civil liberty has been frequently and rightly pointed out. Not enough attention, however, has been given to the more imminent danger of repressive tendencies of another sort. We observe, for example, a sinister intolerance which brands as communistic even those constructive proposals for orderly social progress which are the best defence against communism. Suspicion is engendered against thoughtful and patriotic citizens who oppose the present hysteria for military preparedness or stand for the right of labour to organize for better standards of living. Even the churches are labeled as 'subversive' for pointing out economic injustices and evils, which can be corrected within our present system if there is the will to do so, and for emphasizing the necessity of bringing Christ's spirit and teaching more fully to bear upon our industrial and international life. Gag laws which are unworthy of a free people are being introduced into Congress and have been passed by several state legislatures. Teachers are compelled to take oaths which degrade their professional standing and are contrary to the free spirit of our educational institutions. Lynching is still rampant. Groups of vigilantes take the law into their hands and perpetrate brutal outrages such as that which recently disgraced the City of Tampa. There are even signs of a whispering anti-Semitic agitation such as, unrestrained, has left an indelible stain upon the German government.

"The direction in which these happenings are tending is brought out in the shocking revelations of the operations of the Black Legion in Michigan. These disclose the extreme of cruelty and social danger to which a red-baiting anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-Catholic organization easily goes. Its use of the name of the God Almighty in its oath is blasphemous and its description of itself as Protestant is unjustifiable and shameful.

"We appeal to Christians throughout the nation to exercise the utmost vigour in opposing such tendencies as these which are sowing fears, hatreds and dissensions at the time of great social emergency and danger when our people should be able to think soberly and to act unitedly."

Temple Excavation in Travancore:— Certain temple structures popularly believed to have been built in the time of Mahadali, the legendary king whom Vamana, the incarnation of Vishnu, dethroned and vanquished are now being excavated at Triktakra, North Travancore. The State archaeological superintendent has exhumed the lateral wall on the west side, which is 580 feet long and 8½ feet thick.



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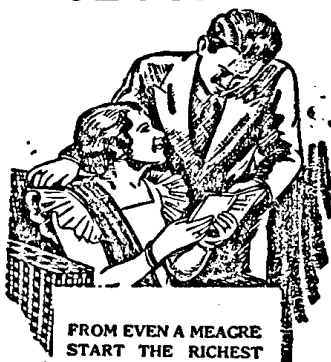
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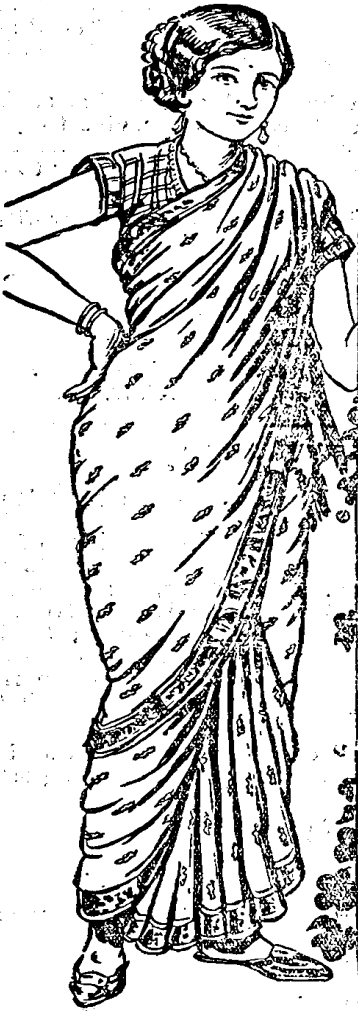


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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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The King:—The congratulations which poured on His Majesty the King from all parts of the world on his escape from what has been described as an attempt on his life, are proof of the high regard which he has won for himself during the short period of his reign. The accounts of the attempt are conflicting. The same message stated that the loaded revolver was thrown at the King and hit his horse and that the revolver was struck out of the hands of the would-be assailant by the bystanders. The man himself declared that he did not intend to do harm to the King and that his object was merely to draw attention to some public grievance. The Calcutta correspondent of the *Hindu* has gathered some details relating to George Andrew MacMahon, the assailant, from Mr. Neville C. Coutts, a businessman of Calcutta. Coutts went to England in 1934 for training in the advertisement line and got into touch with the Paramount Service Association run by MacMahon and another, E. W. Harrington. MacMahon always spoke of starting a journal. He approached Lady Houston who promised to help him if his journal advocated Fascist principles while he wanted it to propagate Socialism. Later the American Ambassador in London promised some support on the strength of which MacMahon brought out an issue of a journal called the *Human Gascette*. The second number did not appear and Coutts left MacMahon. MacMahon told Coutts that his ambition was to be a second Horatio Bottomley.

The Tamil Alphabet:—In the Sunday *Hindu* which, in its new form, is a valuable accession to Indian periodicals, Mr. C. Rajagopala Charya claims that in beauty of form, ease for the reader's eye as well as for the running pen, and adaptability to the printers' art and to the type-writer, the Tamil script is superior to any other indigenous script in India. Both the Tamil and the Devanagiri scripts are descended from the

Brahmi script as Father Heras observed in his article on the Mohenjo Daro script in the *New Review*. The form which they took is probably due to the media available for writing in Northern and Southern India—barks of trees in the former and palm leaves in the latter. Writing on palm leaves is really a sort of engraving. Horizontal lines had to be avoided as far as possible to protect the palm leaf from being torn to shreds by the iron style with which the characters were engraved. Mr. Rajagopala also points out the resemblance between the Tamil and Roman system of forming syllables and the consequent reduction of printers' troubles. The sounds represented in the Tamil alphabet are nearly the same as in the Roman. Tamil like the Roman alphabet eschews the whole series of aspirated letters, "she refuses to bother with aspirated consonants." The similarity between the Tamil and the Roman characters in these respects is the main reason why a Tamilian finds it easier to learn English than to learn Hindi. Referring to the experiment of reproducing Tamil writings in Devanagiri characters in Mr. Munshi's *Hamsa*, we remarked that it would be of more practical service to try and reproduce Hindi in Tamil script. As Mr. Rajagopala Charya says, the absence of the aspirates has not come in the way of the free adaptation of Sanskrit words in the Tamil vocabulary. Many Tamil hymns, except for the linking syllables, consist exclusively of Sanskrit words. Tamil, as spoken by Brahmins, abounds in Sanskrit words pronounced more nearly as in Sanskrit than in Gujarati or Bengali; and that is why the Tamil Brahmin has always been at home in every part of India. The Rajatarangini records ancient Dravidian settlements in the heart of Kashmir—not as students as Mr. R. S. Pandit thinks, but as teachers. Mr. Rajagopala maintains that when an alphabet provides all the sounds needed in a given language, it has fulfilled its purpose and should not be expected to do more. True but it can not claim, as Sanskrit can, to be a complete or perfect alphabet. Sanskrit to a Tamilian may seem to have many superfluous sounds. But Tamil is not the only language of India. The Devanagiri alphabet is pre-eminent in as much as there is no language spoken in this country, including Tamil, which can not be written in Devanagiri nearly as well as in its own particular script.



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Bombay Women's Meeting :—A representative public meeting of the women of Bombay was held on Monday to record their opinion on four Bills bearing on social questions which have been introduced in the Legislative Assembly. These have been circulated at the instance of the Assembly for suggestions and criticisms from representative public bodies and they are expected to come up at the Simla session of the Legislative Assembly in September for the second reading and reference to Select Committees. The amendment of the Sarda Act on the lines of the Bill introduced by Mr. B. Das was generally approved. Mrs. Avantikabai Gokhale made a point which should receive consideration by women's organisations throughout the country. She pointed out that the vast mass of Indian women were illiterate and could not read newspapers and that, unless special efforts were made to acquaint them with the provisions of the law and the reasons for them, the mere stiffening of the Sarda Act would not go very far towards changing their present view of the urgency of early marriages. On Mr. Bhagwandas's Bill to remove caste restrictions in Hindu marriages, Dr. (Mrs.) Sukhtankar who moved the resolution and Mrs. Hansa Mehta who seconded it, laid stress on the importance of embodying the principle of monogamy. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill on the property rights of Hindu women met with warm support but it was felt that the Bill needed drafting improvements in order to make it fully effective for the end in view. Mr. M. C. Rajah's Bill for the removal of the disabilities of the depressed classes was cordially approved. The speeches of the Chairman, Sir G. D. Madgaonkar, a former Judge of the Bombay High Court and of Mr. Justice Divatia, his successor on the Bench, were weighty pronouncements on the socio-legal aspects of the proposed legislation.

The Liberal Conference :—The Bombay Provincial Liberal Conference which was held in Sholapur on July 18 and 19, under the presidency of Sir Cowasji Jehangir, was primarily devoted to a repudiation of Socialist and Congress tactics. The President expressly laid down in his address the principle that the Liberal Party was prepared to join with any political party in an endeavour to formulate an economic programme on lines which have proved successful in countries "other than Russia". We do not know how many Liberals share Sir Cowasji's unreasoning objection to Russia but it seems to us as absurd to rule out the Russian example as to seek Russian inspiration exclusively. Even in his concluding remarks, the President was unable to shake off the Congress spectre. "I will refuse to shake hands with or join anyone," he said in explanation of his refusal to join the Civil Liberties Union, "if I suspect ulterior motives or if I suspect that his words or actions would lead our country into a condition worse than she has ever experienced in the past." When he himself admits that he does ascribe ulterior motives to political opponents, how can Sir Cowasji object to Liberals being dubbed self-

seekers and sycophants by equally suspicious Congressmen? Sir Cowasji might have justified his abstention from the Civil Liberties Union without questioning the motives of those who are forming it. The same feeling of vague grievance against the Congress seems to have inspired Mr. Sirdar's welcome address to the Conference. "The Liberal Party," complained Mr. Sirdar pathetically, "although it is an old party with a splendid record and traditions, has fallen on bad days. It is not very well organised; its branches are not functioning very efficiently. Consequently the Liberals who were once an influential body exercising considerable influence on the actions of the Government have been recently in a decadent position. Other political parties have been taking undue advantage of this position and have been ceaselessly trying to decry it...We have failed to reach the masses and take them into confidence. Others who are more vocal and agile have stolen a march over us." This is not the note which would inspire confidence in the destinies of a political party among the masses.

The Reforms and the Liberals :—Though all Liberals seem to have made up their minds to work the reforms, there seems to be some confusion as to the value of the new constitution. Mr. N. M. Joshi, who is more a Labourite than a Liberal, reiterated the view that the constitutional position would be worse under the new Act than under the old. His remark later that "we should use the power given by the new constitution to compel the British Parliament to give more power," does not seem logical. In the first place, if the old constitution was better, there can be no gain in power from the new. Secondly, how can Mr. Joshi believe that the new constitution can be used to improve India's position when he concedes that the manipulation of the 1919 reforms has only resulted in a worse position today? Sir Cowasji Jehangir, on the other hand, is a believer in the new reforms. His references to the good that can be got out of the constitution, is as great a breach of party discipline—since the Liberals have declared their aversion to the Government of India Act of 1935—as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's advocacy of Socialism from the Congress Presidential chair seems to be to Sir Cowasji. Liberals who have discussed the propriety of the Pandit's propaganda, would do well to devote some time to considering Sir Cowasji's commendation of the reforms. "Would India," he asked, "have obtained even her present constitutional position...." And again, "Our ministers of the future...will bring a new angle of vision into the governments of the provinces—nay, they are sure to change the mentality of the servants who work under them." Surely there is as great a difference between this and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri's emphatic refusal in 1935 to hold up "Sir Austen Chamberlain's baby and invite our countrymen and countrywomen to kiss it" as between Socialism and Capitalism!

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The Liberty of the Press :—In public references to the liberty of the press we have been accustomed hitherto to regard governments as the greatest source of danger. In recent years, however, there have arisen instances of encroachment on such liberty from another quarter. Only the other day it was reported to us that a journalist in this city lost his job on a newspaper because he proposed to settle a personal quarrel with an eminent political leader in a Court of Law. A rather complicated case comes from Karachi. The Secretary of the Sind Journalists Association wires on July 22 that Mr. K. Punniiah, who has been founder-editor of the *Sind Observer* for sixteen years and enjoys in Sind a position comparable to that of Mr. C. Y. Chintamani in the United Provinces, was asked by his Board of Directors not to publish reports of the Congress President's activities in Karachi or the proceedings of the States' Peoples' Conference or of the Congress Socialist Conference. Mr. Punniiah, if he did not accept the views of the Board, should have offered to resign. Mr. Punniiah, however, continued as Editor and published extensive reports of all three functions. The Directors decided to dispense with Mr. Punniiah's services and in addition to charge him at advertisement rates for the publicity he had given the Congress against the wishes of the Board. On the facts before the public the Board of Directors cannot be condemned for their action in dismissing Mr. Punniiah unless one takes the view that the proprietors of a paper are not entitled to decide what to publish or leave out in their publications. Both the public of Karachi and the Municipal members there seem to have adopted this attitude in censuring the Board. It is nevertheless strange that a long association of sixteen years has not produced a better understanding between editor and proprietors.

The Tennessee Valley Scheme :—We publish to-day the last of the series of three articles by Miss Caroline J. Porter of Philadelphia who has herself taken active part in the social side of the scheme. The *New Republic* of the 10th June contains a special supplement entitled 'Balance Sheet of the New Deal' in the course of which the editors observe with reference to the T. V. A., and Planning generally as follows :—"Much has been said about social-economic planning under the New Deal, but little has been done. Over-all economic planning of such matters as price, wage and production policies and co-ordination of industries has been conspicuously lacking. Planning for development of a region is being attempted under the T. V. A., and is being executed in such limited but useful fields as electric power, flood control and erosion control. Planning for employment of surplus farmers and other unemployed in the Tennessee Valley has, however, met formidable obstacles. Industries are not being created by government; few private industries will move in without general industrial expansion; even if they do, such isolated plants as may be attracted may exploit labour and by their competition

decrease employment elsewhere. Successful regional planning in the industrial sphere is impossible except in the setting of a successfully planned national economy. The National Resources Board has made a number of valuable reports in the field of conservation and development of resources, notably the Mississippi Valley Report, which outlines for that region a possible project of power development, flood and erosion control, navigation improvement, irrigation and water supply, afforestation, recreation, etc. A bill to create a Mississippi Valley Authority was introduced by Senator Norris, but has not passed. Creation of planning agencies by the various States has been encouraged; a number of such agencies have been formed and have rendered excellent reports covering such matters as highways, parks housing recreation, water supply, etc. The reports may guide legislation but are not likely to affect greatly the sector of economic life controlled by private business. In sum, it may be said that social planning has made advances in strictly governmental activities but has been retarded in private enterprise, which in turn does much to hamper Government planning."

European Situation :—The Dardenelles Conference has ended in a manner wholly favourable to Turkish aspirations. Turkey has been permitted to fortify both sides of the Straits. She might have done this even without permission as Herr Hitler did in Rhineland. But the Powers are grateful to Turkey for having asked their leave and thus helped to revive some of their own vanishing self-esteem. A rebellion has broken out in Spain. Notwithstanding the official assurances that the situation is under control the rebellion appears to be spreading. Spanish Morocco is involved. In France Socialists and Communists are co-operating in supporting the Blum Cabinet. In India Socialists are identified with Communists for purposes of denunciation. In Spain Socialists are fighting the Communists. The latest news is contained in a message from Washington dated the 24th, which runs: "The Embassy in Madrid has cabled that food supplies in Madrid are only sufficient for two days. It is reported that the rebels killed the guards on the city water reservoirs and the water supply is threatened. The American Consul Bilabo has urgently appealed to the State Department to send a warship to evacuate American women and children as he fears food shortage. It is reported that Government have captured San Sebastian." An earlier message from London stated that heavy fighting continues outside Madrid, from where a column of 5,000 militia marched at dawn towards Guadalajara to assist in stemming the rebel advance. It is reported that all shops are closed, streets deserted and places of worship and a convent burning. A Hendaye message states that the revolution has reached a crucial point, with both sides having equal chances of success.



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BOMBAY, July 25, 1936.

RAJATARANGINI*.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his brief Foreword to the English version of Kalhana's "Rajatarangini" by Mr. Ranjit S. Pandit, remarks that 'one of the reasons which led him to translate this ancient story of our (the Pandits') old homeland was to enable my father to read it, for he knew no Sanskrit.' Pandit Motilal did not live to see the work which the author has appropriately dedicated to his memory. Mr. Pandit himself explains in his prefatory note that he has translated the "Rajatarangini" into English as Sir Aurel Stein's translation published in 1900 'does not give an adequate conception of the work as a literary composition to readers unable to study the original.' Further, Sir Aurel's main interest in Kalhana's Chronicle was archaeological and topographical. Mr. Pandit's translation reproduces, so far as a translation can, the spirit of the ancient chronicler. It gives us vivid pictures of the scenes which were present before the poet's mind when he composed his great history. What is more, Mr. Pandit by his footnotes, which display a wide range of reading, brings out the relation between Kashmir and the rest of India in social, religious and cultural spheres. In Sir Aurel Stein's translation, Kashmir is isolated from its Indian heritage, environment and even geography. In Mr. Pandit's, the extent to which these influenced the mind of the author as well as the history of Kashmir, is brought out clearly. Mr. Pandit's translation links up Kashmir with the history of the rest of India. Sir Aurel Stein's work will still remain the standard work for the scholar and the archaeologist. It is the work of an expert in historical research and is marked by scientific precision. By comparison, the amateur character of Mr. Pandit's translation is more conspicuous than it should be on its merits. This is largely due to Mr. Pandit's voluminous erudition of a rather desultory kind, selection from which demands severe self-denial possible only to disciplined scholarship. In this respect, he is a true exponent of Kalhana himself. A minor defect is the intrusion of colloquialisms like "pal" for boon companion, "duffer" for dullard, in the translation of the classic.

The following passage taken from the author's "Invitation" to his readers, illustrates his special point of view as distinguished from Sir Aurel Stein's. "Kalhana's poem," writes Mr. Pandit "proves that the ancient system of the Aryans in India, who...recognised the freedom of women prevailed up to the 12th century. The ruling princes had plurality of wives... Seclusion or veiling of women was unknown even among royalty. The queens of Kashmir were sprinkled with the sacred waters of the

* English Translation by R. S. Pandit, Allahabad.

coronation side by side with the kings who shared the throne with their consorts. The queens had separate funds, their own treasurers and councillors and were actively interested in the government of the country...Inter-caste marriages are mentioned and a princess of the blood royal was given in marriage to the Brahmin superintendent of a convent. The best of Kashmir rulers were, according to Kalhana, the King's sons by a divorcee, a Baniya woman from Rohtak near Delhi, while the mother of another warrior king, Samkarvarman, was the daughter of a low caste spirit distiller. Even untouchability was no bar. King Chakravarman married an untouchable Domba woman and made her the premier queen. Kalhana relates that she entered the sacred temple of Vishnu. Her relatives were appointed ministers." One may doubt how far these marriages represented advanced social opinion. The Baniya woman of Rohtak was seduced by the king when he was a guest at the merchant's mansion, and the husband, making a virtue of necessity, offered his wife as a gift to the king, and went to the length of proposing that he would dedicate his wife to the temple in order to enable the king to take her into his harem. The marriage of a king of Kashmir with a Domba woman is likewise rather evidence of the whim of a despotic ruler than of the non-existence of the custom of 'untouchability.' That the courtiers followed the Domba queen to a Vishnu temple only shows that courtiers at all times are obsequious to those who happen to wield the sceptre. Rulers in some Indian states in our own time have been credited with equally heterodox alliances with the acquiescence of their orthodox courtiers. Mr. Pandit rather idealises the state of society in Kashmir. Kalhana had a very poor opinion of the natives which he does not take pains to conceal. Whatever might have been the case with queens, the women of Kashmir did not enjoy a higher status than their sisters elsewhere.

Who was Kalhana? Sir Aurel Stein makes out that he was a Brahmin, son of a minister of State though he himself never held office, and was in touch with the leading men and events of his time. Kalhana describes several incidents as having happened before his eyes. Of others he had information from persons who witnessed them. Mr. Pandit does not devote so much attention as Sir Aurel to Kalhana's personality. He assumes that he was a Kashmiri. Without any pretensions to the scholarship of Sir Aurel Stein and Mr. Pandit, it strikes us that Kalhana need not have been either a Brahmin or a Kashmir man. He has no high opinion of Brahmins. For Kashmir Brahmins in particular he seems to have cherished nothing but contempt. Again and again, he sneers at them for accepting gifts from kings and others who were notorious for their infamies. In one instance, when a bandit band raided a temple, the Brahmins sneaked away concealing the images under their arm-pits. Kalhana was deeply versed in Buddhist



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lore although apparently he professed the dominant Saivite faith. Neither Sir Aurel nor Mr. Pandit care to notice the reference which Kalhana makes to a Rajaputra of that name. Was Kalhana a Rajput? Of the bravery and constancy of Rajputs he expresses much appreciation. Sir Aurel Stein argues that only a Brahmin of Kalhana's time could have had the mastery of Sanskrit which his poem shows. Many kings and princes were erudite scholars and Brahmins even in Vedic times went to them to learn the philosophy of Brahman. Kalhana's attitude throughout the poem is that of a disinterested onlooker. He does not feel as a Kashmiri but as a sojourner in a strange land. Anyhow, he was a writer much in advance of his time. His outlook is quite that of a modern especially in what constituted good government. This is well brought out by Mr. Pandit in several footnotes.

PLANNING FOR SOCIAL WELFARE: A GREAT EXPERIMENT.

III

For the safety of the workers all sorts of methods have been devised:—safety talks, printed warnings, safety devices, so that the number of fatalities is far below the average.

Partly for their health, partly to distribute labour as widely as possible, there are four shifts of 5½ hours each for the workers on the Dams, where there is no way to escape the finely powdered dust. (The other two hours of the 24 are needed to clean the machinery).

This short workday leaves so much time free that an adult educational programme has been worked out under trained educators and both men and women employees can secure almost any course they want,—Arithmetic, English, Radio, Forestry, Agricultural subjects, Automobile mechanics, Metalwork, Blue-print reading, Photography, Book-keeping, Mechanical drawing, Air-conditioning, Foremanship-training, practical electricity, Carpentry, Dairying, Poultry-raising, Shorthand, Typewriting—almost anything, in fact, that will increase their efficiency in their present jobs, fit the peculiar needs of the area, make for a better life, or train the workers for future leadership in the community.

The Educational section provides not only vocational training but recreational and cultural opportunities as well, through programmes, games, gymnasiums, movies in places where there are otherwise no such facilities and libraries—central libraries and travelling loan libraries, so that a reservoir clearance crew, for example, can take along to their remote and lonely work a book-box brought up to date every two weeks,—over which the saw-filer presides. These libraries are all under one of the most able, popular and successful public librarians of the area, a very remarkable woman, for women are granted recognition in the T. V. A. and assigned important posts like this. The treasurer of the T. V. A. also, for example, is a woman.

The wives of the employees, too, are provided with courses in home-making, child study, gardening and all sorts of household arts, while in areas where state or public education is not available, elementary and secondary education is provided for their children.

Instead of the usual temporary construction camp, there was built near Norris Dam a permanent town, of small, inexpensive houses, rental from \$ 14½

to \$ 45 per month, for families and bunk houses, or dormitories, for single men and women. There is a most attractive Community House, built of logs, and a school house, for progressive education, of latest designs and equipment, with assembly room where public lectures and church services are held.

Religious Fellowship is through union services for all denominations, under the leadership of a minister whose "messages" are so helpful that people come from miles around. During the week he has another job.

The town of Norris, which is under a qualified Town Manager, is thoroughly electrified, most of the houses having not only electric lights, but appliances for house-heating, cooking, washing-machine, automatic hot water, heaters, refrigerators and all sorts of minor electrical appliances.

By the time the power house is finished, it is probable that the bunk house may be vacated as the men are transferred to other work. But a small nucleus will remain and the bunk-houses will be needed for electrified factories; for one of the great ambitions of the T. V. A. is to help create an area of decentralized small or local industries using the easily-transferred cheap electric current in factories which will use local products and give employment, and, therefore, cash to people living in small communities where each house has, perhaps, its own 4 acre farm for crops, kitchen-gardens, flowers, fruit trees; and the community has poultry-farms, dairies and forests for daily needs.

EXPERIMENTS.

1. *Trees.*—Meanwhile experiments in improving native trees, fruits and nuts canning and preserving, or in introducing products, like the white potato, not native to the area, are going on, and the resources of the area are being investigated with an eye toward starting new industries using these home-grown products and not competing with anything already established in the United States.

2. *Starch.*—A thrilling development followed the discovery that starch—excellent starch, too, could be made from sweet potatoes, a drug in the market, food for pigs. And practically no starch is made in the U. S. A. Within a few weeks after the discovery had been made public, the newspapers carried an advertisement of a private firm asking for sweet potatoes to be delivered at a price to a rejuvenated building, which will be used as a starch factory—a new source of revenue for the people, a market for their sweet potatoes and a factory with jobs. This illustrates the alertness to find new opportunities, the resourcefulness in creation, in securing interest and co-operation, and the ability of the T. V. A. to turn new discoveries into immediate and practical use.

3. *Ceramics.*—In ceramics, too, a specialist, highly trained in European countries in the use of electric kilns for pottery manufacture, was at work; for tests had shown that the soil around Norris makes remarkably fine paste for dishes and a porcelain factory would not encroach on any established business. Then, too, native insulating materials around there, how can these be used and how take advantage of all the other natural resources? For the T. V. A. does not mean to leave the area destitute and resourceless and full of wandering, dislocated men, as many construction projects do, but equipped and ready for a well-rounded life.

A GAIN FOR THE WHOLE COUNTRY.

With all these new needs and wants and interests and an already increased cash income, the area even now is buying "from outside" all sorts of things, such as agricultural implements and electrical



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appliances for the increasing use of the cheap electricity and so the whole country has profited from this new prosperity and enterprise. Dr. A. E. Morgan says, "Every man employed in the T. V. A. makes work for two men outside."

The T.V. A. does not compel action unless it must. What it aims to do is to suggest ways and means and methods, to be a reservoir of information about the possibilities, to be drawn upon for advice or help, or to refer the seeker to the right one of the amazingly many co-operating agencies already lined up for mutual service. This co-operative line-up as one of the strongest factors in prompt and efficient accomplishment, for co-ordinating and unifying all sorts of local, state, federal and private agencies and their specialists, is an outstanding feature of the T. V. A. effort. The list of co-operating agencies is very impressive, but too long even to enumerate.

The quest for the best results in a spirit of gay adventuring inquiry and experimentation, minds always open to suggestion and alert to see possibilities and to turn the impossible into possible. During a particularly cold spell, neighbours greeted each other, not with questions as to the health of the family, though some one might be ill, but, "How did your heating stand up during this weather?" for this trying out of electricity for heating on a large scale for the first time was a matter of personal concern. As you enter the area, you are struck by this spirit of proprietorship, enthusiasm, responsibility, bustling activity, extraordinary co-operativeness, hope. You feel almost overwhelmed by the "boom spirit," the spirit of the pioneer, by the released and abounding energy on all sides, set free to work and think and act, by the consciousness of a great group, dedicated and consecrated in an almost religious sense to a high ideal and a consuming purpose. There is no loafing anywhere. It is as if everyone leaped to his task with limitless joy and inner spiritual satisfaction. The work, in shifts, continues night and day; someone is always working; and it was one of the most spectacular of sights to see the intense activity going on at night, under the brilliant overhead lights, so dazzeingly reflected in the water of the Clinch River, just below Norris Dam.

The work of the Tennessee Valley Authority, as Dr. A. E. Morgan says, is "more than building a dam"; it is nothing less than helping people see and use all the great possibilities and opportunities around them; helping them to "achieve new levels of practical and social well-being in a studied and integrated programme" which includes everything and everybody, makes for a united area, throbbing with happiness, full of absorbing interest, in which it is a challenge, a delight and an inspiration to live, and results in a great, glowing enthusiasm, joy of life, spontaneous creative ability and a shared and boundless hope, as all work together in the closest kind of mutual helpfulness and co-operation with a common purpose and for a common good, the all inclusive, rounded out well-being of the whole Tennessee Valley.

June 12, 1936.

CAROLINE J. PORTER.

Social Legislation:—The Bombay Women's Association held a meeting on 20th July 1936, when the following Resolution was adopted:—

1 Mr. B. Das' Bill to Amend the Child Marriage Restraint Act. "This Public Meeting of the Women of Bombay held under the auspices of the Bombay Women's Association, gives its whole hearted support to the provisions of the Child Marriage Restraint Act Amendment bill introduced by Mr. B. Das in the Legislative Assembly."

HINDU WOMEN AND PROPERTY RIGHTS.

(By B. G. KHER.)

The object of the Hindu Women's rights to property Bill is to amend the Hindu Law as it stands in order to give better rights to women in respect of the property of a Hindu, who dies without making a Will, whether that property was his separate property or whether it was the property of a joint family of which he was a member. This assumes that a woman is entitled to have certain rights to property and that the rights accorded to her under the Hindu Law as it stands are inadequate. There are unfortunately many people in our midst, who dispute both these propositions. The Bill has already been the cause of a battle in the more sturdy and virile Central Provinces where weapons other than words and arguments were freely made use of by men and threats of perpetual banishment to hotels and boarding houses were resorted to by the fairer sex. I am very glad we have at last begun to think and to feel on this vital subject.

Whatever may have been the rights and status of woman in the times of the *Srutis* (*Vedas*), from the times of the *Smritis* at any rate in India, and from the very beginning of history in almost every other country, woman appears to be in a state of subordination, of subjection, to man and her legal status is one of perpetual tutelage. It is the opinion of many thinkers that this subjection of woman arises from the conscious or unconscious worship of physical strength as the supremely important element in human life. For this worship of force, they advocate the substitution of the worship of human personality—so that there may be a full and free development for all who share a common humanity. They contend that unless women are free, there can not be freedom for society as a whole. "For it is in the mental attitude involved in a tolerance of women's subjection that is to be found the cause of the enslavement of half the world and once the revolution involved in the granting of equal rights to the weaker, were completely accomplished, militarism and the baser sort of imperialism would *ipso facto* have been thrown over-board."

Until recently, the position of women in the West, so far as education, work, franchise and rights to property are concerned, was not at all satisfactory. It can not be said to be so even now, but women there have themselves been carrying on a vigorous agitation since the middle of the Nineteenth Century which has improved their condition immensely. The history of the emancipation of Englishwomen is full of interest and has many lessons to teach us. Since the publication of the "Subjection of Women" of J. S. Mill, says Blease, the whole course of the emancipation of women may be traced in an unbroken line down to the present day. "Women were allowed to vote at municipal elections in 1869. In 1870, they were made eligible for membership of the new School Boards. In 1875, they sat for the first time on Boards of Guardians. They were permitted to acquire medical qualifications in 1876. The Married Woman's Property Acts in 1870 and 1932 protected the earnings and property of wives from the rapacity of their husbands and a number of statutes have brought legal separation within the reach of those poorer women who most need it. The Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 improved the existing means of protection against sexual offences and raised the age at which a young girl could consent to her own dishonour."

*Adapted from a speech in Marathi, delivered to the Brahmin Bhagini Samaj.

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from thirteen to sixteen years. In 1886, women were permitted to act as guardians to their own children after the father's death. In 1886, they began to vote for County Council. The right of the husband to the absolute possession of his wife's body received a serious blow in 1891, when the famous Clitheroe case decided that a husband had no right to carry off his wife by force, or to imprison her until she submitted to his wishes. In 1907, they were admitted to membership of County and Borough Councils, and even to the office of Mayor. Every year has seen a larger interest taken by women in National politics. They have taken rapid strides in education, their influence is felt in legislation, women are now treated as friends, where fifty years ago they would have been treated merely as potential wives. One of the greatest revolutions has taken place in the short space of a generation.

Women in India have a great deal of distance to cover. They can very well avoid the mistakes of their sisters in the West, but take up their spirit, agitation and struggle. I am by no means a blind admirer of the West, but I do feel that our attitude to woman must now undergo a thorough overhauling. Her complete economic dependence; marriage—the sole choice of her life; domestic tyranny and drudgery—her absorbing occupation; motherhood thrust upon her when she is but yet a child; education next to nil—I am not speaking here of the insignificant number of advanced and well-to-do women in cities who have other problems of their own—all this must be changed.

In order to "ensure that girls may be brought up with some definite purpose in life, that their choice of a husband and their choice of whether to marry at all may be influenced by no irrelevant motives" that after marriage, their life be rendered fruitful and happy, their economic independence is a necessity. Even before a boy begins to earn his own living, the knowledge that he will soon do so gives a certain sense of liberty to his life but the girl knows that she will be in dependence on her father until she substitutes for it the dependence on a husband. Dr. Deshmukh's Bill, therefore, in so far as it is intended to achieve this object, must be welcomed by us all.

I shall now say a few words about the Bill itself. I will not here go into details which can only be appreciated or understood by persons familiar with the intricacies of Hindu Law. Hindu Law is, no doubt, a very difficult subject to modify and legislate piece-meal, but the alternative—*vis*, to codify the whole of it—is almost an impossibility at this stage. At the risk of some confusion arising, therefore, it is necessary to alter it in such matters as are vitally concerned with the progress of our Society as a whole.

The preamble of the Bill is unexceptionable; it says that it is necessary to give better rights to women in respect of the property of a Hindu, either separate or a member of a joint Hindu family, dying intestate and in respect of separate property and the joint family property. Section 2 of the Bill enacts that, save as altered by the provisions of this Act, Hindu Law is to remain in full force. Section 3 provides that sex should not be a ground for disqualification from having a right to property.

Section 4 is the most important Section, but I am afraid it is not very clear and not very happily drafted. It falls into two divisions which should be separated: the one relating to self-acquired or separate property—the other relating to joint family property. There ought not to be very great opposition as to provisions dealing with the first kind of property, though

it does no doubt alter the course of succession. Even as the Hindu Law stands today, by making a Will, every Hindu will be in a position either to allow or to prevent devolution in the manner suggested. Dr. Deshmukh has recently issued a statement to the Press of which you are all on doubt aware. He has pointed out that his Bill is not opposed to Hindu culture and is welcomed by many distinguished social reformers. The first part also requires some drafting alterations.

As to the second part—*vis*, that relating to joint family property—I think there will be a storm of protest on the part of those who consider that Hindu Society has been preserved because of the joint family system. I shall not attempt here to deal with this controversial question, though I am myself of opinion that the widow and the daughter of a co-parcener having no sons, should succeed to the whole of his share after his death and it should not lapse to the surviving co-parcener of the joint family. This clause is, however, not properly worded. The Bill says "the widow and the daughters of a co-parcener having sons shall succeed to his share." Here the words "along with the sons, all of them having equal shares" should be added to make Dr. Deshmukh's meaning clear.

The Bill will have to be carefully considered and drafted in the light of the numerous contingencies arising and this neither is the place nor the time to attempt such a task. I should rest content by according my whole-hearted support to the principle underlying the Bill and leave the drafting and the actual settlement of the words of the Section to a Committee of Expert Draftsmen. The Bill is no doubt revolutionary in character but we, who are seeking to build a new order of society, must not be afraid of the word "revolution". If you once recognise that woman is entitled to a position which will enable her to develop fully on lines best suited to her nature, we ought not to grudge her a measure of economic independence. She must have opportunities of playing her destined part in the evolution of a better world and, apart from any consideration of theoretical equality of sexes which is sometimes the cause of much illogical controversy, she must be placed in a position in which she is not utterly dependent for her livelihood on the good-will and tolerance of men. Women's Associations must not rest content with merely supporting such measures, when someone initiates them but be more aggressive, assert their rights to fair treatment in all spheres of life and uphold the dignity of womanhood.

Russian Decree:—A Revolution in personal relationships is being effected by a decree which has become effective throughout Soviet Russia. The decree ends the system of easy divorce and abolishes the only widely-known method of birth control. It forbids abortions except to save the life of the mother or in cases of hereditary disease. It sets up bonuses for large families, enforces alimony payments for the support of children, and raises the cost of divorce—in some cases as much as \$8,000 per cent. It also forbids divorces on the petition and appearance of one party only. Vast increases are made in the Budget for the assistance of mothers and children. Under the present birth rate of 32 per 1,000, the increase of the population to 800,000,000 by 1971 is assured. The present population is 170,000,000, and the increased use of the tremendous natural resources will make the nation capable of supporting many times the present population. The decree was foreshadowed a month ago, and is signed by M. Kalinin and M. Molotov, the Soviet "Premier". The expenditure on hospitals, nursing, maternity homes, arches and clinics is greatly increased under the 1936 Budget which provides largely increased bonuses for big families.



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THE NEW RUSSIAN CONSTITUTION.

The announcement of Soviet Russia's proposed new constitution could hardly have come at a more dramatic moment. Political democracy is at a heavy discount in many countries throughout the world today. Theorists have been telling us that it provides an inadequate answer to the problems with which the nations are now confronted. Yet the proposal that has been made for the U. S. S. R., and will undoubtedly be accepted, goes a long distance toward liberal, democratic organization on the model of the United States or Great Britain. It gives powerful ammunition, just at the moment of greatest need, with which to answer the fascist theorists of Italy and Germany.

Under the new plan, the U. S. S. R. will be governed by a bicameral legislature. One house, the All-Union Soviet Congress, will consist of about six hundred members chosen by direct, universal and secret suffrage, on a geographical basis, one member to each 300,000 of population. The House of Nationalities, of about three hundred members, will be chosen by the Provincial Councils, with ten members for each of the federated republics, five for each autonomous republic, and two for each autonomous region. These two houses will jointly elect the Council of Commissars, Presidium of thirty-one members, president, four assistants and secretary. The two houses are expected to meet twice a year, for sixty days at each session. If they disagree with each other a new election is called; otherwise, the term in office is four years. Any member can be recalled by two-thirds vote of his constituents, and referendum on important national subjects are provided for. Under a plan similar to that of the British House of Commons, questions may be asked on government policies and replies by responsible officials returned within three days. All persons of both sexes over eighteen years of age have full right of suffrage, with a special proviso that this applies to formerly disfranchised "class enemies." The disparity between the voting power of the industrial worker and the peasant is now to be abolished, as was promised in February, 1935. While the summaries of the Constitution thus far available are not quite clear, apparently large numbers of government officials will be under compulsion to seek membership in the All-Union Soviet Congress, and must resign their posts if defeated.

Some of the other new aspects of the Constitution will seem equally startling to many persons outside the U. S. S. R. The right of private property of a personal character is strongly emphasized. Even private farming is sanctioned, provided there is no exploitation of labour. Freedom of religion, the press and speech are underlined. Both houses of the new legislature will contain non-Communists as well as Communists. Further assurance that the civil rights of individuals will have increased protection is to be found in the fact that judges are to be elected—those of the lower courts by direct popular vote—for terms of limited duration. To round out the changes, the number of federated republics is increased from seven to eleven, the Caucasian Federation being broken up into Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia, and Kirghizia and Kazakstan added.

While these changes are of profound significance, they are of course less sweeping than much of the comment that has been made outside the U. S. S. R. would imply. It was never true that Soviet Russia had a one-man dictatorship, as hostile critics have maintained, and even the dictatorship of the proletariat, operating chiefly through the Communist Party, has been much exaggerated both as to its efficiency and

the ruthlessness with which it has carried out its aims. Some of the provisions of the new Constitution have been foreshadowed, and even partly effectuated, years ago.

The new proposal embodies no retreat from the programme of socialism. The right of property will still not include the use of private capital, or the exploitation of another's labour. The guarantee of religious freedom means in essence the same situation that now exists, with churches tolerated but with only a decreasing and insignificant part of the rising generation embracing the old doctrines. Freedom of speech and of the press does not mean that advocates of private capitalism will be permitted to engage in public propaganda; it means increased emphasis on self-criticism within the assumption that the ideal toward which to work is a classless society and common ownership of the means of production. The Russian Communists will continue to believe that political liberty without economic security and justice is a delusion, and to safeguard their experiment at any cost.

The new proposals, in fact, are not an acknowledgment of failure but a demonstration of success. Marxian theory has always held that the dictatorship of the proletariat was merely a transitional stage in the movement toward completely democratic socialism. Over and over again the Russian leaders have emphasized that they were in the "war phase of communism," an interim period that was still at least as far from the ideal toward which they were working as it was from the imperialism and capitalism of the days of the Tsars. If today they are able to relax the restrictions of the past, it is because the first phase of their work is largely completed. They began in a society that had never known liberty at all, a society 90 percent of whose members were the children or grandchildren of serfs. Today there are millions of adult men and women who have no memory of anything else than the socialist state. Of all the revolutions that have been going on simultaneously in Soviet Russia in the past eighteen years, none is more remarkable than the revolution in the outlook of a whole generation.

It will be said, of course, that the liberalized Constitution is part of the preparation for the coming war with Japan, that the leaders in Moscow are removing grievances of individuals at home in order to mobilize more effectively against an alien foe. While this result may take place, we do not believe that it is a matter of cause and effect. We believe the changes would have come about in any case, and have probably even been postponed by the desperate necessity of improvising military defenses both in the East and the West.

It is far too early to discuss the effect of Soviet Russia's new Constitution on her foreign relations. Vast quantities of anti-Russian propaganda in the Western countries have been based on the assumption that here was a remorseless dictatorship regimenting millions of reluctant slaves. When the new scheme goes into effect, the value of such propaganda will be greatly diminished. We doubt, however, whether any important realignment of the nations will, or can, result. The Great Powers, are guided chiefly by what they consider to be their national self-interest and this includes, in most cases, a strong desire to see any and every socialist experiment fail. The leaders of the U. S. S. R. knew this when they entered the alliance with France. They are well aware that if their experiment is to be preserved in the midst of a hostile world, their own strength is its best and only guarantee.—*The New Republic*. realpatidar.com



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LEGAL FACILITIES TO AGRICULTURISTS.

(BY K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR.)

The uplift of villages is the fashion of the day. Government, on one side, is trying its best to make the villagers happy in its own way, through its official machinery. Our leaders, on the other hand, are also anxious to improve the conditions of the poor villagers who are mostly agriculturists, in many popular ways which appeal to the people. It is an admitted fact that social customs which take much money of the agriculturists, and a keen desire for litigation are two great factors which are mainly responsible for the poverty of the villagers. It is a happy sign, however, that propaganda is being carried on to educate the people not to spend lavishly upon their social functions. Litigation is another source of expenditure. Attempts should, therefore, be made to instruct the villagers in the broad principles of law in general so that they may not rush to the court at once to get their grievances redressed.

The Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act was passed to help the agriculturists against the deceptive remedies used by moneylenders. No doubt, opinions are expressed even by the eminent judges that Act has not fulfilled the purpose for which it was meant. Still it gives many facilities to agriculturists to protect them against the greedy sowkars. It is generally found in everyday practice that a proper use of this Act is not made by the public. An attempt is, therefore, made in this article to give in short the facilities given to agriculturists by this Act. If proper advantage is taken of these facilities the conditions of the agriculturists will certainly be improved. The attention of our leaders is therefore invited to these lines.

Money suits against the agriculturists must be instituted where they reside. In case of agriculturists the Court has got the power to admit evidence of a contemporaneous oral agreement, and inquire to determine the real nature of the transaction, to find out if any ostensible sale is in reality a mortgage. In money suits and in suits for foreclosure, possession or sale of mortgaged property when the defendants are agriculturists and in suits for redemption when plaintiffs are agriculturists, the Court has power to exercise the broadest equity. The court is bound to inquire into the merits of every claim, from its earliest origin with a view first to ascertain, if there be any fraud, mistake, accident, undue influence or otherwise, and then to make a debit and credit account between the parties according to certain prescribed rules which allow only simple interest at such rate as may be reasonable to the Court, notwithstanding any agreement between the parties as to following compound interest or taking the profits of mortgaged property in lieu of interest. The Court can order a decree for redemption on a suit by a mortgagor though the term fixed by the mortgagee has not lapsed or the debt has not been paid.

Agriculturists are allowed to sue for accounts in ascertainment of debts due for money lent etc., also when there is mortgaged property to be redeemed on their depositing money in Court. In such suits no interest will be allowed. No agriculturist can be arrested or imprisoned in execution of money decree and no immovable property can be attached or sold, standing crops excepted, unless specifically mortgaged. The Court, even of its own motion, can direct the collector to take possession of such land as is not wanted for the support of the judgment-debtor and his family and manage it by letting it on lease or otherwise for benefit for the decree-holder for any period not

exceeding seven years. The collector can set aside the sale by the public auction of the property of an agriculturist if he thinks that the price bid by the purchaser is inadequate.

Subordinate judges shall have power to declare in agriculturist an insolvent. Their orders are not appealable. An agriculturist having a debt of Rs. 50/- or upwards may claim to be declared an insolvent. The Nazir of the court is to act as Receiver of his property except immovable property without charging any commission. The collector may be ordered to manage the immovable property of the agriculturist for a term upto seven years according to rules framed for the benefit of his creditors except such portion as is necessary for his support and that of his family and such buildings as are occupied by him. He may let the property for a term upto twenty years if mortgaged and secure the permission to pay off the debt. He may even sell it if necessary and after the balance available has been distributed, the claims of the creditors will be deemed to be discharged. Village munsifs may be appointed for any village within a radius of two miles with jurisdiction in money claims not exceeding rupees twenty-five. Their decrees shall not be subject to appeal but shall be liable to be set aside by the district judge for gross partiality or misconduct. The suit filed in the courts of village munsifs are exempt from court-fee stamp. Pleaders are not allowed to appear before the village munsifs.

As regards registration in case of agriculturists instruments are to be drawn up by the Registrar or under his superintendence, to be read aloud, and to be executed in his presence by the executants. They are to be attested by two witnesses and the Registrar. The consideration is to be fully stated by the Registrar and also an endorsement is to be made on the instrument if any consideration is actually paid in his presence.

Instruments required to be registered under Section 17 of the Indian Registration Act are to be written or caused to be written by the sub-registrar and are to be attested by two witnesses.

Money lenders are obliged under penalty to give receipts, pass books, containing accounts made up from time to time and annual statements of account. A sub-judge is empowered to give professional assistance to an agriculturist in proper cases free of costs.

The period of limitation for suing an agriculturist on any registered bond is extended to twelve years and for a suit for recovery of money in other cases is extended to six years.

NOTES ON THE WAY.

Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's Bill to confer property rights on Hindu women is very much the subject of the day. The meetings arranged by women in support of the Bill all over the country, have been a great opportunity for ventilating feminine grievances before a select audience of distinguished men and with, generally speaking, eminent men in the Chair. Only Nagpur men have revolted against the Bill which they detest as strongly as Capitalists abhor Socialist measures. One Mr. Paranjpye—not to be confused with Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, who as Rationalist and Liberal leader is twice precluded from opposing reform measures—raised a persistent and obstreperous voice against supporters of the Bill. Mr. Paranjpye, as a staunch Hindu Sabha man, felt it his duty to point out a new aspect of the problem. Giving women the right to possess and inherit property, he said, would increase abductions since the abductor would



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get both woman and property through his act. But for the pandemonium which brought the meeting to an abrupt end, I am sure some ingenious speaker would have put the abductor's case before Mr. Paranjpye. So long, he would have argued, as women had no interest in family property, the family was of little consequence to the abductor. Whether the family approved or not, he gained nothing more than the woman. On the other hand the movies and the novels had raised young Lochinvar high in the esteem of young women at the expense of the honest respectable citizen. So abduction wins the day. Under Dr. Deshmukh's dispensation, however, things will be different. Women are to be given an interest in family property and at the same time every man is left secure in the right to dispose of his own property by will. There is every reason, therefore, for keeping the family in countenance and the would-be abductor will realise how much more he has to gain as son-in-law than as tough. But this probably would have been an even more distressing prospect to Mr. Paranjpye.

Nagpur women, however, have no intention of letting matters rest at that. At a subsequent meeting they declared for a Lysistratian policy of having nothing to do with men till they proved more reasonable. This seems to have won the admiration of Mr. B. G. Kher who referred to their reported decision to banish Nagpur men to hotels and eating-houses at a meeting of Brahmin ladies in Bombay. "I am glad," said Mr. Kher, "that we have begun to think and feel strongly on this vital subject." Nagpur is a long way off and Mr. Kher can afford to rejoice at the music of a distant drum. Even if Bombay women did decide to join the Nagpur crusade, there are enough good eating-houses to look after the men. In fact it is reported that few women in Bombay can hold out the Nagpur threat because cooking is well-nigh a lost art in most families. I would earnestly advise women here to run a census to see how many middle class families get their food from eating-houses, hotels or other agencies before taking up this two-edged weapon. It might end in driving many women back to the kitchen—to cook their own food.

So long as sports are a matter of interest only to the men who take part in them, there is much to commend them. But there is little to say for international contests. International diplomacy has seen many follies but I doubt if there has been anything to equal the recent cricket episodes which have figured on the front pages of our press. Nothing is a stronger argument for India's withdrawing from these games than the fact that one young man was considered so indispensable as to be rushed to England by air and another was regarded as so unamenable to discipline as to be packed off to India, asked on apology to return by air and finally in the interest of discipline told to go home. One can understand that men are anxious to win but that they should lose their sense of proportion so much as to quarrel among themselves is absurd. And all for pitting eleven Indians against eleven Englishmen on a cricket pitch! If the team had been from Fascist Italy instead of non-violent India, I could appreciate this tense desire to do their best. For Mr. Tunis in *Foreign Affairs* tells us what Italy expects from her representatives. "I was standing," he writes, "in the lobby of a Central European hotel. Along came a group of war veterans, at least they might be war veterans had their ages been right. Limping, hobbling, patched and battered, they were the football team of Czechoslovakia. Their Italian opponents that afternoon had gone out to win regard-

less of rules and umpire; they had hammered, hit and gouged their way to victory. And so would you in their places, knowing what would be the attitude taken at home to man who proved themselves so unworthy as to lose in an international contest." It would be a healthy innovation to award the prize in advance before competing with Fascist sportsmen. But what a development from the games of the village in which no one bothered about the result! If Fascism brings about the end of all international sports, it would have more than made up for the evils it has inflicted on a long-suffering world.

Weak end:—"The foolish idea that Britain can be intimidated," the *Times of India* admonishes Indian readers, "is denied by facts. British Governments like the British people are not impressed by disrespect for law and order whether in violent or non-violent form."

V. A.

OVERSEAS INDIANS RECIPROCITY BILL

His Excellency the Governor-General has accorded sanction required by Section 67 (2) (d) of the Government of India Act to the introduction of the "Overseas Indians Reciprocity Bill" in the Legislative Assembly. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, M.L.A., Deputy Leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly, will accordingly move his bill during the forthcoming session of the Assembly.

TEXT OF BILL

The Overseas Indian Reciprocity Act—An Act to safeguard the rights and interests of Indian Nationals abroad.

Whereas it is expedient to safeguard the legitimate rights and interests on Indians in countries outside India, it is hereby enacted as follows:—

(1) This Act may be called the Overseas Indians Reciprocity Act.

(2) It extends to the whole of British India.

(3) In this Act unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(1) "State" means a foreign state or a colony as defined in the General Clauses Act (Act No X of 1937) but does not mean any state under an Indian Prince or Chief in India.

(2) A "notified state" means a state in respect of which a notification has been published under Section and has not been withdrawn under Section 5 of this act.

(3) British India includes Burma.

(4) British Indian Subject includes an Indian settled or domiciled in a State.

(5) European British subject means an European British subject as defined in the Criminal Procedure Code, 1898.

3. Whenever British Indian subjects are subjected, directly or indirectly, to any disability, restriction, condition or liability in the matter of taxation or entry into a state, or in regard to the holding of public office or property of any kind, the carrying on of any profession, trade business or occupation, or the employment of servants or agents, or in respect of residence or travel within the boundaries of a state or in any part thereof, to which the subjects of or European British subjects in that state, are not actually subjected, the Government of India shall, on being satisfied about the imposition and existence of such disability, restriction, condition or liability publish a notification in the Gazette of India specifying the name of the state concerned along with the nature of such disability, restriction, condition or liability.

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4. Subject to the provisions of this act a subject of a notified state,

(1) may not hold any public office and if employed in any such office he shall be removed therefrom,

(2) shall not engage in any trade, profession, business or occupation,

(3) may not be granted a certificate of naturalisation and shall not be entitled to the benefit of Chapter XXXIII of the Criminal Procedure Code or Act IX of 1874 as distinguished from Chapter VIII of the Criminal Procedure Code, notwithstanding the provisions of the Indian Naturalisation Act, (No. VII of 1926,) the Indian Criminal Law Amendment Act, (No. XII of 1923), and the European Vagrancy Act (No. IX of 1874).

(b) No bounty or subsidy may be granted out of public funds to any subject of a notified state or to any company, firm or partnership in which a share or interest is held by such subject.

5. The Government of India may by notification in Gazette of India

(a) impose on the subjects of a notified state any disability, liability, condition or restriction in the matter of taxation, entry into British India or holding of any property.

(b) order such subject to leave British India and

(c) prohibit the entry of goods of any kind from a notified state into British India;

And it may similarly rescind any such notifications or add to, amend or vary its terms.

6. When the Government of India is satisfied that the grounds which gave occasion for a notification under Section 3 of this Act have ceased to exist in respect of any state it may publish a notification to that effect in the "Gazette of India" and such state shall not be regarded as a notified state after the publication of the latter notification.

7. The disabilities and restrictions mentioned in Section 4 above shall come into operation only after six months from the date of publication of the notification under Section 3.

8. (1) The Government of India may exempt the subjects of a notified state from all or any of the disabilities and restrictions specified in Section 4 above by publishing a notification in the "Gazette of India."

(2) No notification shall be made under Sub-section (1) unless it has been laid in draft before both chambers of Indian Legislature and has been approved by a resolution of each chamber either with or without modification and except in the form in which it has been approved by both chambers.

9. A Local Government may, in special cases and for reasons recorded by it, exempt any individual subject of a notified state from any disability, restriction, condition or liability.

10. A District Magistrate may direct any person who may be acting in contravention of or who has omitted to comply with the provisions of Section 4 or any notification under Section 5 to abstain from or to do such act within a specified period as the case may be, in conformity with the requirements of the said section of notification.

11. A subject of a notified state or any person who has failed to carry out a direction under Section 10, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months or with fine or with both if he has intentionally committed any breach of Section 4 or of any notification under Section 5 unless he is exempted under Section 8 or 9 of this Act.

12. The Government of India may, by notification in the "Gazette of India" and after laying the draft for consideration before both chambers of the Indian Legislature make rules for the purpose of carrying into effect the provisions of this Act.

STATEMENT OF OBJECTS.

In the course of the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill, Mr. Pant says that the number of Indians overseas is considerable, being no less than 25 lakhs. They have built up large interests abroad, mostly in countries which at present form part of the British Empire. Indian subjects migrated to these States at their instance and on their invitation, and the latter owe their progress and prosperity to the Indian industry and enterprise to a large measure.

The questions concerning Indian Nationals in foreign lands are of manifold character. Their grievances have been a constant source of embarrassment and concern to the people of India, having aroused intense public feeling here on many an occasion. The treatment meted out to Indians is hardly fair anywhere, while in the British colonies it is particularly galling and irritating. The disabilities and hardships of Indian settlers have grown more onerous and acute with the influx of Europeans and consequent increase in the number of white settlers in colonies. The progressive deterioration of their civic status is similarly due to the growth of European interest with the full backing of their dominant political power. The Government of India has patiently pursued the unobtrusive and unoffending course of negotiation and representation with all the arts of persuasion they could devise, but the results have been utterly inadequate, if not adverse. New measures and subtle devices have been introduced recently in Zanzibar, Kenya, Iraq, the Union of South Africa, British Guiana, Fiji, Malaya and other places which have rendered the unenviable lot of Indians in these countries well-nigh intolerable. The situation has become veritably grave and calls for immediate and effective action. This Bill is an attempt in that direction. In view of the ceaseless inroads on the legitimate interests of Indian settlers, the impudent challenge to the national self-respect of the people of India and the futility of the methods adhered to so far in spite of grave provocation, there is no other way out of the impasse and such a measure has become inevitable.

This Bill is based on the recognised and accepted principle of reciprocity, while laying down a guiding principle for safeguarding Indian rights and interest against invidious discrimination, it leaves the Government and legislative bodies free to exercise unfettered discretion in deserving cases with due regard for special circumstances. Even in respect of offending states, it does not contemplate any action by way of retaliation except when the Government is satisfied as to the necessity and urgency of such a step, of which the Government alone is to be the sole judge. The existence of superior privileges for the benefit of foreigners which are denied to the children of the soil, is a degrading paradox and the withdrawal of such privileges from the colonial responsible for invidious discrimination against Indians in the Colony concerned should not be resented by any body, and, even this clause will not be put into effect till six months have elapsed from the date of notification. Thus the Bill ensures a period of six months for further negotiation in every case, and if the delinquent state remedies the wrong and accepts a satisfactory solution during this interval it will not be affected in any way. Under the scheme of the Bill even discriminatory states can be granted complete exemption, if there are exonerating circumstances. Even when a State is truculent and recalcitrant, the Bill provides for the exemption of individuals. This measure is scrupulously just, if not generous, and must commend itself to all fair minds not only in this Country but also in the colonies and foreign territories.



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GLASS-EYES.

(BY CYRIL MODAK.)

Imagine, for a moment a man who has both glass eyes instead of his natural ones. For a while he may deceive people into believing that his organs of sight are normal. But his behaviour will inevitably betray his blindness. How many of us go through civic life with glass-eyes, betraying our blindness in our actions? Our representatives fondly believe, they have duped people to trust their powers of perception and to vote for them. But in their elected capacity, the moment they move about, they stumble and feel around for a guide. Is it their fault that their mental and moral vision was undeveloped and undermined until it atrophied? Or must the blame be laid at the doors of our educational institutions? What is the purpose of education, and what is the function of teachers, if it is not to use all the technique available to develop the physical, mental, and moral perception of each future generation? Our own teachers send forth from our schools men who are incapable of perceiving the needs of their fellow-citizens, of distinguishing the true from the false, right from wrong.

When individuals of this class aspire to dabble in politics, they are naturally unable to recognize principles for what they are worth. They are, for the most part, incapacitated for the proper intellectual and moral approach to politics wherein an individual accepts certain principles and identifies himself with a particular political outlook which he feels to be correct. It is, therefore, necessary for them to pledge their blind allegiance blindly to persons who dominate the political parties. Whatever these pseudo-leaders dictate is accepted as right. Whatever they want to be done is believed to be beneficial. There are no standards, no principles to judge by, and there is frequently no desire for independent thought on the part of our representatives on local bodies—these miniature legislatures of the land.

How can we expect these men to see the various public needs of their area? Wearing one or both glass-eyes fashioned for them by their education, they are aware of nothing save themselves. Blind self-interest motivates their conduct. Self-respect and conscience are unknown qualities. They sell their votes to the highest bidder. There are exceptions to be sure; and we are grateful for the few noble exceptions. And it is on them that we can stake our faith that if a more wholesome and educative influence were exerted by the majority of our schools and teachers the exception would assuredly become the generality. It is at school that our future citizens must learn self-denial and catch the glow of true public-spirited altruism from their teachers.

It is at our schools and colleges that methods should be contrived to teach students a proper regard for other people's property. It is then that, being appointed to offices of public bodies, they will remember that wastage of public money is a crime. It is then they will remember that to husband public resources is essential to progress and stability. When those who have not been drawn to make honesty the ruling passion of their lives, and have not been apprenticed, to whatever small extent in actual situations requiring a choice of items of expenditure, enter local self-governing bodies, they often form profiteering cliques to the detriment of public service. Public finance is a department of study by itself. It is not intended that schools should aspire vainly to incorporate courses on this intricate subject. But it is necessary that schools should not fail in preparing the moral

background for a conscientious manipulation of public resources and the useful study of problems of public finance when their students reach places of trust. Technical questions will require technical knowledge. But moral questions will require moral standards which should be acquired from the agency of vital control, the educational institution.

With vigilant supervision of finances, our local self-governing bodies would be able to undertake significant programmes of constructive educational and social activity. It is often a cruelly vicious circle: because there is no vision among the representatives. They play fast and loose with finances and because money is wasted no constructive work can be accomplished. But the fact remains that there is unlimited scope for constructive effort and reforming zeal. The other fact is, nevertheless, equally obdurate, that men with glass-eyes must be for ever unable to see these opportunities. How many pitiable beggars, do they not pass by on the streets, stretching out lank arms from the dust crying out in unearthly tones for a piece of bread? Is society not responsible for these unfortunate blind and halt, crippled and maimed, weak and diseased members? Does it not reflect discredit and shame on a social structure which compels beggars to haunt the streets and infest the market-places? And what are the honourable 'city fathers' doing to counteract the civic and social disgrace of beggary? Each town should have its combined asylum and work-house where these luckless human beings may find shelter. Those who are professional beggars, able-bodied but lazy, should be put to work and trained to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, while those incapacitated for physical work should find that they live in a civilized world where public funds supply the needs of such as they.

Much ought to be done to remove the social stigma of prostitution. To allow these maladjusted creatures to ply their nefarious trade within municipal limits is to give them social sanction. We are severer with smugglers of opium and liquor than with smugglers of vice and disease. If brothels must be allowed to exist for the sake of the revenue accruing from them they might at least be banished from the city, from streets traversed by countless students, to some distant corner outside municipal bounds. If they still did continue to spread disease they would not outrage the decency and respectability of the town. It does not seem unlikely that if sufficient civic interest were manifested and these helpless sex-perverts were housed and tended and taught an honourable trade, many of them could be won to a decent mode of life. But how are we to expect men with mental and moral glass-eyes to see these glaring facts?

From the heart of the labouring classes comes the piteous cry for friendly help. Worn with toil, emaciated with unhygienic and intemperate living, oppressed with unbroken drudgery, these labourers, men and women and even children, deserve all the relief that social workers can bring them. Local self-governing bodies ought to undertake to alleviate the condition of these classes by organizing social uplift work among them expressly for their benefit. In many places child welfare centres have been opened and are doing excellent work; but greater supervision is necessary to ensure that the poorer classes receive the attention they require, for, after all, these centres are for those who cannot afford to call in a doctor to attend on a sick child. Centres ought to be started also for women's welfare work to relieve their suffering, increase their efficiency, and teach them to be worthy mothers.



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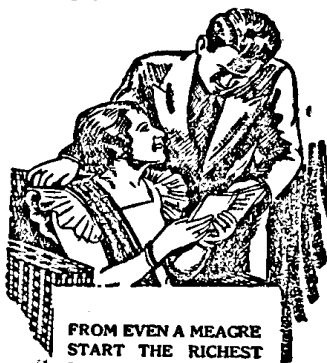
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Go to the Himalayas :—It is a fundamental creed of British policy that India is not a country or a nation but only a geographical expression. The new Government of India Act is a statutory monument to this creed. The several provinces and States of the Federation will be so many distinct countries, the sole link between them being the British Crown. Nevertheless, India is one and indivisible. Deeper than the political divisions is her spiritual identity. In an interesting account of his pilgrimage to the shrines at Kedarnath (11,950 feet) and Badrinath (10,200 feet) in the Himalayas, published in the current *Modern Review*, Mr. Nitya Narayan Banerjee reflects: "One thing strikes the tourist on this way. The whole of India is represented here, in this difficult, dangerous mountain footpath. Men and women from all parts of India—from Bengal, Bihar, the United Provinces, the Punjab, Marwar, Rajputana, Madras, Bombay, the Central Provinces—from Kashmere to Cape Comorin, could be seen here with their varied dresses and complexions, different languages, peculiar customs and etiquette, but all united by one tie, religion. All of them know the stories of the great epics, the Ramayana and Mahabharata, they chant the same slokas of the Gita, only with different intonations. Here one can feel what a great language was Sanskrit which the people of a sub-continent used even when there was no press or printing." Mr. Banerjee and his companion, a 68 year old South Indian Brahmin, more than once narrowly escaped serious accidents on the rugged and snow-covered mountain paths. The journey by air has reduced the duration of the pilgrimage from a month to about fifteen days. But the most difficult part of the ascent to these shrines has yet to be done on foot. The whole cost to Mr. Banerjee of the journey including the fare of the air-plane came to Rs. 150. "Those who are not particular about the time spent," he writes, "can go on foot, which will cost them barely Rs. 50." He recommends young men and women of India to do the journey. "The youths of other countries,"

he writes, "go on mountaineering, skiing and skating whenever they find the opportunity. Fortunately the youth of our country have now a tendency to see the country. But it must be remembered that India is not only rich with its historic Delhi, Agra, Peshawar, or religious Benares, Madura, Dwarka, or with the lovely plateau of and lake of Kashmir, but also with the ever mysterious Himalayas." Mr. Banerjee himself is an inveterate traveller. At the age of 14 he went to Nepal. At 16 he accompanied his mother to Mount Kailas and Lake Manasarowar, and Tibet. At the age of 19 he went to Kashmir and up to Amarnath, the ice-god who is worshipped by thousands of devotees only once a year. Mr. Banerjee's article will no doubt fill many readers with a desire to follow in his footsteps.

"**Triveni**":—At the end of eight years, *Triveni*, devoted to Art, Literature and History, has found it necessary to change from a bi-monthly to a monthly in order to be able "to hold its own against old and well-established monthlies." In countries where conditions of life have reached a certain equilibrium, quarterly, bi-monthly and monthly journals have the most chances of thriving. In the present unsettled times, periodicals of this kind have been hit hard even in Great Britain and America. Even the weekly press suffers. The *New Statesman* bears on its title page the mark of the struggle. The *Nation* and the *Week End Review*, famous in their time, are remembered only by their names in association with its on the cover. The old trenchant, *Saturday Review*, is no more. Conditions in India are very much worse than in Great Britain. The reading public is limited, and so is the field of writers. Mr. K. Ramakotishwara Rao, Editor of *Triveni*, does not in the least exaggerate when he refers to the past eight years of his journal as years of unremitting toil. He has managed, on the whole, during these arduous years to keep his journal to the high standard which he had set before himself. The current number is the first of the monthly series and it is a strong number. In the editorial notes there is one deploring "the realism of the cesspool and the gutter" periodicals "which are out to swell their circulation figures by appealing to the lowest instincts of the mass mind." The Editor writes in feeling terms of the late Sir Mocherla Ramachandra Rao who first suggested the conversion of *Triveni* into a monthly. He did not live to see his suggestion carried



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out. We are glad to read Mr. C. Ramajachariar's fervent tribute to the late Mr. V. Krishnaswami Aiyar who died twenty-five years ago. Krishnaswami was a great man cut off in the prime of life though he was never a popular idol, and never wished to be one. In the course of an interesting article on "Music during the Muslim Period" Professor Abdul Gafur of Aligarh refers incidentally to a pamphlet by a ninth century stylist of Baghdad on "The Superiority of the Dark Races over the White." During the last century, the Whites have persuaded themselves (and, to a large extent, the Dark races also) that they are the superior race. It is well to know that a thousand years ago the Dark races regarded themselves as superior to the White.

The Sind Observer :—The *Sind Observer* of the 23rd had the following editorial note:—"A wrong impression is being assiduously cultivated in the public mind that the *Sind Observer* is shutting out news about political events. This impression is calculated to prejudice the *Sind Observer* in the eyes of the reading public. All reasonable people who would like to see their newly created Province have as few handicaps as possible, will, we are confident, support the attitude taken up by the *Sind Observer* in creating a healthy atmosphere. We assure our readers and the public at large that, as is evident from the issues of the *Sind Observer* dated Tuesday and Wednesday last, no authorised news about political events is being or will be excluded from our columns." The party who has the right to complain of a wrong impression being created against him, is Mr. Pooniah, lately Editor, and not the *Sind Observer*. So far as we have been able to gather, the case against him is that the Board of Directors passed a resolution that he should not give publicity to some current events, that he was informed of it and acquiesced in it, that, contrary to it, he published matter relating to the forbidden topics, and thus violated his instructions. Is this the correct version of the facts? Are these all the facts? The *Observer* in fairness to Mr. Pooniah as well as to its Directors should tell the public what exactly happened instead of asking it to infer it from two or three recent issues. Healthy and honest journalism is even more essential to the future of Sind as an autonomous province than it was when it was a sub-province of Bombay. As matters stand, an Editor, who for sixteen years has worked devotedly for and succeeded in making his paper one of the principal organs of opinion in the country, appears to have been sent away as if he were a menial servant.

A Misconceived Defence :—Since the above was in type we have seen a statement issued by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The Pandit begins by bewailing the hard lot of the Indian journalist whom he pictures as being in constant dread of what may happen. From a fairly long and wide experience of journalism and journalists, we must say that this is not a true picture.

This is not to justify the pains and penalties which the Executive Government is empowered by law to impose on newspapers whose writings are not to its taste. In this respect, however the Press is no worse off than politicians. Pandit Jawaharlal would be the last man to admit that he lives in constant dread of what might happen to him under the various laws and sections of the law which are designed for the control of political institutions and their personnel. We assure him that journalists are quite as capable as himself of taking it all as in the day's work. The Pandit prefaces his observations on the action of the proprietors of the *Sind Observer* by explaining that it has never been a Congress organ. "Its old editor, Mr. Pooniah, has frequently criticised the Congress policy strongly. He has criticised me!" While this shows that the Pandit is disinterested and chivalrous in championing the cause of the dismissed editor it is beside the point as an argument in this affair. The point is that the Board of Directors or the proprietor gave certain instructions in writing to the Editor. Some of these instructions are quoted by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. It is clear to us that these instructions were inspired by the proprietor's opposition to socialism and to the socialistic trends of the Congress under the Pandit's leadership. The question is not, whether these instructions were right or wrong, wise or unwise, patriotic or unpatriotic. They were the views of the proprietor. Unless we are to hold that the fact of a man owning a newspaper disentitles him to have views differing from those of the Editor, we can not deny the right of the proprietor of the *Sind Observer* to entertain them and, if he chose to do so, to expect them to be regarded in the conduct of his newspaper. An Editor's course is plain. If he feels that he can not conscientiously carry out the proprietor's instructions, he must say so and, if the proprietor insists, he should resign. We do not understand what the Pandit means by saying that Mr. Pooniah refused to obey the instructions. Did he tell the proprietor so and was he, nevertheless, allowed to remain in office and publish the things which the proprietor had instructed him in writing not to publish? If the Pandit will extend his researches a little further he will find that there is not a single newspaper office, except where the proprietor is not himself the Editor or the Editor is expressly declared to be the sole judge of his policy, in which similar restrictions are not observed by tacit understanding, if not by written agreement, between proprietor and editor. We are afraid that the Pandit's statement has not strengthened Mr. Pooniah's case.

Mr. Amritlal Seth :—We are really sorry for Mr. Amritlal Seth. There can be no doubt, however, that he has done the right thing in withdrawing from public life, we trust, temporarily. Certain allegations affecting the purity of his life, he says, have been made. There is, he adds, a large amount of truth in them. He has admitted as much to his friends.



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and now he makes a public confession. He makes a declaration of repentance. Repentance, of course, implies a resolution not to repeat or continue in the lapses which called it forth. We write in complete ignorance of what the accusations were but the rule holds in all cases that realisation of one's guilt accompanied by sincere repentance, and as full reparation as is humanly possible to any one wronged, restore the broken harmony within. From what little we have known of him, Mr. Amritlal, besides being a person of ability and energy, is endowed with many good qualities of head and heart; and it will be a great pity if his services are permanently lost to the people. He has been conspicuously associated with the Indian States' Peoples' movement for constitutional government. It is a perfectly legitimate movement. But somehow it has got mixed up with a sort of inquisition into the private lives of several rulers, which is entirely irrelevant as an argument for constitutional rule. If every Indian ruler were a saint the case of constitutional Government will in no wise be impaired. It is impossible to touch pitch without getting some of it on one's fingers. In the interest of the workers themselves, it is most desirable that the personal foibles of rulers should be kept out of the polemics of the movement.

Indo-British Trade Relations :—The British Government has accepted the resolution passed by the Legislative Assembly on the motion of Mr. Jinnah to terminate the Ottawa Pact. It has also agreed to initiate negotiations with the Government of India for a new Trade Agreement between the two countries. This is a welcome sign. The British Government, however, should bear in mind the present relations between itself and the Government of India—the latter is still what Lord Curzon called it, a subordinate branch of the British Government—and take special pains to satisfy the Indian public that the negotiations and the Treaty, when one is eventually made, are absolutely fair to this country and calculated to advance her interests. To do this, it is necessary that the Government of India should seek the advice not only of Indian trade interests but also of Indian economists and political leaders. Business men are experts in their own lines but the future trade relations between Great Britain and India should be determined not with a view to the advantage of one or some industries but with reference to the interests and sentiments—sentiment plays a large part in human affairs—of the public. If this is not done, the new arrangement will aggravate instead of alleviating the tension which, unfortunately, has all along characterised the economic relations between Britain and India.

Caste in Indo-Europe :—Caste is believed all the world over as the special iniquity of the Hindus. The Hindu admits it. But the caste sentiment is by no means confined to Hindus. It prevails in worse, because insidious, forms among people who suppose themselves to be above to all such anachronisms. In the course of proceedings in a breach of promise

case before Mr. Justice Talbot in the King's Bench Division in London, the defendant, a European employee in a British firm in Calcutta, denied having promised to marry the plaintiff, also a European girl but born in India. "Plaintiff knew," he said, "I would not get married to her." Counsel: "Why not?" Defendant: "Because my firm would not allow me to. Plaintiff and every girl in India knows that no British firm will allow any member of its executive staff to marry a locally-born girl." Counsel read from a letter of the defendant saying that the firm could not interfere in his private affairs. Counsel: "The company did not care how immorally you behaved as long as you do not marry a girl born in India?" Defendant: "Yes." Mr. Justice Talbot: "It is impossible to reconcile the two statements."

Civil Marriage and the Catholic Church :—The Rev. Father W. Dempsey's promised article in answer to Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's charge that the Catholic Church under the Concordat with the Fascist Government authorises a religious marriage, carrying no civil rights, between persons one or other of whom is already married to someone else, is published in the current *Hibbert Journal*. Father Dempsey does not deny that this is the fact. His contention is that the responsibility for this undoubted anomaly lies not with his Church but with the Fascist Government. The Catholic Church does not recognise a civil marriage. It regards it as legalised concubinage. It requested the Government which agreed to recognise Catholicism as the State religion in the Concordat, to extend the same recognition to its marriage. But this was refused. "The Church's effort failed," writes Father Dempsey, "and she has accepted a meagre advance towards the just arrangement which the Concordat embodies. But she has not abandoned her claim, either in theory or in practice: on the contrary, here as in the question of the right of the Church and of parents to educate their children or of the right of Catholics to form associations for religious purposes, the Church has lived, since the advent of Fascism and even since the Lateran Treaty, in a state, as it were, of beleaguered resistance." Father Dempsey is disappointed that, instead of praising the often hard-pressed leaders of the Church in Italy, Miss Pankhurst finds fault with them for having lent the odour of sanctity to concubinage. The Church has to submit for she cannot do otherwise. But it will not accept the same excuse if it is put forward by others.

A Plea for Monogamy :—The Women's Indian Association, Madras, in a memorandum on Dr. Bhagwan Das's Bill in the Assembly to validate marriages between different castes of Hindus, says :—"In supporting the principle of the Bill we would ask Dr. Bhagwan Das to amend the measure so as to make polygamy impossible and encourage only monogamous marriages among the Hindus. We who are running women's institutions and Homes of shelter and protection for helpless women have seen many such sad cases."



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MARRIAGE IDEALS.

The *Student World*, the quarterly organ of the World's Student Christian Federation, published at Geneva, devotes its current number to expositions of the Christian view of the right relations between men and women, culminating in the marriage tie. As a matter of fact, there does not seem to be one Christian view. The Catholic view is different from the Protestant. Protestants themselves hold different views. Differing from both, the Orthodox Eastern Church's ideal, derived from Greek philosophy, is a purely mystic one. We reprint elsewhere a part of the interesting article by Parlick Evdokimoff explaining this ideal. "Any union of man and woman in marriage which has as its sole aim procreation," he writes, "must be considered as immoral from the point of view of Christian ethics. That would be, according to Berdiaev, an application of breeding to human relations." Birth controllers will be disappointed if they claim Evdokimoff as their champion. He hastens to add: "The marriage which is based upon the physical relationship is only a respectable form of debauchery." The ideal marriage, according to the Orthodox Eastern Church, is said to be one in which the inspiring thought is union in spirit. The physical union is incidental to this, and not essential to it. The ideal marriage of the Eastern Church may, in fact, totally exclude the sexual relationship. Marriage is defined by Evdokimoff as the meeting-point of those who love one another in God. Eduard Thurnysen approaching the question from a wholly different point of view, holds that "sexual intercourse (in marriage) is a token, the strongest and final token, which two beings of different sex set up between one another, can and should exchange with one another, in order to attest to one another their real and total together belongingness, so far as that exists on earth." This writer denies that marriage is a Sacrament because it is not regarded as such in Holy Scripture. At the same time, he is emphatic that marriage must have as its basis, and be conducted within the Church, as a Church marriage. He also holds that sexual intercourse in marriage is legitimate only when it is not prevented from bearing fruit. He goes on to observe: "The validity of marriage does not depend on whether children are granted to the married couple. Even the purpose of sexual intercourse is not described by saying that it must subserve the procreation of children. It is first of all valuable in itself and valid as that token of which we have spoken. But now, beyond that God has taken sexual intercourse in marriage into service. It is His Will that it should subserve propagation." He might yet use other means of propagating the human species. He can, as the Pharisees, proud of

their ancestry, were authoritatively told, raise from the very stones children unto Abraham.

Such mystical and semi-mystical speculations have no interest to the non-Christian and very many Christian readers. The article which is of the most practical interest on the subject is the one headed "An American Viewpoint" by Mr. William E. Kroll. Mr. Kroll maintains that owing to the waning influence of religion in the American marriage, the marriage relation has fostered selfish and anti-social tendencies. "Too much of the conception of love held by our young people," he writes "as well as by many who are older, is of the stuff that comes out of Hollywood; the worst of which is not its badness but its gross selfishness, having for its theme song: 'You belong to me and I belong to you.' And, as a consequence of some years of this influence, we are today millstoned with countless marriages and homes whose members are living so completely as though they belong only to each other that their capacity for social responsibility seldom gets far beyond their respective firesides." He goes on to point out that this condition is reacting upon the very home life of these same families. He writes: "Married persons, that is, committed only to the ideal of living for each other, instead of making the home the training ground that it should be and once was for the cultivation of a larger social consciousness among its members, are demonstrating that by such selfish ends their own capacity for caring even for each other is being starved down, until these persons have come to care ultimately only for their individual selves." He puts his finger on this as the cause of the large number of divorces in the country. Many explanations have been advanced for the growth of that problem. What has obtained almost general acceptance has been the theory that sexual maladjustment is at the bottom of most divorces. But not so much because of physical sexual maladjustment, as is commonly supposed, as because of the notion that a man and a woman find lasting happiness only by living for each other and their own children. He quotes as the secret of married happiness the words of a great preacher: "Let a man and a woman who care greatly for each other begin to care for much else besides, developing an intelligent and unselfish interest in world affairs, and they will discover as year follows year that they are caring more for each other and that, through a common devotion to some thing greater than self, they are developing a union of selves which nothing on earth can destroy and which, they may hope and believe, not even death can dissolve." We are not prepared to sav with the writer that this is possible only to those who believe in religion. But, certainly, it comes more easily to those who believe in something beyond and greater than themselves than to those who think that they are an end in themselves.

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WIDOW REMARRIAGE* (BY SIR MANUBHAI N. MEHTA.)

The Widow Remarriage Act has successfully braved the storm of all hostile criticism for the last eighty years. It has splendidly stood fast and steered its way clear through all the shoals and sandbanks it had to encounter in the midst of all the angry passion it provoked and the rancorous controversies that raged round it for a number of years. Born of bias and unwise idealism popular opposition to a measure of social reform is loudest when it is reinforced by the cry of religion in danger. We are often apt to forget that Society, like an individual, suffers decay as it advances in age and becomes a prey to short and distorted vision, unless glasses of suitable lens and appropriate power are timely renewed to set right its growing myopia. Knowing full well that his very life means growth and change, man is averse to change and prefers to stand still. Climatic conditions also influence his habits. "Lulled by the languor of the Land of the Lotus" to use Lord Randolph Churchill's alliterative description of our country the untutored Indian saw the finger of God in everything that befell him and loving his inertia he was too lazy to apply his shoulder to the wheel and change the rut which Kismet had chalked out for his wheel of fortune. He had no faith in man's power to conquer nature or scope over his surroundings and he did not believe that man could ever be an architect of his own fortune. Whatever ill befell him he had to bow his head to the cruel Decree of fate with folded hands, sincerely believing that perhaps his own misdeeds in his previous birth had brought their retribution in his line. His bias in favour of antiquity induces him to believe that everything old is gold and it is only presumptuous, foolhardiness that prompts the Reformer to raise his head against the sage commandments of the Holy Shastras of old. He has no faith in the law of revolution and does not believe that only by clever adjustment and will timed adaptation to the changing environments any living organism can survive in this deadly struggle for life. The world however is moving fast in the face of all orthodox opinion in the country and we would do well to remember that our Hindu Society and our Hindu Law have survived the storm and stress of all these ages only because we have tried to keep alive their elasticity and adaptability to the fleeting need of the times. Our people should not forget that when the whole world is advancing our not advancing would by the law of relativity only result in our receding. Stagnation is impossible; it is death.

It is a wellknown fact that the position of women in Hindu Society had deteriorated considerably in the first half of the last century. Woman like any other goods and chattel had become an object of property, liable to be bartered and sold. The country was torn up by racial feuds and communal quarrels; and when during the internecine wars that harried the land, a Ruler was defeated, his whole harem was blown up in a huge holocaust along with everything else near and dear to him, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy and being carried away by the victor as the spoils of his conquest. When the Ruler died a number of his wives were burnt on his funeral pyre along with a few slaves to keep him company. The ideal of suttee is indeed sublime and ought to inspire every patriot with admiration and reverence for the noble spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion that led the Hindu widow to give up her own life so that

even in Death there was no parting from her dear Lord. In this transcendently sublime ideal there is no untying in the nuptial knot and even Death is powerless to part the devoted wife from her loving husband. The ideal is sacred and sanctified, provided it is left entirely to the option of the bereaved. It is only against enforced Suttee that the whole country naturally revolted and the British Government had to stop this cruel practice by a legislative enactment in 1835. It was so difficult to distinguish between what was a purely voluntary sacrifice of self immolation and what was enforced burning of the widow in the interests of social prestige. The British Government wisely interfered by passing that humane law that has earned the gratitude of every civilised man and woman. That was indeed the first occasion when the plea of religious neutrality and non-interference with the social customs and usages of the people was set aside in the interests of humanity.

Similarly it has been only against the evil of enforced widowhood that the Reformer has been waging his crusade. According to the spiritual ideal inculcated by the Shastras, a woman when married becomes a part of her husband, sharing with him all the merit he may earn by his pious deeds, his devout offerings and his sacrificial rites and rituals. Even after death she shares the obsequial offerings and libations poured out to the soul of her husband and his ancestors. She could receive them apart only if she predeceased him. Marriage thus involves complete self-effacement and spiritual absorption of the wife in to her husband's being. She retains no individuality. It is against this conception involving the loss of woman's individuality and her becoming a mere appendage of man altogether that modernity looks askance; and that with reason when there is a total absence of reciprocity in the matter. No one has heard of any enforced widowhood, much less of any enforced immolation of the husband on the funeral pyre of his beloved better half. In these days of an advancing tide of opinion in favour of the equality of the sexes, an equality of rights and of opportunity it is difficult for any save a conservative mind to uphold the justice of enforcing widowhood on a bereaved childwife for the rest of her life.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell upon the evils of enforced widowhood. They are manifold and the enormity of the iniquity must have indeed grown appallingly manifest so as to call forth from a reluctant Government another act of interference with the social and religious practices of the Hindus within a short space of twenty years. In 1856 the Government thought it wise to correct this gross injustice and to stem the rot undermining the very vitals of Hindu Society by permitting the remarriage of Hindu widows. It is this Act which we have met to bless this evening.

Widow remarriage was one of the most vital, as also one of the most difficult problems of social reform which the advocates of Reform at one time found themselves called upon to defend before the tribunal of public opinion. Interested publicists, bent upon misrepresentation and mischief, endeavoured to blur over its purely permissive character and blow themselves hoarse with ories of religion in danger by circulating misleading reports that Government were going to drag every widow in to compulsory remarriage. There were at one time grave misgivings about the intentions of Government in the public mind and Social Reformers had for a long time to strain every nerve to allay these misgivings and remove wrong notions from the mind of the people. Popular opinion and prejudice however were so strong against this measure that hardly one

* Presidential address at public meeting held on July 25, 1936 in Bombay to celebrate anniversary of passing of Hindu Widow Remarriage Act.



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widow was found bold enough to muster sufficient moral courage to enter into a legalised remarriage in public. Advocates of Social Reform had to endeavour their utmost to demonstrate their sympathy in every way possible by undertaking to help the poor widow by holding public gatherings of sympathisers, at the time of celebrating the remarriage, by finding out employment for both parties to the marriage, and by alleviating all the terrors of ostracism and social tyranny to which they were sure to be subjected. As times advanced this active hostility ceased and the interest of the Social Reformer proportionately waned in the matter. We do not now often read of widow remarriage celebrations or gatherings of Social Reformers to bless the remarried couple or on the other hands of hostile demonstrations and gatherings of the headmen of castes and leaders of caste panchayats for fulminating their anathemas and bans of excommunication against the offending parties.

The evils of enforced widowhood required also to be vigilantly watched and sympathetically tended as long as the practice of infant marriages which often left only a trail of helpless child widows at the end, flourished broadcast in the country. The Government of India and several Indian States have by now passed salutary laws prohibiting and penalising early marriage of girls and one festering sore of Hindu Society is being closed up and healed. In consequence of these humanitarian laws penalising the marriage of girls below 14 there has been an appreciable and welcome fall in the number of child widows during the last decade. Out of a population of 8,36,07,223 Hindu females as recorded in the census of 1931, so many as 5,83,53,082 were returned as married and among this number there were to be found so many as 11,67,060 child widows below the age of 15. This is an appalling figure sufficient to make any sensible Hindu hang down his head in shame. He has at the same time some reason to congratulate himself for this result; for as compared to the figures of 1921 there has been a striking decrease in the number of such child widows. Their numbers one decade ahead has been no less than 15,75,531. The census figures on the whole had registered an increase of over 16 per cent on the total population and this increase may have prepared us to encounter a similar increase in the number of child widows. On the contrary there has been a fall of 30 per cent in this number. Had this progress been maintained the advocates of Social Reform would have ample cause to feel satisfied. There has been however a grievous set-back in the year 1930—the very year that witnessed the passing of another humane measure of Social Reform in the shape of the Sarda Act to prevent early marriages in the Country. It is sad to note that by a cruel stroke of Nemesis the very Act for the prohibition of early marriages, which the British Government in contravention of their much vaunted policy of non-interference with the religious practice of the people of the country felt compelled to pass, proved itself to be responsible for a very large number of marriages of infant girls that were celebrated in hurry to escape the consequences of the Act and which in consequence left a hideous legacy of a large increase of child widows in one year, so as to be clearly reflected in the census of 1931, and whose far reaching consequences we shall have greater reason to bewail in the two succeeding census figures for 1941 and 1951. The Sarda Act was passed by the Legislature on 28th of September 1929; but it came in force only on the 1st of April of the following year; (they might have selected a more auspicious date; but inscrutable are the ways of Bureaucracy; even the much trumpeted provincial autonomy is to be ushered in on 1st of April 1937.) There had been a tremendous agitation

in the country against this unfortunate Child Marriage Restraint Act which had been sponsored by my friend Dewan Bahadur Har Bilas Sarda. The Bill was being debated and hotly discussed in the country since September 1927 and it had roused such angry passions by the time it was passed that its opponents had made up their minds to defy the Act and get all the girls available married in anticipation of this much resented prohibition. There was a regular stampede and a rush to hasty marriages in the marriage seasons of 1929-1930. In spite of its flowery hyperbole the pen picture delineated in the *Liberty* issue of 13th March 1930 affords a graphic and yet accurate version of the regrettable fit of dementia that had seized the people. "A matrimonial wave is just passing over the country. Brides in embryo are being mated to grooms in the cradle. The Sarda Act is coming into force; and the pigtailed Pundits have sanctioned rather juvenile unions to stave off perdition. Poor girl just learning to suck the feeding bottle is being carried over to the wedding bower. Urchins are being snatched from the arms of their playmates to don the garb of a groom. As an emergency measure the elastic pundits have issued an edict whereby they have certified the month of Caitra to be the proper season for matrimonial alliances. Our pundits have extended the limit this year. We are sure before the 1st of April dawns there will hardly be left a single unmarried man or woman in the country." Two thousand child marriage contracts had been reported from Gujarat alone as early as November preceding and demand for dowry were said to have become exorbitant and the business of money-lenders brisk. Cases have been reported in which money was borrowed at a usurious rate of interest as high as 78 per cent for the celebration of one child marriage in the Bogra District in Bengal. In Bankura child marriages were reported to be taking place at the rate of 1000 a day on propitious days in the month of February 1930. In Dinapur alone some 10,000 marriages were reported to have been celebrated mostly in order to anticipate the Act. The rush of marriages in Gujarat went on in December and 1000 were reported to have taken place in Surat on the 12th of December alone. In one sub-division of the Nadiya District some 4000 marriages in a day were reported to have involved difficulties in the engagement of musicians, palanquin bearers and even of motor cars and buses to carry the bridal parties and to have kicked up the prices of fish, curds and sweetmeats to exorbitant figures as was also the case in Chittagong. In Larkhana town alone in Sind 300 pairs of infants were tied up in the bond of wedlock in the month of March and the numbers in some districts rose so high as to cause great difficulty in getting the services not only of musicians, but even of the officiating priests.

RELIGION AND RELIGIONS.

(BY SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN.)

While the religion of spirit regards dogmas as more or less tentative views, to be adopted for the purpose of awakening spiritual life, and judges their value by their capacity to humanise and spiritualise life, organised religions assume that the doctrines are commanded by God directly and individually to man or indirectly and institutionally to a priesthood who obtained it from God. Supernatural sanctity and finality are attached to them, and they are declared to be the same yesterday, to-day and for ever. Thus we get idolatry of the worst type. If we condemn the idols of clay and wood for their

* Excerpts from address at World Fellowship of Faiths, London July 8, 1936.

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meaningless rigidity of countenance, what shall we say of the equally meaningless oppression of the mind and stifling of spirit by the idolatry of dogmas and tyranny of phrases. Finality belongs only to the lifeless.

God is not an abstraction but a Being. Knowledge of God is to be obtained not by intellectual discussions but by a self-deepening, self-transcending and absolute consecration. What we intellectually assent to must become a part of our being. Only in so far as the belief is assimilated by our mental organism does it become real. Knowledge must be made effective and transfiguring. Opinions may be commanded but not convictions. Religion is deeper than theology for it is life; it is deeper than morality for it is love, that which gives wings to morality and makes it a regenerative force in human life and society.

Attempts are made, now and again, to have a purely spiritual religion without creeds and sacraments, a religion of heart and mind but they cannot succeed, for inward living must have outward expression. Even as the soul fashions for itself a body to complete its otherwise imperfect life on earth, so men's thoughts and ideas tend to embody themselves in some concrete form, which appeals to the imagination and the senses, but there is no reason why we should force others to adopt the same forms and apprehend things exactly as we apprehend them. So far as outer expressions are concerned, there must be freedom of manifestation. All that we need insist on is that the outward visible expression must be entirely governed by and obedient to the ever growing inward truth. Dogmas and rites are not unnecessary or unworthy or negligible, for they are aids and supports to religion, though they are not its essence. Dogma is a temporary mould into which spiritual life may flow but it should not become a prison in which it dies. An idea is a power, not when it is simply professed but when it is inwardly creative. A symbol is there to help us to realise in life the thing symbolised. All these function properly when they bring about a change in human life. Yajñavalkya tells us that the chief aim of rites and ceremonies, of ethical codes demanding self-control and non-violence, charity and study, is to enable one to attain by yoga insight into the eternal. A society that lives by its institutions and not by its individuals is a mechanical group, not a living growth. The individuals who perceive that a remaking of man is the goal of humanity and lead others to it so that it may become the goal of the race, are the saviours of society. To the extent in which they succeed, and to the degree to which they carry their evolution, the yet unrealised potentiality which they represent will become an actual possibility of the future. Until such a spiritual oneness based on psychological unity is developed, the problem of fellowship of peoples can be attempted only by the mechanical means of political adjustments. But the higher hope of humanity lies in the growing number of men who will devote themselves to the task of accomplishing a spiritual oneness of the world, enriched by a free inner variation and a freely varied self-expression.

This Congress does not ask anyone to change his faith, for it allows that the great religions have had a large share in the progress of civilisation. They have helped mankind to discover himself to some extent. The pagan religion gave us a sense of the beauty and the largeness of life. Hinduism has revealed to us profound spiritual possibilities. Buddhism has shown us a way to be pure, gentle and compassionate. Judaism and Islam teach us to be zealously devoted to God and faithful in action. Christianity shows us the power of love and suffering. Though these different religions have been able to

save a number of souls, none yet has been able to spiritualise mankind. For that we need not a new cult or a creed but a sustained endeavour at spiritual evolution. The changes we see in the world to-day are social and political, intellectual and moral, but the spiritual revolution has not yet come, though it throws out its feelers here and there. Until it comes insisting on a more perfect self-discipline, the sense of the others cannot be properly understood. Its quality and power will determine the next cycle of human evolution.

This spiritual revolution demands not so much a change of faith as a vitalising of it. In order to grow, religions have had to emancipate themselves from the trammels of authority. They had to discard the letter of the scriptures while remaining inspired by their spirit. If they are to take us to an ideal which is truly and completely human, they must pursue the course of emancipation in a more rapid and forceful manner.

The most hopeful feature of the religious situation to-day is the fact that such a process of reconstruction is at work in all religions. Leaders of different religious groups believe in the hidden possibilities of their religion, its adaptability to new needs and knowledge. They are trying to reorient their ancient faiths to the needs of current knowledge and contemporary aspiration in two important directions, the prophetic and the social.

It may appear somewhat irreverent to speak of any one religion as being but one of many actual and possible religions, and it is not a matter of great moment which of any existing religions one should adopt. There is a natural temptation to assume that the order of ideas to which one is accustomed from childhood is the necessary, natural and the only conceivable order of things. We take our religious view from the society in which we happen to be planted and then invent reasons in support of them. We then flatter ourselves with the belief that our religious system is built up logically from principles which are quite independent of consequences and are of universal validity, while other religious systems are based on false notions, imperfect logic and unsound philosophy. In a Congress like this where we meet cultivated minds from other religions, we are bound to realise that every religion has its own estimable contributions and no one religion has cornered all the saints. By comparing our ideas and traditions with those of others, we save ourselves from the narrowness of religious provincialism.

Fellowship of faiths which implies appreciation of other faiths is no easy indulgence of error and weakness or lazy indifference to the issues involved. It is not the intellectual's taste for moderation or the highbrow's dislike for dogma. It is not the politician's love for compromise or being all things to all men, nor is it simply a negative freedom from antipathies. It is understanding, insight, full trust in the basic reality which feeds all faiths and its power to lead us to the truth. It believes in the deeper religion of the Spirit which will be adequate for all people, vital enough to strike deep roots, powerful to unify each individual in himself and bind us all together by the realisation of our common condition and common goal.

TAGORE ON THE COMMUNAL AWARD.*

My friends, considering the gravity of our situation my address today will be brief because in my age expenditure or breath has to be economised specially as there is every likelihood of its being wasted.

It is needless for me to say that I have no gift for politics. The subject of this meeting—which is the communal award—carries chiefly a political implication.

* Address at the Public Meeting at Calcutta.



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tion and this for a long while is my first participation in a discussion which deals with politics. In spite of some hesitation I yielded at last to a growing anxiety in my mind for my country: I found it painfully impossible to ignore the sinister threat of a bisecting blade hissing while being sharpened, ready to divide the vital sensitive cord that is to bind our people into a nation.

To-day the shadow of a dark age has fallen upon Europe. She seems boisterously eager to put out the light of ideals which she herself had specially brought to a new age and her newspapers to-day are full of the malevolent measures taken by dictatorial powers against their victims to keep them crippled for good or thrust them completely aside. I shrink from comparing with some of those acts the introduction in our country of a scheme in which there will remain no scruple to wrench off one of the most sensitive roots of our growing national being. The incident will appear too small and be passed over in silent apathy by the larger world, for those who are helplessly affected by it suffer from the cruellest of insults, the insult of insignificance. However, for us the enormity is such that I felt ashamed to claim the privilege of old age and failing health and was drawn out of my accustomed seclusion to cry my warning even if it be a cry in the wilderness.

The Communal Award carrying the malediction of a separated political life has been pronounced even upon groups and communities of our country that did not want it. The Indian body-politic is to be divided into eighteen different sections. Mahatma Gandhi described this process as a vivisection of the body-politic which will emerge as a carcass out of this operation.

And this evil of separate electorates is made worse by the scheme of weightages whereby communities are differently valued to suit the present mood of the Government. For reasons which need not be explained the Hindus are handicapped most in the coming constitution, and Bengali Hindus, instead of receiving any protection, being in the minority, have specially been singled out for a reduction of their representation even below their natural population strength by weightage being cast against them. Though a tacit compliment, it is an open assault employing a novel political arithmetic invidious enough to turn the methods of reasonable government into most irresponsible means by which one community is made permanently independent of the co-operation of the other while wielding the right to oppress it if it so chooses. It is not that we wish to deny our Muslim countrymen the benefit of their numbers, nor that we suspect them of dangerous designs. It is only that we refuse to accept the fate of all future prospect of mutual co-operation blighted by a scheme which puts a premium upon communal allegiance at the expense of national interest—a scheme which engenders suspicion where there should be trust and corrupts both the communities by encouraging fanatics to make political profit out of communal passion. I beg to remind our rulers that even worse than the commercial exploitation of our economic life is this political poisoning of our national blood, worse than punishing subjects on suspicion, without trial for an indefinite period; for it is punishing the future, an eternal damnation for acts of disobedience, real or imaginary, proved or unproved.

Ever since the very suggestion of this proposal, the atmosphere in our province has become turbid with passion menacing amenities of civilised life, based upon mutual tolerance and co-operation. Already a spirit of wanton destructiveness seems to be creeping even in the commonwealth of our literature, threatening violence to our language, rapidly

creating a situation which could have its analogy if the Scotch people had suddenly revolted with a Calvinistic frenzy of bitterness against the English tongue because of its difference from their own traditional speech and thus if they had deliberately attempted to wreck the intellectual communication between them and the rest of the country. This is the first red signal of danger presaging a fatal collision between neighbouring communities whose duty it is to create a comprehensive life of a common welfare. If it is disturbed in an unthinking obduracy of communal spite then not only our political efficiency but economic prosperity also will be involved in ruin.

We have been watching on the part of our Government the uneven discrimination in the apportioning of appointments in spite of the risk it runs in lowering the standard of administration. Owing to reasons for which the Hindus are not answerable, our Muslim brethren have suffered for long from inequality of advantages in various lines. With all my heart I should welcome its being gradually brought to a balance. But it is too plain that there is a spirit working behind the arrangement savouring of a purpose not pertinent to the problem, and this has made its process so aggressively unhealthy for our collective good. Offering any encouragement to the clamouring for crumbs of favour at the table of a supreme power not only causes meanness but feebleness of character. It cannot be gainsaid that the Mahomedans own in them virile qualities that are remarkable. There is no doubt that their democratic tendency of mind has given them special fitness for winning in the race of life. Those of them with whom I have had opportunity to come in close relationship I have frankly admired and loved, and their number is not small. I have always intently hoped that all the differences separating us that mostly arise from utter stupidity and primitive spirit of unreason could be removed through nearer personal touch and comradeship. But any biased treatment from any alien source that is not expected to have a natural sympathy and unselfish concern for the country can only emphasize these differences into a mortal mischief. Let us have the far-sighted wisdom to know that concessions acquired through a prudent patronage are always demoralising, both for those who are fortunate and others who are deprived. They will create complications that will perpetually irritate each other and in the long run will never serve those who have been helped to an easy path of profit. We, who belong to the same soil must, for the sake of a civilised existence and ultimately for bare self-protection, cultivate mutual friendliness, and both the parties should rise above all immediate provocations and allurements, and should distrust the elements, foreign and indigenous, that sow living thorns in their path of fellowship. We Hindus must not grudge the favoured partners of our destiny the sudden shower of gifts so long as it lasts; the only cause for anxiety lies in the sureness of a reaction that will follow when saturation point is reached and yet satiety remains distant, when the one-sided game of indulgence crosses the bounds of even autocratic decency. The most ill-omened aspect of the problem which frightens us is when we realise the absurdity of bringing arguments to the present question, being perfectly certain that our rulers long trained in parliamentary ethics, know better than ourselves that communal division in a political organisation is fatal to its effectiveness.

And what is the most unfortunate fact about it is that the vehemence of our wrath is poured upon the Mahomedans who are as much the victims of a disastrous policy as we are ourselves. For it never can

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be to their best interest this offer of an intoxicant. It will no doubt rudely and constantly disturb our own peace but in the natural course of things one day the other party will have time to sober down and discover in dismay that some very valuable things have been destroyed and possibilities ruined that are not easy to be recovered. However, in the meanwhile I earnestly ask my Hindu brethren never to lose their temper and aggravate the injury into suicide. As for those who have instituted this policy under various plausible excuses it will be presumptuous for me to warn them for their wrong-headed statesmanship. If they have no compunction to mix some baser alloy in their gift which could have its full value only by its uncorrupted generosity, they will not only miss their dues in thanks which I am sure they cannot afford to despise but—well they know better.

Those who have studied modern conditions in Europe have surely learnt that for a moment it may become possible to force people reduced to helplessness to shallow injustice but not so to force them to assimilate it. Sooner or later it is ejected in a poisoned mass of contamination. Let us forget for the moment the dominant power that is here to make or mar our future and turn to those of our countrymen who seem to be losing their mental equilibrium through a pathetic illusion of an everlasting good luck and remind them that in this critical period of our history any wrong turn taken in the path of our self-government is sure to lead to a permanent disgrace and calamity. It is not the difference in opportunities which in itself is dangerous but the mental attitude created through it, the attitude of exultation on one side that recklessly pushes its triumph with immediate impunity to ungenerous extremes, and on the other side, the resentment rankling deep seeking to find outlets often in a wrong manner and unreasonable excuses. It encourages both the parties light-heartedly to perpetrate acts that embitter racial memory for all time to come, creating deep-rooted prejudices that attack the foundation of neighbourly good fellowship. It is very much like infusing the air with poison gas to make victory easy, using a terribly wasteful method of attaining an iniquitous success that spreads its torments far into the heart of an innocent multitude and non-combatant future.

I was born too early for this post-war age of disillusionment. I have had my moral sustenance from the much-maligned Victorian age through its literature and its struggling faith in humanity as it reached us across the sea. To-day when we find all through the West the ruthless repression of freedom, and that callously arrogant cynicism which is indifferent to a wide-spread human misery and injustice, I still must, almost against all contrary evidence, place my confidence in the sensitiveness to the ideals of humanity which I considered as the characteristic trait of the Western mind. And therefore, when I grow aware in our own neighbourhood of some far-reaching and deeply laid diplomatic move which means permanently holding paralysed in its meshes our future for the sake of a tighter grip upon our vitals, I still feel inclined to appeal to the chivalrous humanity of the Englishman representing the best ideals of the Western culture. I believe that if those ideals that show signs of dilapidation were restored once again and somehow brought to bear even upon Indian politics, if the people that determine the fate of this country could win in our hearts the prestige of unswerving fairplay; it will not only add to the credit of their civilisation but to their worldly benefit in the long run. If those that have called this meeting had no such faith, conscious or

unconscious, in this race then this meeting is foolish and devoid of meaning. I am sure, even though they may not clearly define it to themselves, they are certain that the higher stratum of English life does not solely constitute of persons like the late Premier who betrayed his often-pronounced ideals when they concerned India or some Viceroy who cleverly navigated the White Paper boat into a stagnant water of inanity, and who must have inwardly chuckled at all our discomfitures and blunders of inexperience. If this pathetic faith which dies hard is an illusion, then let us leave this child's play of meetings and conferences and exclusively concentrate our attention to build our own history in an unaided and dignified aloofness and in patient wisdom. Or even fall back upon the stoic indifference of the oriental mind, the indifference that unconsciously prepares the soil for an unwelcome and unexpected cataclysm.

THE END OF MARRIAGE.*

(BY PARLICK EVDOKIMOFF.)

There has always existed in humanity, besides the rationalistic theory which places the emphasis upon the utility of marriage and protects it outwards, the mystical conception which penetrates to its very depths and reveals a meaning which is sufficient in itself.

Marriage is, then, independent of posterity; it appears as a road towards perfection and harmony, towards the fullness of being in supra-personal unity.

In the ancient Greek rites and mysteries, marriage was called "*telos*" that is, "end" in the sense of "crowning-point." The Pseudo-Aeropagite writes: "The Athenians call marriage "*telos*," because it is marriage which crowns man for life." Troitzky also indicates that Eros, in Plato's *Symposium*, is "*epithymia ton holon*", that is, aspiration to integrality.

The Platonic tradition, which has penetrated deeply into the religious and philosophical thought of the Eastern Church, has favoured the development of a mystical conception linked up with the metaphysics of sex.

That is one of the great traditions of Russian philosophy. Vladimir Soloviev has developed it with much force and clarity in a very profound study of the meaning and the metaphysics of love. He shows that the sexual differentiation is not bound up obligatorily with the life of the species, and that consequently love—*Eros*—has a higher meaning, not in the life of the species, but in the very personality of him who loves, in the transfiguration of sex. With the support of the data of history and natural history, he shows that the sexual factor is bound up not with the fact of reproduction in general, but with that of the reproduction of the higher organisms. This is proved by the fact that in the animal world sexual attraction becomes stronger in proportion as the reproduction of the species becomes weaker. In the lower organisms there is a very great power of reproduction at the same time as a complete absence of sexual attraction, arising from the fact that the sexes are not differentiated. In the more highly-developed organisms, the sexual attraction corresponds with a greater sexual differentiation. That attraction, weak at first, increases in the measure in which organic evolution develops and the power of reproduction diminishes, until at the summit, that is, in man, the strongest sexual love may appear despite a total absence of reproduction. So, then, if at the too extremities of life we find, on the one hand, reproduction without sexual love and on the other,

* Taken from an article in *Student's World* on "An Eastern Orthodox View of Marriage."



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band, sexual love without reproduction, it clearly appears that these two phenomena are not indissolubly connected, that each has its own significance, and that ultimately, even from the point of view of natural science, reproduction does not appear as the essential aim of sexual life (*cf. Troitzky, op. cit., p. 23, 25*). The sexual differentiation, sex serving the species, has a profound meaning conformable with the idea of the higher being.

Any union of man and woman in marriage which has as its sole aim procreation (*procreatio prolis*) must be considered as immoral from the point of view of Christian ethics. That would be, according to Berdiaev, an application of the principle of breeding to human relations.

To marry with the aim of extinguishing the passions (*concupiscentiae remedium*) is a sacrilegious attitude towards the Eros of marriage.

The marriage which is based upon the physical relationship is only a respectable form of debauchery, man being a blind victim of the sexual energy, and sex being then bound up, not with life, but with death. The Freudian pan-sexualism is true for those who reduce marriage to physiology. Inversely, whoever despises marriage because of its physical element ought to be submitted to psycho-analytical therapeutics and cured of one of the many sexual traumata.

Aspiration to union with the loved one is not conditioned by pleasure. One marries because one loves, because one aspires to unity, because one is seized by the force of Eros, which is aspiration towards fullness of being, towards integrity of life, towards eternity. Physical love cannot be the basis of marriage, because it is in substance only symbolical.

The meaning and the mystery of sex are revealed in the great myth of man, the myth of Androgynon in the *Symposium*. According to Plato, Eros is the pursuit of wholeness. Aristophanes in that dialogue describes Eros thus: "Of all the gods he is the best friend of man, the helper and the healer of the ills which are the impediment to the happiness of the race... He leads us back to our primitive nature; he endeavours to make only one being out of two, and to repair the misfortune of human nature. Each of us is half a man... and each half is always in search of its other half... Such a necessity proceeds from the fact that our primitive nature was one, and that each of us then formed only a complete whole. To-day we call love the desire and the pursuit of that ancient unity. If we are friends of the god and at peace with him, we shall find and meet with, in our loved ones, the complement of our selves—a happiness which at present falls to the lot of very few. If this return to the primordial state is the most perfect state, then that which brings us closest to it is necessarily the most perfect of present things."

"Man in the thought of God," says Berdiaev, "is an integral, masculine-feminine; solar-tellurian, logical and irrational being. And it is only as an integral being that he is chaste, wise, sophical in his fullness. As a divided, torn sexual being, he is not chaste, not wise, destined to disharmony, to the urge of the passions, to non-satisfaction. Original sin is bound up above all with this division of the sexes, with the fall of Androgynon, of man considered as an integral being, with the loss of human virginity and the formation of bad masculinity and bad femininity."

ILLITERACY AND EDUCATION.

(BY CYRIL MODAK.)

The question of illiteracy in India has rightly exercised the minds of Indian and British thinkers alike. Indian patriots and bureaucratic officials have alike suggested methods for raising the percentage of literacy among the millions of this country. There is a vague cognizance of this problem in local self-governing bodies. But it is taking them an incredibly long time to realize that simultaneously with primary instruction there ought to be some scheme for adult education as they have in Russia. For liquidation of illiteracy as well as for general efficiency our educational programme must take into account both the future and present generation of citizens. The parents must be educated so that they may co-operate in the education of their children and join the aggressive campaign against illiteracy. We are particularly fortunate in this age to suffer from no dearth of methods. Thus, methods for adult education can be found if the initiative and support are forthcoming from Municipalities and District Councils and through them from the various charitable trusts that exist everywhere. What with the radio which can carry the lesson of one teacher to ten thousand listening classes all over the land, and the cinematograph which can offer the wealth of concrete and vivid illustration to hundreds at a time, there ought to be no serious difficulty in the way of mass education. In many instances the educational work among adults will have to hinge on some sort of vocational training. Mere literacy, not being a marketable commodity, will have to be allied to something of definite value economically, if it is to find favour with adults busy keeping the wolf from the door.

Those who cannot read and write, ought to be taught reading and writing but those who can, ought to be able to get good reading material. The upkeep of up-to-date libraries in charge of trained, courteous, and honest librarians becomes an important item of responsibility for civic organisations. It is disappointing to find many a municipal library ill-furnished and ill-kept in the hands of some half-taught relation of a member, ignorant alike of library methods and common civility.

As long as our teachers and our head-masters continue mechanically to weigh their success against examinations they will postpone the advent of civic efficiency. The measurement of character cannot be overlooked in any estimate of educational success. It is incumbent on schools to nourish and train moral qualities in every student who comes within their gates so that he may have the moral incentive to use all his powers for the service of his fellowmen. Teachers need not court disfavour by taking part flagrantly in politics. But they can prove their patriotism by spending their energy in the class-room and on the playground, at places of meeting and in private conversation to imprint on every single student, year to year, the character of a true and respected citizen. If we have fewer brilliant examinees it will do the country no harm as long as every one of them enters life with the determination to make his high principles felt in an unscrupulous world. We need men with character enough to keep personal feelings out of public matters, to consider civic responsibilities as a sacred trust, and to mete out equal justice to friend and foe. We look to our schools and to our teachers to send out for the service of their motherland men and women with keen mental and moral vision so that they may be able to see clearly in order to act effectively as citizens of this no mean commonwealth.

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INDIA'S DEPRESSED CLASSES.*

(By HORACE G. ALEXANDER.)

There has been a good deal of discussion in missionary and other such circles following the declaration of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, one of the leaders of the Depressed Classes in India, that he was renouncing the Hindu faith, and that he was advising his followers to adhere to whatever religion might seem most likely to lift them out of their pit of misery and degradation.

It is best to be frank; and I am bound to say that when I heard of this, I said to myself: "Here is a new move of Dr. Ambedkar's to increase his political power and influence." Perhaps that judgment was unfair and uncharitable; but I still feel uneasy about the whole business. I know Dr. Ambedkar, as a man I like him. When a man has broken the chains of slavery as he has done, one is bound to respect him. In India, too often the strength of a political party is measured by the number of the religious community that it purports to represent. If Dr. Ambedkar honestly believes that the fifty millions of the Depressed Classes can best be helped by the formation of a great separate religio-political party, of which he might be leader, he is entitled to that opinion. But others are entitled to doubt it. The fact is that the millions of Hindu and Moslem peasants and workers, yes, even the millions of South Indian Christians, stand to gain by just the same social and economic reforms that the Depressed Classes need. It will be tragic if these millions are lined up behind several different and conflicting parties. The result will be that vested interests will still have things all their own way.

And in any case, though in community-ridden India this political and social issue is inevitably linked up with communalism, it has little or nothing to do with religion. Or rather, religion ought to be, not a cause of bitter conflict between deluded groups of poor peasants or town workers, but the real driving force that unites all in the struggle for justice for brotherhood and for human well-being. As an experienced Anglican missionary, Rev. F. F. Gledstone, observes (writing in *The East and West Review*), "It would be most deplorable if the souls of fifty million people should seem to be set up for auction, with the various faiths outbidding one another."

That the Depressed Classes of India need help from whatever quarter it may come, no one can deny. And to many Western Christians it might seem that true conversion to Christianity would be the natural first step towards their complete emancipation. Indeed, in parts of South India just such a process has been and is happening. As Mr. Gledstone points out, again and again

"There has been some outstanding man among the humbler classes who has had true spiritual experience and a deep longing after God: he has searched after God and at last found in Christianity the God who satisfied his needs. He has drawn after him relatives and neighbours; religion, like most other things in India, is essentially social, and no good man would be satisfied till he had shared what he had found with his kinsfolk. Those of the same social status in their own and adjoining villages have seen among the Christians better health, greater cleanliness, educational progress, and then as they looked deeper, joy, love, purer worship, higher morality, something at least of spiritual uplift."

But, alas, that is only one side of the picture; and Mr. Gledstone is too honest to omit the other. If Dr. Ambedkar and other members of the Depressed Classes were invited to become Christians, very likely "they would be ready to read the Bible or

*From *The Wayfarer*—London July 1933.

listen to expositions of Christian teaching, and they would be ready to praise Christian ethics and the spiritual teaching of the Gospels, but—there is plenty of lofty teaching about love and righteousness in the sacred books of the Hindus; how does it work out in practice? And the shame and the sadness for us Christians is that there are places, alas many places, in the parts of India best known to some of these leaders where Christianity does not seem to work. Out-castes who have become Christians do not appear to be any better than those who have not. It can be said there: "We want our people to be clean, but these Christians are dirty. We want our people to give up drink, but these Christians drink. We want our people to learn morality, but these Christians are not more moral than others. We want our people to be united, but these Christians are full of parties and factions. What good would it do to us if we did become Christians?" It is a great call to the Christian Church to self-examination and repentance. Christ draws all men, but Christianity represented by us Christians does not draw."

And there is one another side of the picture that we must not neglect. As I read Mr. Gandhi's periodical called *Harijan* week by week, and get intimate pictures of the heroic and ceaseless struggle he and his Hindu followers up and down are engaged upon, working both with and for the Depressed Classes in the struggle for emancipation, I realize that it would be a crime to do anything in antagonism to those efforts. Mr. Gandhi constantly preaches that just because the Hindus have been guilty of imposing "untouchability" on these millions of their neighbours, it is they who must especially do penance for this great wrong. Wherever it is possible, one would like to think that Christian workers are supporting and co-operating with these Hindu servants of their people. It is well also to remember that for every Indian "untouchable" who would claim to be a follower of Ambedkar there must be ten—perhaps a hundred—who would claim to be followers of Gandhi. And what of those who claim to be followers of Jesus Christ? The work that needs to be done is so great, so difficult, that all who really care about emancipation ought to work together, whatever name or sign they bear. Let us pray for a united effort.

WOMEN IN HINDU LAW.*

(By G. V. DESHMUKH)

The path of Legislature to apply the Hindu Law to suit the modern times is made unnecessarily complex by learned arguments. If an attempt is made to remove only the worse features, than it is piecemeal, and contrary to established principles of jurisprudence; and comprehensive codification is suggested. On the other hand, any such suggestion is regarded as radical, revolutionary and as an attempt to uproot ancient Hindu Law, culture and tradition.

Better is not uncommonly the enemy of the Good. And as what is according to the principles of Hinduism is more likely to be accepted by the Hindu Community, I am directing your attention to the position of Hindu woman as mother, daughter and wife etc., in relation to my Bill before the Assembly.

The position of the Hindu women in the Hindu Family is perplexing. In the old scriptures and law books the highest sentiments are mixed with common expressions. Is there any explanation? The modern method in science and research if applied to this

*Circular letter in explanation of his Women's Rights to Property Bill to Members of the Legislative Assembly.



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very respectable subject is not likely to be fruitless. I am therefore making an attempt to see light in darkness.

In the family the primary relations with respect to women are three: those of mother, daughter, and wife. I propose to deal with these relations in the family according to the views of the old law-givers.

Mother:—The mother's position with respect to distribution of wealth in the family is incontestable. This is in accordance with the high position the mother occupies in Hindu Religion. She is greater than the father and the preceptor. At the time of the division, either during the lifetime of the father or after his death, she gets equal share with the sons. From Yajñavalkya (16.124) by every law-giver this position is maintained. Vayas accords the same right of equal shares even to childless wives of the father; and Brihaspati gives equal shares even to stepmothers (25.64).

Daughter:—Coming to the daughter's position no modern can surpass them in their natural and noble sentiments about the daughter. Manu the oldest law-giver of the Hindus pronounced:—The son is oneself. The daughter is equal to the son, when oneself is living as the daughter how can any one else inherit, (1.130). Yajñavalkya says:—The daughter and her son are equal to a legitimate son. (129). The same is expressed by Narada (13.50, 18.50), "Daughter is equally his issue; she also prolongs his line." Brihaspati "she is derived from his limbs. How can any body else take the father's wealth when she is there." (25.55, 56). All these law-givers are of the opinion that when a daughter is living, in default of the son she inherits and no other can inherit the father's estate.

It may be pointed out for the information of the non-Hindu that for purpose of inheritance a classification was made of the daughters as:—

1. Appointed—Putrika.
2. Married.
3. Unmarried.

The first was based on religion and the others evidently on equity. But the old law-givers seem broad-minded enough not to attach any importance to the religious distinction.

Brihaspati and Parashar (15. 57) do not trouble whether she is appointed or not. They give her the right of inheritance from the father. The ceremony of the appointment itself seem to have lost importance even in Manu's time, and a daughter could be appointed merely by the intention (Manu). But the distinction based on equity was taken up and nearly all the lawgivers give preference to unmarried, and unprovided over married ones. This right of parental estate was in the absence of the son, but one will carry a very wrong impression of these law-givers if it is thought that they left the daughters at the mercy of the relatives. Manu who has been so much maligned is the greatest protagonist of equal shares. On the death of the mother all uterine brothers and sisters, the *sahodaras* and *bhaginis*, divide the mother's estate equally (1. 192). Even when the father is alive the mother's property belongs to her issue, her *Praja* which means both sons as well as daughters, (1. 195). Deval also is of same opinion that mother's property is common to both her sons and maiden daughters.

But what about the father's property?

I will subsequently show that women's property, the *stridhan* of the Hindu woman was not inconsiderable as is supposed in Hindu law today; otherwise equal inheritance of daughter and son, and the residue in the mother's estate after paying off the mother's debt, in the mother's insignificant estate

would be meaningless;—but to come back to the father's property!

Brothers were enjoined under threat of degradation, more obligatory than the civil law, to give a quarter share of theirs to their sisters, *Bhaginis* (Manu 1.118). Vishnu even suggested shares proportionate to the share to the son's shares.

In the old days there might be some justification for some of the commentators to interpret this quarter share as in lieu of marriage expense, although healthy commentators were not wanting like Medhithi and Vijnaneshar the author of *Mitakshara* which is the alleged law for many of the Hindu in India, who condemn the practice of substituting marriage expenses for the definitely expressed mandatory quarter share.

PROBLEMS OF MEN AND WOMEN STUDENTS IN INDIA.*

(By E. SAMBAYYA.)

About eighteen months ago, a big sensation was caused in Nagpur by a case of double suicide. A Parsee young woman and a Hindu youth, both students of the local college, committed suicide by drowning themselves in a lake, as their friendship was disapproved and marriage disallowed. Again, the three sisters of a Calcutta family left a note behind them, saying that they were going to commit suicide by swallowing opium in order to relieve the anxiety of their father, who had to find large sums of money for their dowry in order to marry them off.

These two sad incidents are fairly representative of some of the difficulties that confront the Indian students today. Undoubtedly it is in the realm of friendship and marriage that most of their problems lie. The difficulties are due to the fact that India is still in the throes of adjusting itself to new ideologies and practices, and that young folk are usually quick at the uptake as compared with their seniors at home. The youth of India today represents a generation of men and women which is called upon to perform the difficult task of assimilating the best in Western civilization while conserving that which is of abiding value in its national culture. Thus the problem resolves itself into a problem of the discrimination of values.

Co-education is very common in India nowadays. There is a great desire on the part of men and women students to know and to understand one another, and to contract friendships which may or may not ripen into marriage. It is the fear of gossip and criticism that drives the young folks to resort to clandestine methods. Thus, while healthy companionship between sexes is advocated in theory, it is not allowed in practice. Another instance of the clash of youth with the older generation is in the interpretation of "personal freedom". The parents of girls are willing to let their daughters study in colleges, are ready to give them a liberal education, but do not let their children exercise freedom in choosing a partner.

The rise in the standard of living, and the acute unemployment in the country, have been responsible for the growing disinclination among young men with regard to marriage. A number of young men refuse to marry because they cannot afford it. The result is that there are numbers of young women in the country today who wish to get married but cannot find husbands. The dowry system, which has by no means disappeared, is responsible to some extent for bringing about this situation. It is tragic that our young men and women feel impotent when they are face to face with evils such as the dowry system and the caste system.

* The Student World Geneva.

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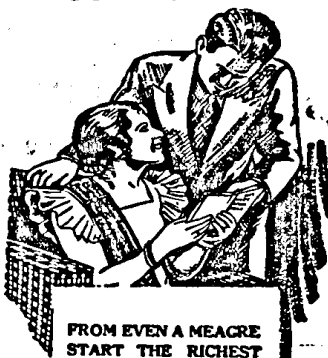
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

The Late Mr. J. D. Gandhi:—We deeply regret to record the death of Mr. J. D. Gandhi of Messrs. Tata Sons, at the age of 76, last Monday. He seems to have been in his usual good health till that night when he suddenly passed away. In him we lose one who for many years was a good friend and to whose encouragement and support the *Reformer* is much indebted. We convey to his family our deepest sympathy.

A Post Office Circular:—Some time back a correspondent sent us a circular issued by the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs stating that no articles should be transmitted by post, bearing certain stamped impressions or photographs or writings. These were: exhortations to boycott British or any other class of goods or to carry out any other form of boycott; portraits of any prominent leader of the civil disobedience movement; words like "Swatantra India" or others meaning separated India; and such other matter manifestly and specifically intended to further the civil disobedience movement. The circular seemed to us inopportune and unnecessary at the present time—it was dated 28th May of the current year—and we thought it proper to refer to the Director-General before commenting on it. The Director-General in reply says that the notice is identical with one issued on the 16th August 1930 and repeated on the 5th May 1932. It was repeated this year also in order to remind postal officials and the public that the instructions contained therein had not lapsed. As regards the prohibition of slogans for the boycott of goods, as Mr. Bewoor points out, the Postal Service is not only a national but an international service, and it is not desirable to allow such phrases on the covers of articles transmitted through it. Exhortations to "Buy Swadeshi" are expressly declared in the notice under reference not to come within the prohibition.

As regards the use of photographs, the Director-General is issuing instructions that no action should be taken in pursuance of the particular clause of the order for the present, in recognition of the fact that the civil disobedience movement is not being actively pursued at present. With reference to the last general clause empowering Postal officials to select to the Dead Letter Office articles on which are inscribed words which they consider objectionable, instructions have already been issued that all doubtful cases should be referred to higher authority before action is taken under it. The Director-General assures us that there need not be, therefore, any apprehension regarding the possibility of abuse of the powers given to the staff in this respect.

H. E. Mr. Rao on the Reforms:—The acting Governor of the Central Provinces, Mr. Raghavendra Rao, in the course of a speech some days ago advised Indians to over-look the denials and fix their minds on the concessions to their claims to self-government in the new Constitution. Unlike Sir Shanmukham Chetty who sought to support this course by reference to historical precedents, Mr. Rao recommended it as a commonsense proposition dictated by circumstances. Both Sir Shanmukham and Mr. Rao, it is interesting to note, began their political careers as Congressmen. Mr. Rao is still in externals a Congressite—dhoti, coat, Gandhi cap, all in khaddar,—conspicuous among his British staff; while Sir Shanmukham, Dewan of the most orthodox and conservative Prince in the country, prefers the European costume, hat, boot and tie. That is by the way. Mr. Rao's method is that of the fabled power of the swan to separate milk from water. This may be possible to those who look on the new constitution as an adulterated mixture of autocracy, bureaucracy and democracy, in which the last is bound to come to the top in the long run. But not to those to whom the new constitution is a repudiation of the supreme end to which Indian history points as India's national destiny. The Government of India Act is the ancient maxim of 'divide and rule' embodied in a statute. The country is split up into a number of watertight provinces in the name of autonomy; the people are divided in airtight electorates in the name of protection of minorities; in the States, the Princes are alienated from their people in order to fit them into a strange kind



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of federation. How is it possible to work this hotch-potch arrangement so as to advance national interests, the foremost of which is solidarity? Because this is impossible, the Government of India from the time of Warren Hastings developed on the lines of a strong central Government. What is not generally understood is that the elimination of the Government of India as the central Government transfers the political centre of gravity from Delhi to London. The success of the Hoare scheme—inspired by the same ideas as the Hoare-Laval pact—will be a disastrous set-back to the whole course of Indian history. If it fails, there will be a chance of our being able to raise on its ruins a stable structure in conformity with the synthetic genius of the country.

The Spanish Deadlock :—The revolt against the republican regime in Spain, has developed into a movement for the restoration of the monarchy. Prince Juan, third son and heir presumptive of the ex-King, has arrived at the headquarters of the insurgents. The Government as well as the rebels claim victories. Every message claiming that the Republican Government has the situation under control, is followed by news of the capture of some important position by the rebels. Other European countries are watching developments in Spain. France and Russia are apprehensive of Italian and German help to the rebel forces; and Italy and Germany fear that France and Russia are supporting the republican government. Mr. Lawrence A. Fernsworth, writing in the July *Foreign Affairs* analysed the various parties and forces at work in Spain and asked: "Can the Republic weather the storm? Can it ride through the revolutionary waves that from all sides beat upon it, coming to a safe harbour at last?" His answer is, Yes and No. "No one who has observed the determined persistence of the revolutionary forces," he writes, "their resurgence after repeated repressions, can doubt that the revolutionary tide is deep and strong...On the other hand, no one who observes the earnestness with which another class of men are bent upon creating a new Republican Spain, will reject the possibility—and the hope—that in the end they will triumph." The possibility of the triumph of the anti-Republican are largely due to the fact that the Spanish character is much too individualistic to accept either Socialism or Communism as a guiding principle. Then, again, the Spaniard is a mystic. At the fourth International Conference of the National Confederation of Labour held in Saragosa in May last, it was declared that "religion has a primordial origin and objective .. to give unity to that spiritual inquietude which the investigation into the beginning and the end of things, closely bound to being and not-being, to the life and death of things, is capable of awakening in man." The Spanish Communists do not aim at abolishing religion as in Soviet Russia. They are for religious reform. "If religions were cleansed of its parasitical elements, the

religious orders and the clergy, there would disappear those causes of friction which exist between religion and the people." Another fact making for the opposition to the Republic, is that Spain's most glorious achievements and memories are bound up with Monarchy.

Widow Remarriage and Property :—We publish this week the second and concluding part of Sir Manubhai Mehta's able discussion of social reform problems, in particular marriage problems, in his presidential address at the meeting of the Bombay Social Reform Association on the anniversary of the passing of the Widow Marriage Act. Sir Manubhai starting from the Widow Marriage Act has covered almost the entire field of Hindu marriage reform—raising of the marriage age, inter-caste marriage, the question of unequal marriages and the dowry problem. Dealing with the position of widows after marriage Sir Manubhai expresses the view that a widow must sever old ties before she enters on another marriage. He accordingly suggests that her interest in the property of her deceased husband should terminate and that her children by him should go under the guardianship of the deceased man's relatives. It is hard to believe that the relatives will take better care of the children than their mother though she may remarry. Sir Manubhai does not apparently attach much importance to the fact that under the Widow Marriage Act, a widow who remarries loses her use of her first husband's property while a widow who does not marry but is unfaithful to him, is left in the full enjoyment of his estate. This is an important reason for changing the Act. The Mysore Bill now before the Representative Assembly, provides that the remarried widow continues to enjoy possession of the deceased husband's estate. Unless the man expressly forbade remarriage, the woman is left in possession of his property and as guardian of his children. The Mysore Bill seems a more equitable measure and we should like its provisions to be adopted in British India as well.

A Willingdon Job :—A few months before he was due to vacate office, Lord Willingdon created a new post called Secretary of the Executive Council and appointed his Private Secretary, whom he had brought with him from Canada, Mr. Eric Meville, to it. One of the first things one heard of on the accession of the new Viceroy, Lord Linlithgow, was that Sir Eric Meville was going on short leave to England. As he had returned from that country only a few months previously, having been sent there to learn the work of the Cabinet Secretary in preparation for the new office, the public at once understood that Lord Linlithgow, about whose antipathy to the Willingdonian regime stories are current, did not care to have this nominee of his predecessor as the custodian of the transactions of his Cabinet; and it surmised that Sir Eric will not return from his leave to resume charge of the post. This is what happened. Sir Eric has been appointed principal Private Secretary to



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one of the brothers of the King, the Duke of York. His Royal Highness is heir presumptive to the British throne but, at present, his duties are more or less of a ceremonial and humdrum character. Sir Eric is most unlikely to have accepted the job if he had a chance of retaining his place in the hub of affairs in this country. It is now announced that the post itself will be in abeyance and that the acting incumbent will revert to his normal duties in the political Department. The Government of India has all along managed to do without a Secretary to the Executive Council of the Governor-General. Under the new Act it will have much less to do than at present as the autonomous provinces will relieve it of many of its functions. The creation of the new appointment at this time was without justification and Lord Linlithgow has done well to relieve the Indian Treasury of the cost of the Secretary and his office, which can not be less than a lakh of rupees a year.

Students' Charter :—A conference of students was held in Bombay last week end at which a document styled "the Students' Charter of Rights and Obligations" was adopted. The Conference, though it disavowed all connection with the recent Matriculation demonstration, was obviously much under the influence of the emotions aroused thereby. Although the Charter is said to be one of rights and obligations, we have not been able to find a single item in it which is in the nature of an obligation. Apparently, a student's obligation is discharged by being a student. Parents and guardians must consider themselves under an obligation to students for their consenting to be students. The term "student" includes infants over two or three years of age in Montessori schools as well as men and women of twenty and twenty-five in post-graduates. It is not easy to discover a basis of collective rights or obligations in this heterogeneous group in vastly different stages of brain and bodily development. In India at the present day a very small proportion of children attend schools; a very large proportion of parents send their children to school at considerable sacrifice. To the mature mind the most urgent problem in the educational sphere is how to get all children of school-going age into schools. The so-called rights of the small minority who are fortunate enough to be enrolled in some educational institution is not an urgent one, if indeed there is any such problem. We print this week a short summary of Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar's address to Madras college students. Mr. Rajagopalachariar is a Congressman of the orthodox school. His admonition to students to "observe strict discipline, discarding all bad taste and bad manners" is a timely one. It is also significant as a recognition of the fact that students' demonstrations do little to advance the political cause of a country. As a matter of fact, left to themselves few students are anxious to interrupt their studies by indulging in activities which achieve nothing beyond attracting public notice.

The Singapore Reform :—We have received the first number of a English monthly devoted to social reform published at Singapore. In an editorial on the need for such a journal in Singapore, we read: "The 'Reform' declares, as its very name implies, a crusade against all superstition that disgrace the Tamil Samuthayam. It stands for rationalism. Its advent in our midst is none too soon. An irrational and even ignoble sway of custom and convention is allowed to reign supreme in our society. The cloak of religion is now not only the mask for the predatory and pillaging parasitical priests of all our castes, but is also panoply of all tyranny and hypocrisy that freely prey on our social life and needs. Tyranny and havoc stalk in the name of religion at all times and in all places." It would seem that the new journal takes its inspiration from the so-called Self-Respect Movement in Southern India, which considers it derogatory to one's self-respect to believe in religion. Our Singapore friend will find if he enquires into the subject that so far from religion, being the cause of social stagnation it has always been the inspirer of progress in India and elsewhere. India expects its children overseas to think for themselves and to contribute to national progress by the widening of their outlook resulting from their experience outside this country. It will be a pity if they have nothing more to tell us than what they gather of happenings in the homeland. The *Reform* can make itself a valuable source of information to people in India if it would devote some of its pages to the description of the reactions to the Malayan environment of Indian society and culture which Indians in Singapore have carried with them.

Buddhism in India :—Commenting on Mrs. Suzuki's statement in the *Young East* that the Buddhism taught in Hinayana is thoroughly individualistic whereas Mahayana is noted for its doctrine of Parinamana, that is, turning over of one's own merits to others, Mr. P. P. Siriwardhana writes in the *Mahabodhi*: "Sri Rahula Sankrityayana Thera has told us that one of the causes of the disappearance of Buddhism from India was the introduction of Vajrayana. Wherever any doctrine foreign to the spirit of the true Dhamma was grafted on to the main body of Dhamma, the Buddhists began to show signs of deterioration with the deplorable result of Dhamma being submerged in forms and ceremonies utterly useless either for the emancipation of the lust-ridden mind or for the healthy and happy life of mankind." As evidence of the zeal of the Hinayanists of Ceylon in the cause of their Dhamma, the writer cites a passage from the "History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activities" by Radhakamal Mukherjee stating that a number of Missions including monks and nuns sailed from Ceylon to China in the fifth century and that it was a group of nuns from Ceylon who established the Bikkhuni order in China.



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BOMBAY, August 8, 1936.

SIR SHANMUKHAM CHETTY ON THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

Madras papers publish the full text of the address which Sir Shanmukham Chetty, Dewan of Cochin, delivered at the Maharaja's College, Ernakulam, on "Parliamentary Democracy and India." As was appropriate to the occasion—it was the Jubilee Memorial Lecture—and the audience, Sir Shanmukham's address was largely devoted to the theory of his subject. But it was not altogether an abstract disquisition. "Though it can not by any means be contended," he maintained, "that the new constitution has given us the fullest political freedom, yet I am of opinion that it would give the fullest opportunity to work out our destinies." If it does that, "fullest political freedom" may be left to come in its own time. The contention of those who are opposed to it, that the new constitution does not give a fair chance of working out our destinies, Sir Shanmukham himself, after laying down his broad proposition, immediately indicated its qualifications. "If the new constitution is worked in a spirit of goodwill and co-operation, it will in practice result in the establishment of a Parliamentary Democracy in India. If the Indian Ministers grasp the realities of the situation and face the problems of Government in a practical manner without being merely visionaries and if the Governor-General and the Provincial Governors realise the supreme responsibility that lies on their shoulders in guiding the Indian Ministers, the numerous safeguards would become dead letters and we would have what is called Dominion Status in India." Dominion Status, as we have repeatedly said, is not the crown and consummation of India's destiny. But for the moment we let it pass. Sir Shanmukham's whole argument, as stated in the sentences quoted above, rests on a series of question-begging propositions. Are the method and provisions of the constitution such as to evoke goodwill and the spirit of co-operation among Indians who are called upon to work it? What are the 'realities' of the situation which Indian Ministers should grasp in a 'practical' manner without being mere visionaries? These are the questions which Sir Shanmukham should have answered. Instead, he left them unanswered and proceeded to establish his claim on the analogy of the British constitution.

In the British constitution, the Dewan said, there are extraordinary powers vested in the Crown which corresponds to some of the safeguards in the new Indian Constitution. "No one has contended," he added, "that the existence of these extraordinary powers in the Crown made the British Constitution less democratic." He forgot that the Crown in the British Constitution does not represent "the personal

and individual discretion" of the Governor-General and Governors in the new Government of India Act. Sir Shanmukham has perhaps not come across a recent authoritative repudiation of the right of the King to act independently of his Ministers. When King Edward VIII held a reception of foreign representatives on the conclusion of the funeral obsequies of his father, it was noticed that His Majesty showed more attention to the German Foreign Minister than to the guests from other countries. This gave rise to concern in Paris, and Sir John Simon felt called upon to broadcast in French the constitutional position of the British Sovereign. "In years gone by," he declared, "the Kings of England exercised great personal power. One of our writers has aptly remarked that the King of England in his relations with his Ministers has kept three 'rights'—the right to be informed, the right to advise and the right to warn. Nowadays the King always acts on the advice of his Ministers who themselves are responsible to Parliament." Sir Shanmukham will find much revealing material on this question in Guedella's two volumes, "The Queen and Mr. Gladstone." Also in the relations of the Asquith Cabinet with King Edward VII over its Parliament Bill and the proposal to appoint Indians to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

There are many other things in Sir Shanmukham's address which are of more than doubtful accuracy. He does not seem to have understood the significance of the recent accession to power of the Blum Cabinet, the present Government of France. If he had, he would have found it necessary to modify greatly his observations on the French Parliamentary system, especially the one about the personnel of Cabinets remaining the same though the Cabinets themselves change very often. The fact is that the precedents on which Sir Shanmukham based most of his thesis, are, or are fast becoming, out of date. Free Trade, the Gold Standard, Cabinet solidarity, sheet-anchors of the British Constitution for over a century, have gone by the board. "We are all Socialists now," bemoaned Sir William Harcourt fifty years ago when old-age pensions, sick insurance not to mention unemployment doles, were beyond the wildest dreams of reformers. Sir Shanmukham, at a loss to define 'fundamentals' on which political parties should, according to him, be agreed, fixes upon belief in democracy and private property. He is the Dewan of the progressive state of Cochin which he would hardly be if he had himself faith in democracy as the sole form of government under which a people can prosper. Then, again, Sir Shanmukham seems to have a profound belief in the efficacy of the British party system—a belief which is not shared by Mr. Baldwin. When the National Government was formed, Mr. Baldwin heaved a sigh of relief at the thought that there would be no more "party dog-fights." As for private property, opponents of the Congress should be profoundly



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grateful to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru for having persented them with this "slogan" when they were at a loss for an election cry. They have fastened on it like limpets and, though the Pandit has repeatedly declared that political freedom is the immediate object and that Socialism is only a matter for study, and though they know well that other Congress leaders have publicly dissented from the Pandit's opinions, they persist in making out that the Congress stands for abolition of private property, religion and family life! Though Soviet Russia is the only country in which private property has been formally abolished, in most countries, including Great Britain, it is now but a shadow of what it used to be. It is not necessary to abolish private property as an Institution if we change our understanding of it as an Idea.

Sir Shanmukham told his audience that the great thing in democracy was initiative in the hands of popular Ministers; and that for the first time it is conferred on Indian Ministers by the new constitution. The right of veto vested in the Governors and the Governor-General does not, in his opinion, take away from the efficacy of the power of initiative. He forgets that the veto is over and above a number of prohibitions both as regards the sphere and the scope of the Minister's powers. Moreover, it is not so much the actual exercise of the veto, as the psychological effect of its existence as a check on his initiative, which would hamper the freedom of the Minister. Such freedom as he may have, will be by sufferance of the Governor-General or Governor and not as of right. As we remarked at an early stage of the discussion, the success of a Minister in the new constitution will depend either on his complete acquiescence in the Governor's wishes or on his ability to throw dust in the eyes of that functionary as regards his own. Sir Shanmukham's address is a clever piece of special pleading for the new constitution in the garb of an academic lecture.

Mr. Amritlal Seth's Statement.—The following is a literal translation of Mr. Amritlal Seth's statement—"Why I did not go to Karachi? Why I am not standing as a candidate for the Assembly? Such questions and inquiries are being made and it seems to me that I should once for all explain my position. By doing so the curtain between the public and myself will be removed and at the same time the weight on my conscience will be removed. There are allegations of certain impurities in my private life. I am not going to defend these allegations, because they are true to a great extent. I have admitted these charges before my friends and to-day I am admitting them before the public. I am sincerely sorry for them and I am to-day declaring my repentance publicly. In these circumstances to-day it is my duty to disappear from the public eye. I am the Managing Director of the Ranpur Institution. I have already given up all control over the "Foolchab" (a weekly paper published in Ranpur). From to-day I am in no way responsible for the policy, publication, propaganda of this paper as well as the activities of the Ranpur Institution. I am also the Managing Director of the Bombay Institution. I desire to retire from it as early as possible and I am taking all steps for that. But "Janma Bhumi" will carry on its work as usual. Thus I am retiring from all public life. I am taking leave of the public."

THE SIND OBSERVER.

Of the three parties to a modern newspaper which has the dominant voice—the public, the proprietor or the editor? A combination of any two of these is strong enough to quash the third. A popular editor can defy a proprietor to a considerable extent. A proprietor who has his public behind him, can exasperate any editor into resigning from the editorship or carrying out his instructions. An editor working in sympathy with his newspaper proprietor can thrust any paper on the reading public. Of the three, the public is the least conscious in normal times of its two collaborators. It buys its paper each day and there is an end to it. But editor and proprietor are always conscious, and painfully so, of the presence of each other and, in the background, of the reading public. It is the fear of losing readers that keeps the two in a state of armed neutrality, but neutrality all the same. In the case of the *Sind Observer* there seems to have been no peace and little understanding between proprietor and editor. Mr. K. Poonniah, the editor whose recent dismissal has roused public interest in the rights of journalists throughout the country, has issued his statement. His supporters have reiterated his position times out of number. Pandit Jawaharlal has taken up cudgels on his behalf. Now Seth Fakirjee Cowasji, Chairman of the Board of Directors and chief financier of the *Observer*, has published a long explanation giving the other point of view, why Mr. Poonniah was sent off summarily from the paper. And the Karachi Municipality, after considering a resolution to boycott the *Sind Observer*, has decided to leave the matter to be settled by Mr. Poonniah and Mr. Fakirjee. So far as one can look into the future, one might conclude that Mr. Fakirjee is in for a hard time; Mr. Poonniah has had the doubtful pleasure of becoming a public hero by ruining the patient work of sixteen years and the *Sind* public is left without a newspaper which it can implicitly trust. No newspaper, it is true, tells its reading public everything but every one of them thrives on the faith of its readers that it gives an accurate picture of events. The the Poonniah-Fakirjee controversy has left the Karachi public more sophisticated than it was before.

To an outsider the details of the dispute as revealed by the full statements of the parties concerned are disillusioning. When the first short reports were received in Bombay most readers concluded that Seth Fakirjee was a very conservative businessman who had been led by an impetuous editor into extremist paths; that Mr. Poonniah was an editor anxious to fill his newspaper with matter which would be read with interest by his public but was hampered by a nervous proprietor; and that both were incompatible temperaments who had at last decided to part. The details tell a somewhat different story. There are many points on which Seth Fakirjee is silent but Mr. Poonniah is eloquent. And there are a few incidents in which Seth Fakirjee's narrative supplements Mr. Poonniah's story. But on the main issues there is agreement. The facts seem to me to be, that Seth Fakirjee was fed up with journalism and had asked Mr. Poonniah to negotiate for the sale of the *Sind Observer*, that in the meantime he was seeking to run it as economically as possible, that Mr. Poonniah found this economy irksome and unjustified in view of a monthly profit of Rs. 3,000/—, that he endured it in the hope that it was only temporary, and that the failure of negotiations made it impossible for the two to continue as proprietor and editor. It was only a question of whether they were to part in a friendly manner or as enemies.

If I were Mr. Fakirjee, there is no editor whom I would more dislike to have with me than



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Mr. Poonniah. If I were Mr. Poonniah, Mr. Fakirjee is the last man I should choose as proprietor. What surprises one is not why Mr. Poonniah and Seth Fakirjee parted company on July 20th but how they put up with each other all these months. Mr. Poonniah, it would appear from a letter written by him to Seth Fakirjee and published by the latter, was not satisfied with his salary—it had suffered a Rs. 100 cut under Seth Fakirjee's management—on the *Sind Observer*, and had been threatening to leave the paper for some time and to start a half-anna daily with some ten others. If this was his intention, Mr. Poonniah could not have chosen a better time or a better way of leaving the *Sind Observer*, though it seems a little unfair to that paper and to Seth Fakirjee. It also serves to explain why Mr. Poonniah who had put up with many humiliating conditions in the conduct of the *Observer*, should find it difficult to accept the instruction from Seth Fakirjee that only Associated Press news should be given about Pandit Jawaharlal, Congress, Socialist and States Peoples' Conference as well as speeches not of a propagandist nature.

The procedure adopted, for instance, of communicating Seth Fakirjee's ideas through an Assistant Editor was a thousand times more offensive and derogatory to the dignity of the editor. The restriction on the use of photographs—"The Editor was told," writes Seth Fakirjee, "that those who desired their photos to appear must pay for the block and for the space, as was asked by other newspaper....Photographs of individual persons or gatherings of persons shall not be given without the permission of the managing director,"—made the position of the editor intolerable unless he was also the Managing Director, and most ludicrous of all was Seth Fakirjee's instruction regarding reports. It removed the need for any editor but a dummy one. "As little publicity as possible should be given to any individual member either in the Municipal Corporation or any other body, private or public, including the Legislative Assembly. I would suggest," says Seth Fakirjee, "that instead of giving the names of the persons bringing in resolutions or amendments, it may be said that several resolutions and or amendments were brought before the meeting as under, on which discussion followed. During the discussion it was opined by several Corporators as under."

All these changes would reduce a newspaper to the level of a business letter. Mr. Fakirjee does not seem to have imbibed the principle that names make news. He has now apparently realised how impossible his position was. For after Mr. Poonniah's departure, the *Sind Observer* has done all that it was forbidden to do. It has published reports of the Socialist Conference, and more than that it has decided to illustrate its news with a, for Mr. Fakirjee, reckless disregard of expense. The face of Roosevelt smiles at the reader with no excuse and little justification from one issue of the post-Poonniah *Observer*, three girls in bathing costumes decorate another number and a whole page of pictures on August 1 tells the public that for Mr. Fakirjee the new year has rung in. It is but natural that Mr. Poonniah should regard the old policy as a ruse to get him out of the office. I hope, however, that Seth Fakirjee keeps up his change of heart when the next editor comes on. If our newspaper proprietors underwent a course in Journalism, there will be less friction with their editors. It surprises me that Mr. Poonniah stood all these restrictions and then exploded on to him a comparatively minor issue, the amount of space to be given to reports of Congress, Socialist and States' Conferences. Mr. Poonniah, so far as I know, has little more than a journalist's interest in these political events.

It will not be without interest to see who takes up the editorship. If Mr. Poonniah's statements made it difficult for the *Sind Observer* to have a responsible journalist as editor, Seth Fakirjee's declaration of the position makes it impossible. The management will have to adopt a more trustful attitude towards the editor. The new editor, whoever he may be for Seth Fakirjee has advertised the post, will have to print in the first issue of the *Observer* after he takes charge, a statement that he has been given wider discretion than Mr. Poonniah enjoyed as editor. Otherwise every photograph that appears will be assumed to be paid for—Sind leaders may even be prepared to pay for not getting their photographs printed in the *Sind Observer*—every report of a meeting in which names are omitted will be held to be in pursuance of the new journalism formulated by Seth Fakirjee. The very terms of the advertisement make a clarification of his position necessary for any future editor of the paper. And even then his position will not be an enviable one. "Wanted for the *Sind Observer* one Editor and two sub-editors....Approved applicants will be kept on probation for six months, and will be under the control of the Board of Directors in the matter of policy and conduct of the paper." Apparently this direct control applies to the sub-editors as well as the Editor. If what happened with the Assistant Editor is an indication of what we can expect from this, the new editor will have a regular vigilance committee watching over him as against the single supervisor who guarded Mr. Poonniah for the Directors.

Mr. Poonniah's position will also be awkward. He at least had no excuse for not knowing what journalism is or, knowing it, not standing up for its ideals. He should have tried to persuade Mr. Fakirjee that no newspaper could be carried on on the lines proposed by him. If he did not succeed, he should have resigned. What Mr. Poonniah seems to have done is either acquiesced in or ignored Seth Fakirjee's instructions. Mr. Poonniah admits that he did a little of both with occasional protests to Seth Fakirjee. Seth Fakirjee's charge of insubordination seems to show that he has, at times at any rate, ignored the instructions, a procedure which was fair neither to himself, to the Board of Directors, or to the public. Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. The only weapon a journalist has against employers who regard him as their servant, is a resignation always ready in his pocket, sometimes in his hand. Mr. Poonniah should not have waited for his dismissal. He should have offered to throw up his post at the first sign of interference, thrown it up on any actual restriction of his rights. That would have been a more fitting end to a record of sixteen devoted years' service on the paper. But the reason for the deplorable developments on the *Sind Observer* is the total lack of respect for each other shown by proprietor and editor. It is useless to expect the businessman and the idealist—and your true journalist is always an idealist—to understand each other.

S.

Bengal Hindus And Communal Award:

—The Governor of Bengal has received from the Marquess of Zetland a reply to the recent memorial from Bengal Hindus seeking amendment of the Communal Award. The reply refers to the Secretary of State's speech in the House of Lords on the subject, in which he said that His Majesty's Government would not propose any alteration of the Award except with the consent of the communities affected. He adds that there is no intention of departing from this undertaking of His Majesty's Government, and accordingly it would serve no useful purpose for them to rediscuss at this stage the difficult issues raised in the memorial.

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MODERN IDEAS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

(BY WALTER BROOKS FOLEY)

Sometimes tourists in touching the coastal cities of Oriental countries have a feeling that Western civilization has invaded the East far more than it actually has. This is true even of such a country as Japan which has learned its whole militaristic programme of aggression from the West. So much that is obvious in Oriental life is superficial. It is planted upon the foundation of ancient Oriental philosophical attitudes that are not destroyed but are somewhat latent. It would not take very much to eliminate the crust of Western habit that one sees along the coastlines of Oriental countries.

I have been reading several books lately on the Philippines written in the middle of the nineteenth century by residents and visitors in the Islands. On the basis of that material, so far as the lives of millions of people here are concerned, there has been very little actual change. There are new roads everywhere which have been built almost entirely since the Americans first came. There are fairly good communication systems which are available except in times of typhoons. There are air services to different sections of the Islands. Coastal steamers carry passengers in comfort to major ports. Apartment houses are being built in the city of Manila. Health conditions have greatly improved. But the normal attitudes of mind on the part of the Philippine millions are about what they have been for a hundred years.

One will admit that a golf course built on the site of the old moat around the Spanish walled city is better than stagnant water that used to stand there. One can appreciate the delightful city of Baguio which is laid out almost like a great national park at an elevation of five thousand feet in the mountains some one hundred and sixty miles north of Manila. But the ambition of the people does not approximate that of Japanese enterprise or of Chinese common sense. In other words it is going to take longer than thirty-eight years to create a lasting democracy in these Islands.

In a recent conversation with General Holbrook the officer commanding the United States Army in the Philippines, he made the remark, "These are perilous times." If anything, his remark was an understatement of fact. No one who is at all familiar with the turn that has been taken during the past five years would ever dream of questioning the general statement. This is true not only of the Far East but of Europe and the United States.

There has been more freedom and independence in the Philippine Islands during the past few years, than anywhere else, practically speaking, in the world. But what is to happen soon, or may be actually happening now, is becoming fairly obvious.

With the insistence upon compulsory military training in the Philippines, which as the Assembly Bill passed last February indicates may include children of both sexes from the age of ten years, upward, we have here the beginnings of a very definite type of fascism which will out the possibility of real freedom.

According to the Philippine Commonwealth Constitution it is impossible to have a dictatorship. But constitutions can be interpreted in various ways, many times to give authority to individuals that other interpretations might not give them. Such seems to be taking place now.

One hates very distinctly to see any right of human liberty of freedom infringed and it seems to me there is such a sweep in that direction throughout the world that it is not surpris-

ing that some Filipino leadership should lose its balance and not make the utmost effort to maintain the liberty of the fourteen million people in the Island.

If the United States severs its contact with the Philippine Islands and thereby partially permits a new authoritarian form of government to spring up in the Philippines we will have wasted the effort and time and money that have been used in the past thirty eight years in this Far Eastern Hemisphere. Just to cut adrift deliberately a people with whom we have been connected by our own choice for these years on the grounds of a pseudo desire for granting them independence while knowing full well that it is impossible for them to maintain freedom whether economically or politically, is about the poorest international attitude we have permitted ourselves to indulge in for a long while. To allow an American Army officer to be elected field Marshal of the Philippine Army at a salary of P36,000.00, with perquisites of course, does not indicate that the United States is becoming world minded to the place where it is willing to make some sacrifices for larger international outlook.

WIDOW MARRIAGE AND HINDU SOCIETY.*

(BY SIR MANUBHAI MEHTA)

The one certain consequence of marriages in haste was repentance at leisure and a sudden woeful increase in the number of child widows—so grave as to seriously affect the decennial average for the worse. For whereas there had been a satisfactory fall of 30 per cent in the total number of Hindu widows during the last decade, the number of child widows at once shot up owing to the marriage madness that seized the people in the winter of 1930. The returns for the number of child widows between the age of 10 to 15 happily showed the same decrease of 30 per cent, thus indicating that the girls mostly sacrificed to this marriage furore were infants below the age of 10. The number of infant widows between the ages of 5 and ten was 102,298 in 1921. It went up to 105,482 or an increase of over 3,000 in one year alone, as shown by the census figures of 1931. The number of infant widows aged 4 swelled up to thrice their number and rose from 3,475 to 9,076; while those aged five increased from 8,694 to 16,019. The tale of havoc created by the pigtailed purdits could hardly have been more harrowing. The inauguration of the Sarda Act has left a trail of onerous responsibilities for the Indian social reformer of the future which I have no doubt he will never shirk. This terrible marriage epidemic which raged over the country in 1930 is also responsible for several other ills, which may even add to this onerous burden in the future. It has led to the falsification of census statistics for 1931. Parents who were carried away by their contumacy into defiance of the law and who rushed headlong in to ill-assorted unions for their hapless infant daughters in anticipation of the penal provisions imposed by the law were equally anxious to conceal the fact of marriage when they registered the civil condition of members of their family in replies to questions by the census authorities. The census was taken immediately within one year of the marriages and many girls though really married were returned as unmarried in suppression of the correct facts. How otherwise can one account for the wonderful result recorded in the census Report of there being 58,663,574 married men as against only 58,353,082 married women! When it is remembered that the term

* Concluding part of address delivered at anniversary meeting of Hindu Widow Remarriage Act, held in Bombay, July 25, 1936.



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"married" in the census returns also includes "widows" there cannot be any other explanation of this anomaly. As a result of this enumeration one has to face the fact of there being an excess of over three lakhs of men. The riddle can only be solved on the basis of a systematic suppression of facts. Parents who were anxious to defy the law in anticipation were equally anxious to escape the penalties brought on by themselves by suppressing the fact of marriage and returning their married young daughters as unmarried. The risk of having child widows to care and provide for incurred by our Society has therefore been more grave and serious than is apparent on the surface. Its magnitude will be revealed in all its glaring colours only by the next census of 1941 and then 1951. This mad rush to hasty marriages of infant girls in 1930 has also led to the total upsetting of the balance which nature tries to maintain between the numbers of the two sexes in normal times. In Europe the Great War was one such cataclysm which disturbed the normal ratio between the members of the male and the female sexes and left a large excess of females over adult with all its evil results on the prevailing morals of the people. War has always worked as a positive check on the growth of population, but it leaves an excess of females and upsets the equilibrium. In India which happily has not been much troubled by wars during the last century, the balance has accordingly tilted in favour of the male sex. The census of 1931 has returned the number of men at 181 millions as against 171 millions of women. The male sex had always retained this superiority in numbers in the past, thus leaving all the less excuse for polygamy. It is reported that in the Hindu Society there are as many as 8 co-wives among 1,000 wives—an anomaly that is altogether indefensible when there is not even a sufficient number of women to go round. Polygamy has at least reduced the number of available girls to serve this excess of men.

This preponderance of the masculine sex has prevailed in the country for many decades undressed. For of the other positive checks on population famine has been known to have a selective preference for males. The wage earner, man, had greater trials to endure in facing the grim monster and was therefore carried off in larger numbers than the woman who perhaps had greater powers of endurance against starvation. The lessons taught by the last great famine of 1899 have however added enormously to the effectiveness of the subsequent campaigns waged to fight the calamity so much so that famine has lost half its terrors and the excess of the male population goes on unbalanced. Pestilence is another calamity the ravages of which are also likely to upset the normal balance between the two sexes. The female sex however has been found to suffer more and fall on easier prey to the scourge of plague than man. I know at least of one case in which the onslaught of plague on women created a havoc. During an early outbreak of plague in Gujrat the mortality among the women was so terrible that the surviving male population of Sinor Baniyas petitioned to the Baroda Government to make the Widow Remarriage Act, the State has enacted on the lines of the British Indian Act of 1856, compulsorily applicable to their caste so as to enforce compulsory remarriage on every Bania widow in the District. The number of virgin girls had been so depleted that the community stood in fear of extinction unless the widows were made to remarry and be available for purposes of marriage.

Ordinarily however the life of a male child has greater value set on it than the life of a girl. The evils of infanticide are fortunately now a matter of only historical and academic interest.

In Rajputana, however, and especially among the Rajputs, there is still a striking disparity in the proportion of female children to the family. The girl dies or is allowed to die of comparative neglect and the ratio of excess in favour of males has stood unchallenged and undressed.

The evils of this inequality are considerably magnified with the prevalence of early marriages of girls. The Sarda Act is expected to prevent marriages of girls under 14 and of boys under 18. These must be taken only as the minima of marriagable age. Our endeavour ought to be to raise the age limits still higher so as to permit only adult marriages, which may go some way to restore the balance in the long run. For be it remembered that the general prevalence of early marriage leaves baneful results in several directions. Early marriages bring on early maternity and expose the woman to risks of fatal consequences leaving permanent injuries in their treatment during confinement if unskilful or neglected. Early marriages are likely to swell the number of young widows and if their widowhood is enforced by customs and remains undressed they only diminish the number of females capable of reproductive functions in the Society. Deformities and injuries left by early motherhood may bring in their train sterility and thus add to all the co-ordinating causes contributing to maintain the excess of the male population over the female.

A proper study of Sociology and Eugenics is necessary to throw light on the interconnection of all these phases of Society and to show what repercussions they have on one another. It would be also interesting to observe how the prevalence of early marriage and enforced widowhood both contribute to intensify the disparity of age of the bride and the bridegroom with further deleterious results. Physiologically a pronounced disparity in age of a married pair is likely to lead to sterility. In this connection some observations left on record by the census Superintendent of Rajputana are edifying and bear quotation. "For every 256 potential bridegrooms," he remarks, "there exist in Rajputana at present only 162 potential brides; and if the latter are not married till they are 15 years old many males will reach 20 years, unmarried. From 15 to 30 ages at which males contemplate or achieve marriages, there are 46 unmarried males per 10,000 persons, while there are only 4 unmarried females at similar ages. It therefore follows that these 46 males must arrange marriages with girls who are aged from 5 to 10 and from 10 to 15 of whom there are 82. Observing these proportionate figures, the approximate number of girls that have attained the age of 14 is 11; while boys of 18, 19 and 20 may be assessed at 33. It looks therefore as if the discrepancy of 4 years fixed by the Sarda Act of 14 for females and 18 for males is for the present insufficient in practice; and that if the provisions of the Act are rigorously complied with, the age of marriage for males will automatically rise to 21 to 23 for some years to come for want of sufficient girls who have reached the age of at least 14." The course indicated by the census figures for the Hindus is yet further to raise the age of maternity and the ban on widow remarriage—the two most important planks of the social reformer.

In this connection it is instructive to watch how several Indian States have attempted to meet the evil. The Idar State in Gujarat while fixing the marriageable age for girls and boys has also by law discouraged the marriages of men past middle age. It has penalised the marriage of a man aged 45 and over unless it is with a girl who is not under half of his own age. Thus if a middle aged Hindu happened,

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to lose his wife and wanted to remarry at the age of 48 he could not legally remarry, unless he could find a bride of 24 years of age. This was ordinarily possible only in the case of a widow for it was not easy to get a virgin at 24. If the object of the act was thus indirectly to encourage widow remarriage it was admirably calculated to achieve that end. Otherwise it was a clumsy and uncalled for restraint on the liberty of marriage of men. No law of a civilised country imposes any restraint on marriage. The ban on widow remarriage ought to have been courageously raised instead.

Before I close I would like to refer briefly to another phase of the problem which though at first sight appears to be only remotely connected is yet intimately concerned with the problem before us. Exponents of works on sex ratios have pointed out that an increase in masculinity is an indication of declining population. This generalisation may perhaps be falsified by our country; it is however at least true of the Hindus and the Jains; for whereas the rate of increase among Muslims during the last fifty years is 55 per cent and among Sikhs 33 per cent; it has been only 26 per cent among the Hindus and only 25 per cent among the Jains. The disturbance of the equilibrium caused by the low proportion of women is much intensified by the prohibition against the remarriage of widows among the Hindus and the Jains. Moreover even the caste system is to a certain extent responsible for this decline for it has now been held by scientists as demonstrable truth that the restriction of marriages within the same caste promotes the preponderance of masculinity. In his "History of Human Marriage," Dr. Westermarck cites observations from various parts of the world in support of his view that a mixture of race leads to an increase in the proportion of females. From experiments performed on self-fertilizing plants which produced an excess of male flowers, on in-breeding cattle in which bulls greatly exceeded heifers, and on two independent breeds of horses, indicating that fillets predominate among foals in proportion as the sire and the dam differ in breed and even in colour. The obvious inference indicated is that marriage within the caste will in the long run increase the proportion of males over female children. Endogamy is believed to lead to this preponderance of masculinity for even such an ancient work as the Talmud can be quoted in support of the view that mixed marriages produce only girls. The wisdom of the ancient Hindus, while it held in anticipation of the law now disclosed by Eugenics that too restrictive in-breeding was harmful to progeny and therefore undesirable, also laid down that the ideal marriage should be midway between being exogamous and endogamous. It must be outside the gotra but inside the caste. When a study of sex ratios in population now teaches us that marriages confined to one and the same caste may lead to the preponderance of the masculine sex and consequently to a decline of the race in the long run it ought to supply the much needed cement to our third plank of Social Reform—*vis* the promotion of Inter Caste Marriage.

All sincere patriots and well wishers of our community ought to co-operate with the Social Reform Association in their endeavour to stop this decline. If we want to set right the balance, the preponderance of the masculine element can be remedied by the following three reforms:—

- (a) Prohibit early marriages; and raise the marriage age for girls still higher.
- (b) Encourage the remarriage of widows; the mere permissive act is not sufficient to break the force of custom. Polygamy has no justification in Hindu Society; and

- (c) Encourage intercaste marriages; All the three problems are inter-connected and they act and react on one another.

Finally one word about the Widow Remarriage Act itself.

This Act was launched as the result of an agitation led by educated and respectable men under the direction of leaders like Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar. It is a short act comprising of only seven sections; one or two of the important sections dealing with the fact of the widow's remarriage, on her right to succeed to, and her interest in, the property of her deceased husband and his relatives; and also on her right to guardianship over and custody of her children by her deceased husband. The Act naturally declares that the widow on remarriage forfeits her right of inheritance to such property and even to property bequeathed to her by will if she was given only a limited or life interest in such property by the testament relied upon. She also loses her right to the custody of her children by her deceased husband. There has been a controversy whether a widow so remarrying need forfeit such right of inheritance, especially when it is only a life interest in the property that she acquires and her second marriage need not be regarded as her civil death. It has been argued that an unchaste widow does not necessarily forfeit her right to inheritance to property of her deceased Lord; and a widow remarrying cannot be treated more harshly than a widow who is unchaste and false to the troth she had sworn to her deceased husband. The law however has declared that a Hindu widow on remarriage loses her rights of inheritance or succession in the family of her deceased husband.

A complication however arises when the widow at the time of her remarriage changes her religion. The Act imposes this forfeiture of her old rights of inheritance only on a Hindu Widow and the forfeiture is inapplicable to a widow who when remarrying renounces her Hindu faith and becomes a convert to either Christianity or to Islam. The High Court at Allahabad had held that as the widow so remarrying ceases to be a Hindu widow the forfeiture clause also ceases to be applicable. The High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta have held the opposite view. It is hardly fair that we should place a premium on apostasy and hold a widow changing her religion at time of her remarriage to be free from the disabilities which applied to her while she held to her old faith. According to a fiction induced by the ideas of Hindu Law a widow represents only the surviving half of her deceased Lord and is therefore entitled to at least life interest in the property of her husband. How can she retain a continuing interest in that property when by remarriage she becomes the better half of another integer. She cannot super-impose her new moiety on the old moiety. Much less can she do so when the two halves belonged to altogether different faiths. Our sympathies need not follow the widow even after her change of religious persuasion.

Similarly as regards the custody of her children, the predeceased husband's family has a greater right to the guardianship of her children when she chooses herself to go under the protection of a stranger by her remarriage. We need not take up cudgels on her behalf indiscriminately. She has to sever old ties when she deliberately chooses to make new ties by her remarriage.

Each one of us must encourage and guide a weak and helpless Hindu widow to remarry if you find she is not likely to remain safe amidst the temptations surrounding her. Mere permissive legislation is not enough. Public opinion stands in need of further mellowing.



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WIVES IN HINDU LAW.

(By G. V. DESHMUKH).

I want to bring to your notice the property rights given to the wives in the absence of the son. To understand the problem correctly it is necessary to follow some general considerations :—

1. The word *Stri* is a general word used for woman; it is also used to mean wife. Special specific words are used to denote higher or lower divisions of womanhood. *Patni*, *Bharya* are used to denote higher levels of women in the family; *Yoshii*, *Ganika*, etc., denote lower levels in the society.

2. The Biological relationship between man and woman was called marriage (*Vivah*) by the old text writers and it was divided into eight forms. Some of these were approved and others were disapproved. *Brunkha*, *Daive*, *Arsha*, *Prajapati*, and *Gandharva* were the approved forms; *Asura*, *Rakshasa* and *Paishacha*, were condemned, but the point is they were all forms of marriage. These three forms are nothing but sexual relationship of violence, money and intoxication and will not be called marriage in any modern society.

3. The issue of all these eight kinds of marriage was recognised as son. There was therefore, no such thing as legitimate or illegitimate child, all being legitimate. These different sons were also classified into twelve different kinds of sons, ranging from *Auras*—from one's self—to self given even secretly produced.

4. The status and rights of all these wives and sons naturally varied.

Accordingly the women of the family were classified into the following orders :—first in rights and dignity were the *Patni* and *Bharya*. Next followed the second order of *Stri*, *Dara*, *Nari*, *Angana* and last came the *Dasi*, *Yoshii*, *Ganika*, etc., the lowest in order included in the general term *Stri*, and on whom all the common expressions seem to have been used.

To understand correctly the women's question as solved by the old law-givers, it is important to bear the above classification in mind, as the rights, status and position of a woman varies according to the order to which she belongs.

Patni or *Bharya* of the first order are the most important from the religio-legal point of view. The word *Patni* is derived from the root which means 'to be master, to govern' and *harya* is from the root which means to nourish. With the dignity of these words and also the religious significance it will be found that these words are not used loosely, or profusely in the texts. To take the instance of the two of the leading *Smritis* of the *Hindus*, the *Manusmriti*, and the *Yajnavalkya*. In the *Manusmriti* out of 249 times in using words relating to women, the word *Patni* is used twice and *Bharya* twenty times. In these twenty-two verses there is not one word which is derogatory, indeed great respect is shown to them. In the *Yajnavalkya Smriti* the word relating to women occurs 49 times *Bharya* occurs once only and *Patni* occurs twice—once to mention that *Aurasa* son is born only of *Patni*, and secondly to give her the right to succeed to her dead husband in default of a son, in the famous verse 11. 135/136 which have been followed by every law-giver and commented upon by every commentator, and interpreted correctly by Jimitvahan, the law-giver of Bengal in *Dayabhaga*.

Nor have the other law-givers been lacking in giving *Patni* the right of inheritance. *Vardhamanu* gives her the right of property after the death of her husband even though the father, mother and brother are

living. *Prajapati* gives her the right of property in movable and immovable property. She takes the fire if she dies before him; and takes the wealth if he dies before her (*Brihaspati* 50,51). *Vishnu* gives her the whole wealth, and *Brihaspati* asks the king to punish the relatives as robbers if they trouble her with respect to the property. In *Mahabharat*, *Vyas* gives her the enjoyment of the husband's property. Selfish objectors, ignorant of Hinduism, by repeated noise have persuaded the Hindus and non-Hindus, Indians and non-Indians to believe that in Hinduism 'Woman does not deserve independence.' They have picked up bits of verses; used them without reference to context, "Narad and Manu have said this," but *Narad* and *Manu* have used the word *Stri* not *Bharya*. Besides they have also said that 'Sons are without Independence' in *Narad* 33,34 and *Manu* 8:416. Does this imply that sons also cannot inherit? *Baudhayana* quoted in the text books on Hindu law also uses the word *Stri* and not *Patni* or *Bharya*. "Women (*Stri*) are without strength and therefore cannot inherit." Many a commentator has already explained this as inapplicable to inheritance in presence of definite express texts giving inheritance to grand-mother, and mother and numerous texts giving right of property to *Patni*.

In my bill I have asked the right to property for the *Patni*. It will be seen that in Hinduism:

1. A wife in the presence of the son gets equal share with the son.

2. A wife in the absence of the son on the death of her husband inherits the whole property of the husband, though kindred and kinsmen are alive.

CASTE IN MODERN HINDUISM.*

Hinduism without caste is neither a theoretical nor a practical impossibility. In fact what the Buddha did was to liberate the spiritual ideals of India from the yoke of any particular form of social organisation, and his movement cannot be called unsuccessful, even though there is no separate religion as Buddhism in India to-day. It was attempted by many reformers in Medieval India, and two very successful of these movements still persist in our midst as Sikhism in the North and Virasaivism in the South. It is therefore no new-born prejudice of modern Hindus.

The modern movement for the abolition of untouchability is an attack directed against the most vulnerable nerve-centre of the caste system; for beside being a humanitarian movement, it is also a challenge to the notion of congenital purity and impurity which Hindu fundamentalism has been maintaining by what appears to our mind, a misapplication of the doctrine of Karma and transmigration. That is why we find to-day Hindu fundamentalism in deadly opposition to the anti-untouchability movement—not because fundamentalists are devoid of humanitarian sentiments, as it is sometimes supposed.

The weight of educated opinion to-day seem to be on the side of these caste-breaking tendencies. There is no use condemning people of this school of thought as impious, irreligious or ungodly. Some of them may be so, but quite a large number of them are as pious and devoted to Hindu spiritual ideals as any representative of Hindu fundamentalism. If we disregard this increasing volume of opinion in the country, we shall only fail to notice the symptoms of the revolution in thought that is taking place in modern Hinduism. This change consists in the recognition that the pure spiritual content of religion has no inevitable or even necessary relation with any social system, except in so far as it is to lighten the latter with the principle of Dharma, the universal law

*The Vedanta Kesari.

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of righteousness. We believe it is proper to characterise this change as the recapture of the old Buddha spirit by the modern Hindu conscience.

It is also to be remembered that this divorce of caste consciousness from the spiritual ideal is symptomatic of a still deeper change in the Hindu outlook. For many centuries past, Hinduism has practically been an ethnic religion, and the Hindu conceived as one so born and never so made. It was an extension of this idea that resulted in the notion that salvation can be obtained only after one passes through the discipline of the caste system, and is finally born of Brahmin parentage. But the belief outrages the facts of history and need not be taken seriously; for no one can deny that men of exemplary piety and spiritual illumination have been very often born in lower castes and out-castes of Hinduism in spite of serious cultural handicaps and among societies in and out of India belonging to non-Hindu religions. In fact caste is no indicator of man's spiritual level. An uncompromising recognition of this is necessary if the ethnic Hinduism of the old law codes is to develop into the universal Hinduism of the Bhagavad Gita. That alone can claim to be a universal religion whose beliefs, practices and institutions are open to all who are duly qualified, irrespective of hereditary or other extraneous considerations. The issue is sufficiently plain to a mind free from pre-conceived theories: either separate caste from Hinduism and reduce the former to the position of a *social institution*; or make caste an essential part of the spiritual content of Hinduism and reduce Hinduism to the position of an ethnic religion. Modern Hindu conscience seems to favour the former course, and that is why the gradual development of the passive Hinduism of the previous centuries into the "Aggressive Hinduism" of our times synchronises with caste-breaking tendencies.

We for our part consider Hinduism to be a universal religion, and we cannot therefore admit that caste is anything more than a social system produced by a combination of causes, racial, economic and political. Once we thus separate caste from Hindu religion, we shall be in a position to take a thoroughly objective view of it, and judge it purely as a social institution. To deny its services in the past is as unjust and idle as it is to glorify it as a godsend perfectly valid for all time and all conditions. If it failed to Hinduise 13 million aboriginal tribes it has also to be said that it succeeded in doing so with regard to a much larger number, which accounts for the presence of numerous sub-castes in Hindu society today. This does not, however, entitle it for preference over new social institutions that can do the same work in a better, quicker and more efficient manner. It stressed the co-operative principle, smoothened the wheels of competition and preserved the technical skill of Indian workmen. But on this ground, to hope that it will continue to do so under thoroughly altered world conditions is quite futile and unwarranted. There is no use calling for co-operation when men are consciously unwilling to co-operate. If the cruelty of competition is bad, equally so is the stagnation, lethargy and exclusiveness into which co-operation imperceptibly degenerates.

Again the defensive mechanism of caste has done much to preserve Indian culture when it was threatened with insuperable dangers. But you cannot for ever live in hiding places without prejudice to your dignity as human beings. The embankment of taboos and prohibitions cannot for ever imprison the expansive tendencies of racial life.

In fact this dissatisfaction alone can sufficiently explain why many men, Hindu to the core of their being in other respects, fail to see eye to eye with

Hindu fundamentalists in their reverence for caste. Efficiency in self-defence, not in aggression, is what justifies a social system and makes it acceptable to a people. As long as caste proved its worth in this matter people clung to it, but when pitted against Muslim and European social systems it has proved its inefficiency in many respects in spite of its survival value. Unwillingness to contact foreigners has not saved us from foreign influences. For even though we may not wish to contact them, they have come to contact us—first as travellers, then as merchants and finally as conquerors. Bitter experience has taught the modern Hindu that it is not with the aid to taboos but by a greater tightening of the social consciousness alone he can keep himself alive and honourable in this world. In the principle of nationalism which the West has perfected in all its constructive and destructive phases, the best brains of India too seem to recognise the system of organisation which can mobilise the popular will into a unified and dynamic force. Its healthy principles are accepted by men of awakened political consciousness, and it is generally admired as a higher and more efficient form of social life. Caste mentality is found to stand in opposition to this process of nation-making; for it is the parent of communalism, the irreconcilable foe of nationalism. In the organisation of the herd instinct a division of loyalties between communalism and nationalism leads to disastrous inefficiency—to what may be described as an element of dissociation in the national psychology. For the appeal of both is directed to the same instinct, and the surrender demanded by both is equally unreserved and exclusive. That is why with the growth of nationalism we meet with increasing condemnation of communalism and its parent caste.

A PLEA FOR THE MIDDLE-AGED.

Childhood, youth and old age have had their poets. Wordsworth's *Intimations* is, perhaps the most fervent as it is the most famous appreciation of the glory of childhood. Youth, of course, has been glorified by innumerable poets. Old Age, which Shakespeare's genius made tragic in *Lear* and contemptible in *As You Like It*, found its Poet in Browning. The aged Pope in *The Ring and the Book* and also in *Ivanovitch* speaks with the serene authority of Godhead.

A certain stage
At last I reach, or dream I reach, where I discern
Truer truths, laws behold more lawlike than we learn
When first we set our foot to tread the course
I trod
With man to guide my steps: who leads me now
is God.
The opening stanza in Rabbi Ben Ezra is a veritable paean in praise of old age:

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made;
Our times are in his hand
Who saith, "A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all nor be afraid."

But no writer in verse or prose has sung the glories of middle age, the connecting link between Youth and Old Age. This omission was sought to be filled by Mr. A. G. Vere, who though there is something poetic in his outlook, is engaged in the humdrum duties of Assistant Manager of the Madras Telephone Company at the Madras Rotary Club last week. We take the following excerpts from the report of his speech in the *Hindu*:—

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Mr. Vere said that it had always seemed to him remarkable that English literature practically ignored middle age. How often did they read of a middle-aged hero? Of course, middle aged folk could not be entirely eliminated from literature, but when they did intrude on its august pages, they were frequently portrayed as nit-witted half mental folk and were generally contrasted to the young hero, who was probably making a splash on an income supplied by a mutt of a father. If the half witted person permitted to intrude should be a woman, they were invariably informed rightaway that it was quite a mystery how the very beautiful heroine (telegraphic address "Cosmetics") could have been so unfortunate as to possess such an ordinary mother.

The speaker continuing, said:

"On such general lines the story runs to its triumphant conclusion, with the hero (having entirely dissipated his father's fortune) stumbling in the last chapter—when drunk—on a gold mine or some such fortunate circumstances. Now being possessed of untold wealth, he marries the Cosmetic lady of his choice—keeps in moderate comfort in his old age the father he bled for so many years and unless, in his turn, he becomes a nit-wit parent, lives happily ever after.

"Take another aspect of the case. I refer to the present day habit of lauding to the skies what are after all the very moderate achievements of youth. It so happens that a certain young man in the early twenties, can throw a ball harder and straighter than most, can hit a tennis ball harder and more accurately than the average, can catch and run faster with a rugger ball than his fellows, with the result that he becomes a national hero, is given free trips (1st class throughout) all over the world, is overfed, overpetted, lionised and generally made to feel that he is no end of a fellow. But is he? Is he making any real contribution to the welfare of this world? I say definitely and finally 'No.' On the contrary, he is undoubtedly assisting, if he partakes in international events—quite unconsciously of course—to increase the already overwhelming sum of hate that exists between nations.

"We will now take the question of old age, which in the Glorification and Adoration Stakes is only second to youth! Mind you, I yield to none in my respect and affection towards those who have passed or are approaching the allotted span, but are they not, by the very fact that they are old, in the position that they cannot do much for the national weal—however much they might have done in the past! Why then this insistence—in my country at any rate—on the keeping of the aged in places and positions which they are no longer fit to occupy. One may say what one likes, but broadly speaking the fact that the older one gets, especially after one is sixty, the more intolerant and reactionary he becomes, quite unfitted to handle modern problems, quite unfitted to make quick decisions and quite unable to accept the views of those who are in the very prime of their physical and intellectual vigour.

"Notwithstanding this, our Mother of Parliaments is to-day largely controlled by old dodderers who, had they been in business, would have been axed years ago and indeed it must also be admitted that many of them would probably not have been very successful in business. Who then are the salt of the earth? The answer is: The middle aged. You will of course ask who are the middle aged? Whilst no definite years can be laid down as to when a person is middle aged, I should say that generally speaking it is between the ages of thirty-five and sixty, of which the middle fifteen years may be taken

as the period when the middle aged are not only at peak of their powers, but also as the period when they are definitely the burden carriers of the world. It is not the habit of the middle aged to make a fuss about their achievements and indeed I think they are far too modest. Year after year, they toil steadily on. They may have large or small incomes, but the net result is usually the same—at the end of the year savings nil. They are probably educating children, keeping a home, helping parents, paying rates and taxes and generally providing the where with all that makes the wheels go round and the existence of civilisation possible. I know men in Madras who are keeping, at any rate for part of the year, no less than three homes going and they are not leading a double—or should it be in this case a treble?—life. The explanation is perfectly simple, they have a home in Madras throughout the year, one in the hills for the younger part of their family for a portion of the year, and one all the year round for their children that are being educated in England.

"I suggest to you, gentlemen, that such men are doing more for humanity than the youth who gets a century at cricket or does the hat trick or who scrambles over the line by the skin of his teeth for the winning try and on so doing is cheered to the echo by thousands and is pestered for his autograph. Whoever heard of a middle-aged man being cheered because every penny he earned he spent on others? No one, I am sure, and if any one did cheer him, he (the cheerer) would promptly be incarcerated in a madhouse. But why? Is not there something wrong with our sense of values? Is not there something heroic about the man who toils year after year with never a thought for himself, who foregoes luxuries and often necessities in order that his children may be well fed, well clothed, well educated, and well housed? Is he not deserving of some recognition—does he get any—sometimes—but it is usually the raspberry. Is it not ironical that a man, who was world-famous when he was a great tennis player, should become a non-entity as soon as he gives up tennis to do something worth while."

Place of Students in Politics :—"The place of students in politics, is like the place of bachelors in married life and just as bachelorhood is intended to be a training for useful and happy married life, a student is expected to equip himself during his student days, in order to find a useful and bright career in life, and that includes politics in a country where politics dominates over other things," observed Mr. C. Rajagopalachariar, addressing the members of the Pachayappa's College Union in the College Hall. Continuing the speaker said that politics was not an easy job and it required no less preparation than was required to become a doctor, a lawyer or a schoolmaster. The speaker would not invite students to leave schools and colleges but wanted them to learn politics side by side with other subjects. Concluding he advised the students to be self-reliant and master the subjects by observing strict discipline, discarding all bad tastes and bad manners.—A. P.

Change in Scientific Thought :—"Prof. G. Mahajani, Principal, Fergusson College, Poona, who addressed the members of the University Union, Bangalore. Sir C. V. Raman presiding, referred to the development of a new school of scientific thought which viewed both the physical and social sciences from a common angle. This new school of thought did not agree with the old idea of scientists that physical laws were fixed and immutable. This new school of scientists, Prof. Mahajani observed, held that there was nothing unalterably fixed about the so-called physical laws and that the characteristic features of any physical phenomenon varied with the varying points of view from which it was viewed. Modern scientists held that all these theories were right and at the same time wrong, according to from what point they were viewed.



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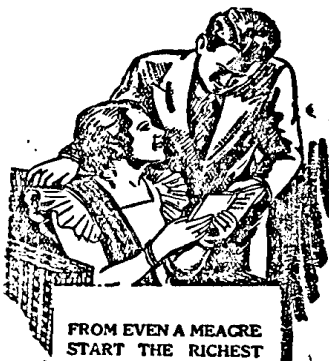
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*.

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NOTES

Parsi Poverty:—Professor Wadia, the indefatigable Honorary Secretary of the Parsi Charity Organisation Society, has dealt with the subject of poverty among Parsis in the light of statistics specially collected relating to 1141 families living in Bombay city. In all these cases the Society has secured help from charity funds either for the first time or had it renewed during last year. The number of Parsi families in receipt of relief wholly or partially from the numerous charity funds of the community was estimated in his last annual review by Professor Wadia to be about 2,500 comprising 10,000 souls. The number covered by the present investigation is thus representative, and the conclusions formed by the Professor may be accepted as sound and reliable. Taking Rs. 12 per head as the minimum needed for a Bombay Parsi to live a healthy life. Professor Wadia calculates on the basis of his figures that a sum of Rs. 7,62,000 is needed in addition to the Rs. 4,25,000 now being disbursed by the Charity Fund to lift the 2,500 families out of their present condition of underfeeding and semi-starvation by providing them with the prime necessities of housing, food and clothing. As regards housing, we are surprised to see that notwithstanding the several chawls for poor Parsis in different parts of the city, the rent paid by the families included in this investigation ranged on an average from 33 to 25 per cent of their incomes including the help received. It is obvious that persons belonging to other communities for whom there are no charity buildings to live in must be paying more than 33 per cent of their incomes in rent. Considering that the lower the income the larger the proportion needed for food which in the lowest incomes is almost wholly spent on food, such high proportions demanded by rent necessarily leads to under-nourishment and semi-starvation.

Communal Welfare and the Birth Rate:—Professor Wadia's scheme would eliminate rent from the budget of the poor Parsi and considerable further economies will accrue from collective living in colonies in the city itself, with common kitchens, common laundries and schools worked on a co-operative basis. It is difficult to see how a community which has abandoned the old joint family as a drag on individual initiative would respond to the call for this co-operative plan. One point to which Professor Wadia has omitted to call attention, is that with the growing number of unemployed in the community, requiring increased expenditure on relief, the community will not be able to maintain such large charity funds as in the past. Taking the Parsis in Bombay to be about 60,000, a sixth of the population is now in receipt of relief. The object of Professor Wadia's scheme is to prevent this proportion from increasing, as it is sure to do if the doles system is persisted in. He sees that the ill effects of this pernicious system are already making themselves felt. The Census Commissioner of India referring to the very low birth-rate, coupled with the exceptionally high survival rate, among the Parsis, observed: "Both phenomena are due primarily to the high economic and cultural condition of the community, prosperity with education being the only really efficient check on the birth-rate yet discovered." Professor Wadia found in his inquiry that poverty is mainly responsible for large-sized families and an attitude of recklessness on the question of wedded life and its responsibilities. "We have repeatedly come across instances of families in the course of our investigations," he writes, "where sons with very limited resources have married and brought further misery into their family." That the birth rate continues to be very low shows that the reckless breeding among the poor of which Professor Wadia complains, is not of a magnitude to affect the community's future. On the contrary, the low birth-rate itself constitutes a problem for Parsi reformers.

Sex Proportion and Race Degeneration:—In his interesting address at the meeting of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association which was printed in the last two issues of the *Reformer*, Sir Manubhai Mehta broke new ground when he attributed the "preponderance of masculinity"—that is, of the male over the female population in the country and especially in the Hindu



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community, to inbreeding due to the prohibition of marriage between several castes. He also took the view that preponderance of masculinity is a sign of declining population. As a matter of fact the preponderance of males over females is greater among Muslims than among other groups and, surprising as it may seem, exists even among Parsis. For every thousand males there are 951 women among Hindus, 938 among Parsis and 901 among Muslims. What is even more striking is that, while the Hindu ratio declined from 970 in 1901 to 951 in 1931, the Muslim ratio declined during the same period from 938 to 901. If the predominance of masculinity is a sign of declining population, it is not easy to explain why, in the case of Muslims, it has coincided with an increase of population. In the fifty years ending 1931 while the Hindus declined from 7,452 to 6,824 per 10,000 of the population, Muslims increased from 1,974 to 2,216. The theory of a definite relation between sex proportion and growth of population would seem to require revision. This also throws doubt on the supposed effect of inbreeding on masculinity. In noticing the Census Report, we took exception to the Commissioner's speculations on these points. Inbreeding prevails in the most intense form in the small and compact Parsi community. Still their proportion of female population is much higher than that of the Muslims who have a wider field of choice, at least in theory. An eminent sociologist who investigated the effect of cousin marriages came to the conclusion that there was no evidence to support the popular belief that marriage between close relatives necessarily leads to race deterioration.

Mr. Rajagopalacharya and the Congress :— The resignation of Mr. C. Rajagopalacharya of his membership of the various Congress Committees, signifying practically the severance of his connection with the Congress, has not come on us as a surprise. It will be remembered that he retired from the Congress soon after the last general elections to the Legislative Assembly, the sweeping successes of Congress candidates in which were largely due to his great organising capacity and the intensive electoral campaign of which he was the indefatigable leader. His little book on the Bhagavad Gita which was published some months ago, was the fruit of his meditation in his retirement. The teaching of the Gita that a man attains salvation by doing his duty disinterestedly in the sphere in which his lot is cast, whatever it may be, is impressively brought out in Mr. Rajagopalacharya's commentary. That thought might have influenced his return to the field of politics on the eve of the Lucknow Congress. There was much rejoicing amongst the elders of the Congress at his return to the field of battle and it was confidently stated that he was to be the President of the next Congress. The reason which he gives for his retirement, namely, that another Congress leader put up a candidate for election to the Chairmanship of a Local Board against one whom Mr. Rajagopalacharya himself preferred and that the

former won the election against the latter, is on the face of it a poor one for Mr. Rajagopalacharya to become a political sanyasi. It is evidently the last straw. His association with the Congress, he implies in his message, has been lately not conducive to his peace of mind which, he thinks, will now be possible to him. He recently emerged triumphant from a defamation case which he had instituted against a Tamil newspaper for making insinuations suggesting that he had misused Congress money for his own benefit. This grotesque libel against a man of Mr. Rajagopalacharya's sterling integrity was unreservedly withdrawn and apologised for by the newspaper. We cannot help thinking that the significance of Mr. Rajagopalacharya's seemingly abrupt severance of his long-standing relations with the Congress, is that that body is drifting towards uncharted seas and that the men of the group which rallied round Gandhiji and the non-co-operation movement, feel that their presence is not wanted any longer. What is a great loss to the Congress, will be a greater gain to scholarship and literature. Mr. Rajagopalacharya is not one of those who took to politics because they can think of nothing better to do.

The Trichinopoly Election :— Since writing the above, we have had a report of the election proceedings which has led to Mr. Rajagopalacharya's retirement from the Congress. We may say at once, that, on the merits of the matter, our sympathies are with Mr. P. T. Rajan whose candidate won the election against Mr. Rajagopalacharya's candidate. Mr. Rajan's position is, and he says he fully explained it to the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, that the Provincial Congress organization should not interfere with elections to local bodies but leave them to be carried on with reference to local conditions. Mr. Rajan as a resident of Trichinopoly knows the local conditions best and his candidate is also a Congressman. There is no more reason why the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee should decide who should be the Chairman of the Trichinopoly Municipality, than why the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee should decide who should be the next Mayor of Bombay. We are astonished that a political leader of Mr. Rajagopalacharya's eminence and experience should maintain this untenable theory and make opposition to it the ground of quitting the Congress. To a representative of the *United Press*, he said that he believed in disciplinary action against Mr. Rajan for having dared to put up a candidate in opposition to the one set up by himself on behalf of the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee. But he feared that there was not enough force behind it by way of sanctions. Such talk smacks of Fascism and is nauseating. We can hardly believe that the Congress party favours the sort of dictatorship which Mr. Rajagopalacharya's words imply. Mr. Rajan in our opinion quite rightly refused to obey the dictation of the Congress Committee in a matter affecting the civic life of his city. Congress work in regard to elections to the Provincial Legis-



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lature, would be impossible, said Mr. Rajagopala, unless the Congress Committee is able to order Municipal elections. We dare say that the Justice Party in Madras acts on this principle but we expect the Congress to pay more regard to the fundamentals of civil liberty, one of which is the freedom of civic affairs from political partisanship.

Protection or Privilege?—If, during the Swadeshi movement, anyone had suggested that Indian traders in foreign cloth were entitled to protection against foreign traders, he would have been laughed out of court. Yet that in effect is the attitude adopted by Indian cinema exhibitors in the recent agitation against the proposed establishment of an American-owned cinema theatre in Bombay. The conditions calling for protection do not exist in the theatre business. The Indian exhibitor has been in the field undisturbed for years. He knows, or he ought to know if he has the slightest business instinct, his public better than any foreigner can. He is a middleman if ever there was one. And the trade is by no means a new one. If the agitation had been launched against Western pictures, we could have understood, even though we could not have supported, it. But culturally, there will not be much difference between the films exhibited by the new theatre and the films shown by many of the old ones. If anything, an American exhibitor might well hesitate to put on pictures which present his countrymen and women in an absurdly foolish light. The inanities of the average song-and-dance Western film will no doubt continue to be inflicted on a long-suffering public. But the American, and the more so if he is a 100 percenter, will draw the line sooner than his Indian rival. From this point of view, it will not be altogether bad if we have an American-run theatre in our midst. But whatever one might feel on the subject, it is hard to justify the present agitation for which public and press support is being sought. The tradesman's right is only the right to sell to his public and nothing more. He cannot ask that competitors be kept back while he plies an exclusive trade. The cinema, moreover, has come to be recognised as a cultural force besides being a source of entertainment. It would be as absurd to raise nationalistic barriers in the cinema trade as in the trade in books.

The Police and their Powers:—In an article with this heading, a legal correspondent calls public attention in the *New Statesman* to some features of recent police prosecutions in England as between Communists and Nazis. "However the Police may try to exercise their functions," he writes, "their discretion, their belief in the likelihood of a breach of the peace, must to some extent depend on their view of the antipathy that certain political views may arouse. There is an impression, for example, that anything said in a loud voice by anyone suspected of being a Communist, may lead to a breach of the peace."

Among some policemen, at any rate, there is the equally strong conviction that nothing said by a Fascist can. The handing of a tract against Nazism to a German visitor was held to be such an insult by a London Magistrate. So far as Fascists are concerned, it appears to be the policy to prosecute only in the cases, where an actual, as opposed to the constructive, breach of the peace is on the point of occurring." The writer suggests that in some cases where there have been breaches or likelihood of breaches of the peace on account of Fascist provocation, the persons "bound over," were not the Fascists, but those who resented the provocation.

Bengal Hindus and the Communal Award:—The sudden emergence of a great Hindu demonstration headed by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, against the Communal Award, after the law Member of the Government of India, himself a Bengali strongly opposed to the arrangement, had declared in the Legislative Assembly that the issue was no longer a live one, took us by surprise. It could be explained by supposing that some hint had reached the organisers that the occasion was opportune for a fresh effort. It appears that there has been no development of any kind to invite such a demonstration. The Secretary of State for India, Lord Zetland, in his reply repeats what he said in the House of Lords: It was not the intention of the British Government to make any alteration in the Communal Award unless it was desired by the communities themselves but that no such alteration could be made under the Act without the specific consent of Parliament. Lord Zetland had publicly stated that the Award was hard on the Bengal Hindus. The purport of his reply is that the Hindus, however hard it may be on them, must abide by it unless they can persuade the other communities to agree to its being modified. That is to say, Hindu can not expect any help from Government in having this particular wrong righted. So much was clear from his earlier pronouncements and we share Lord Zetland's surprise that the memorialists appear to have overlooked them. It is possible that they thought that, as the British Government had recently changed their policy in respect of Ethiopia, they might do the same in regard to the Communal Award. The two questions however are different. Government made contradictory declarations about their Ethiopian policy because they were obliged to do so. They can not make any changes in the Communal Award because there is nothing to induce them to depart from the policy of maintaining the sacrosanct character of their declarations. We are sorry that the aged poet was dragged from his retirement to head this certain fiasco. He ought to have been spared the snub which the Marquis at the India Office has administered to him and his colleagues in this rather fatuous business.



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A DEAL IN SOULS.

The Moonje-Ambedkar Pact particulars of which are revealed in the correspondence that Mr. M. C. Rajah has published, is a unique document a parallel to which is not to be found in the political and religious annals of any country. The substance of it is: Dr. Moonje and Dr. Ambedkar agree that the depressed classes must remain untouchables so long as they remain Hindus; that conversion to some other religion is sure to release them from this social infliction; that, while conversion to Islam or Christianity offers certain material and political advantages, it will take the large body of untouchables out of the pale of 'Hindu culture'; their conversion to Sikhism will obviate this consequence, but the Sikh community is neither numerically nor financially strong enough to afford the antyaja converts all the help they need; and that Hindus, in recognition of the consideration shown to their 'culture', should facilitate the conversion of antyajās to Sikhism by enabling them to retain the concessions of the Poona Pact even after conversion. There is a suggestion in Dr. Ambedkar's letter to Dr. Moonje that Hindus should also provide financial subventions to make up for the lack of resources of the Sikh community to support the antyaja converts. Before submitting the Pact to the acceptance of the Hindu Mahasabha, Dr. Moonje invited the opinion of Mr. M. C. Rajah who represents the depressed classes in the Legislative Assembly, in which he has introduced a Bill now pending for the removal of the antyaja's disabilities. Mr. Rajah has thought it his duty to place the correspondence before the public before further action is taken in the matter.

The idea that the depressed classes should seek social salvation by religious conversion, was first put forward by the late Dewan Bahadur Srinivasa Raghava Iyengar, before he became Dewan of Baroda in the closing years of the last century, in a report on the progress of the Madras Presidency under British rule. The Dewan Bahadur was a conservative Brahmin, and he made the suggestion solely in the interests of the depressed classes, as he conceived it fifty years ago, without any thought of political consequences. Nor did he seem to apprehend any results detrimental to the Hindu community from the conversion of antyajās to Christianity which he specifically recommended. No doubt, he did not feel called upon to consider what the effect of wholesale conversion of antyajās to Christianity would be on the Indian Christian community. We are not sure but that the Dewan Bahadur's suggestion might have suggested to Missions the idea of mass conversions from among the depressed classes. However that may be, large numbers of these classes have been converted to Christianity since the Dewan Bahadur wrote. But their

social condition has not materially changed as he thought it would. Dr. S. C. Chatterjee told an Indian Christian Conference at Allahabad last November that the lot of converts from the untouchable classes remained much the same as before conversion. The formation of a "Depressed Indian Christians Association" in Madras, and the Circular letter, which the Secretary of its Executive Council has addressed to Christian Associations in Southern India, are of special significance. "It is unquestionable," writes Mr. Arokiaswamy, "that converts to Christianity groan under all the disabilities arising from caste distinctions. Although the benign Government have been pleased to grant privileges to them, they are not sufficient to bring them up to the level of the other depressed classes enjoying higher and more privileges." The Indian Christian community which will ultimately have to shoulder the burden of bringing up the converted mass, is apprehensive in the words of the *Guardian*, that, unless some Hercules rises to cleanse the Augean stable which has to be cleansed, "the community will become more and more superstitious, and more and more contemptible in the eyes of the world." The effect of mass conversion of the antyajās on the Missions themselves, should not be left out of account, especially now when many supporters of Missions are beginning to doubt whether, after all, it will not be best to begin by converting the "heathen" in their own lands. There is a world of meaning in the Lindsay Commission's terse observation that "the wheels of the Christian Church drag heavily in the sand of their (the depressed classes men who have entered the Church) age-long inferiorities and disabilities."

We have dwelt at some length on this point because Dr. Ambedkar's sanguine estimate of the advantages to be gained by the depressed classes, is, as regards Christianity, much discounted by actual experience. It is even more so in the case of his estimate of the material and political gains likely to ensue from conversion to Islam. The condition of the Muslim population especially in the provinces where it is the majority, is not such as to answer the expectations of Dr. Ambedkar as regards its capacity to help some millions of the depressed classes whose sudden influx can only aggravate it. But there is a more serious obstacle in the way of the conversion of these classes to Islam. It is reported that, at a mass meeting of Mahars in Bombay, where the project of conversion from Hinduism was expounded, the women as a body declared that they would not go over to a religion which required them to remain behind purdah. Sikhism as a religion is a bhakti cult like Vaishnavism and Saivism. The Sikhs owe their distinctive character in the Punjab to Guru Govind who vowed that he would make his sparrows strike down the eagle, and did it. In the arrangements embodied in the projected Ambedkar-Moonje Pact, there is not a trace of the spirit of the



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great Guru, but only a spirit of bargain entirely alien to it. Moreover, it is of the essence of the pact that it must have not only the moral but also the material support of Hindus. Dr. Ambedkar himself recognises that conversion to Sikhism, unless supported by Hindus, will bring about no improvement in the social conditions of the antyajas. Dr. Moonje and Dr. Kurtkoti may be ready to bless the project of helping the depressed classes to call themselves Sikhs while Hindus continue to incur the responsibility of helping them politically and financially, but there will not be many other Hindu leaders to share their opinion. The fact is that Dr. Ambedkar's belief that the depressed classes stand to gain much by apostasy is pure hallucination. It is obvious from his own hesitation to practice what he preaches, that the hold of Hinduism on his people is deeper than he is aware of. Hindu leaders who wish to strike a bargain with him like that embodied in the Ambedkar-Moonje Pact, are doing no service to the country or either of the communities. They are dragging religion—and not only Hinduism—into the mire in the belief that they are helping to save it from imminent dissolution.

THE ESSENCE OF ADVANCE.

(By WALTER BROOKS FOLEY)

"But now they desire a better country."

We are told that, though we do not know who was the writer of the book of Hebrews, we can rest assured that he was a great preacher. Again and again he abandons the main line of the argument in order to preach. Also he was a man of great literary ability. The book is written in the best Greek of the New Testament. He was a man of wide knowledge of philosophy. He knew Plato's system. He was familiar with the Epicurean theory of the universe. He was intimately acquainted with Aristotle's ideas. Through all his Epistle he uses in the most skillful way his wide understanding for the interpretation of the Christian religion. His knowledge, his acceptance and use of change, his firm Christian faith mark him as one of the first great Christians. He realized that Christianity demands an on-going, an advance, based on a desire for a better country in which to live and grow. Forward motion was at the heart of his method.

As in our author's day the essence of advance is still drawn from deep sources of never-failing supply,

When the great ice cap crept southward over North America from the Arctic wastes, it slowly but surely used as its source of supply what we now call the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, distilling from the ocean depths the moisture that cooled and hardened to form the ice. The water was the essence of the ice advance. Water was the real character of which the huge moving glaciers consisted.

Again and again men and women have found that the essence of advance must be drawn from deep, unfailing sources. What that essence actually is rests with us to discover, if we would make the advance necessary in our day and generation.

One source of supply is that of knowledge. The world's store of facts is very large. It is almost as though there had been many Josephs who, in an era of plentiful research, had been possessed of sufficient

vision to gather into storehouses the realities of life that can now furnish truth with which to deal with our later problems in a somewhat dry and barren period of discord and confusion. Knowledge is ours for the asking—on the shelves of our libraries, in the minds of millions, in the laboratories of research, in the hearts of spiritually-minded prophets.

Out of knowledge it is possible to distill wisdom—which is more to be desired than rubies or fine gold.

One of Robert Frost's recent poems tells the story of a boy teasing some caged monkeys with a burning glass. From it the poet draws a lesson for men,

*They might not understand a burning glass.
They might not understand the sun itself.
It's knowing what to do with things that counts.*

It is not enough only to know the truth in order to be free. We must likewise know what to do with the truth—how to use it.

There is a force that can be applied to facts to make them bloom with radiant advance for all mankind. Again Robert Frost speaks:

*Some force has but to apply,
And summits shall be immersed,
The bottom of seas raised dry—
The slope of the earth reversed.*

Yes, knowledge of laws, of ways, of facts, is a constant source of supply for wisdom in dealing with practical affairs.

Yet, if we were to depend solely upon intellectual progress we could not possibly touch the fundamental weaknesses or strengths of mankind. For man has not yet either had the courage to say, "Get thee behind me, Satan," to many things that deter his onward and upward advance, or had courage to scale the heights of human possibility.

To be frank, the conceit of ignorance is only equalled by the conceit of knowledge. Too much of knowledge is concerned with the transient rather than the reality that lies behind and beyond temporary experience. The germs of stupidity and selfishness live in our dark corners far from the quickening flow of human advance. Too often we have mended our ways only as a last resort to save ourselves from destruction. Too often we wait too long to be saved—and those we leave behind must begin all over again the weary, yet inevitable, road that man must travel when he desires a better country.

We need not only the courage of our convictions, but the courage to correct our contemporaries when only collective action will set us forward upon the highway of experience. Knowledge will help us but more than knowledge is required. The philosophy of the author of Hebrews was not the whole of his message nor does it altogether explain his powerful phraseology.

A second force from which the essence of advance may be extracted is that of change. There are usually two alternative procedures that may be adopted in connection with change. There is the customary attitude of many who say, "No," whenever a suggestion is made that appears a bit novel or different. Such an attitude we may call resistance to change. Too many have stumbled over that obstacle, saying in hushed and sepulchral tones, "What was good enough for father, is good enough for me." Unfortunately that attitude is applied more often in the field of religion than in the driving of a stream-lined V-8 instead of a Model T. Yet out of religion come the vital issues of advancing life.

Even the flowers of the field know that change is essential. At least they respond on that basis to the turn of the seasons, whether in the tropics



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or the temperate zone. For when they are given better soil, more sunlight, and adequate moisture they emerge from stunted specimens to be the equals and more of Solomon in all his glory.

The other alternative we may adopt when face to face with change is that of a readiness to change. By that I do not mean the colour adaptations of a chameleon-like existence where environment controls our thought, word and deed. Rather a readiness to change indicates progress in place of stagnation. Life in its lowest and highest forms represents motion, whether it is infinitesimal or majestic. Upon that law vital changes are predicated.

Change is composed of action and re-action just as one of the basic principles of physics is constituted. Change batters down the barriers that bar the way to advance. When we choose the gate-way of change we set our faces to go on into the brave new world of an advancing future.

Watch the opening petals of a night-blooming cereus if you would know the truth of unfolding change. For months, perhaps for years, the laws work on when we cannot, or will not, or do not notice. Then it seems, almost in an instant, the change comes. We sometimes forget the long compulsion of great forces and see only the immediate transformation.

What shall we call the third force that will shed about us the perfumed essence of advance? The writer of Hebrews called it "faith." Perhaps we will not violate the spirit of the text if we call it "fellowship with the Eternal."

Some lives seem to be like the fish-ponds of Penang—swarming with fish that serve no purpose and live only that they may gorge themselves with what is thrown to them. In such lives is no light of the sun, neither of the moon. All is evil from the outward appearance and action. Have you ever looked down into the bottomless pit through the eyes of a man or woman? It is an awful experience. It is disheartening. Then, have you gone on your stumbling way until one day you were allowed to look up to the heights of the highest heaven through human eyes that held the reflection of God in His goodness?

Man holds within himself the worst and the best. It is when fellowship with the Eternal assumes its place in a man's life that man is able to secure for himself the essence that perfumes his advance. When man substitutes the best for the worst he is seen to desire a better country.

It is when men and women no longer feel themselves to be strangers in a strange Satanic land but friends in a fellowship kingdom with God that the country-side is truly visible in its actual reality. Oh, the things we see—and never see.

The faith to remove mountains is a human possibility. It is the calm at the heart of the cyclone. It is the still small voice of everlasting life. It is the power of the divine dynamo of the universe. It is the altar of spiritual roses distilled from a million human petals.

Out of knowledge shall be gathered wisdom. Out of change will emerge creation. Out of fellowship with the Eternal will be fashioned the future. The blend of all three will give us the essence of advance. Out of the blend will come the divine spark that shall kindle the word of men and women into a blazing Christian conflagration, from which will emerge the refined metal of religious leadership for the new age that is to be.

In the grounds of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Mass., there is a splendid statue. It represents an Indian bronzed by the sun and the wind,

sitting astride his horse. His arms are raised in adoration and praise and exultation. His head is thrown back as he breathes in all the strength of his mature manhood the breath of the dawn in the first full freshness of the sunrise. The rhythmic appeal of the riding figure holds the wisdom born of knowledge, the stimulating acceptance of change, the faith in divine fellowship of all who desire a better country.

Thus we may go forth in peace and pleasure knowing that, despite our darkest difficulties and the seemingly insurmountable human mountain passes, God has provided some better thing for us. Therefore, we truly and earnestly desire a better country. Though the land of our heart's desire may be now concealed, one day it shall be revealed. In that faith for the future lies the essence of advance.

A PLEA FOR MARRIAGE REFORM.

(BY DR. S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI)

Marriage at any cost, under any circumstances, and at any age, has proved a bane to our Hindu community and has produced many undesirable results. Parents in their anxiety to get their girls married out of respect for an ancient custom and out of an unfounded fear that their girls and boys may become uncontrollable and immoral, have often failed to gain their object—namely to settle their children in happy and peaceful home life. The prospective son-in-law in most cases happens to be a student and has not finished his school or college course. The father-in-law has to help him with money even to complete his educational course. (He could have as well spent that amount on his own daughter's education and made her self-reliant.) Nowadays a mere B. A. or B. L. does not get on in life as well as he is expected to fare by his people who have spent all they possessed upon his education. All the same, the boy has to take his wife home whether he is settled in life or not, it may be because he himself wants to have his wife with him or his parents want their daughter-in-law to help the family in house-hold duties. Very soon children arrive in the family which further add to its expense.

Many fathers of large families being unemployed or turned out of their usual work do not easily secure a job in these days of economic depression and retrenchment in every Government Department. Very often the work itself being unsuitable tells upon the health of the father who becomes invalided and unable to earn. This is a common phenomenon in this unfortunate country owing to the frequent prevalence of epidemic diseases and malarial and other infectious fevers. Many such cases have sought our help. The poor mother of the children becomes either widowed or, worse than that, deserted by irresponsible husbands and fathers who to escape from the burden and worry of the family even disappear out of sight. The relations, if any, very often are neither inclined nor in a position to help these people. The deserted mother has to sell all her belongings not only to keep her children and herself alive but also to trace the whereabouts of her unfaithful husband without success. The desertion of wives and children is becoming rather frequent of late with the consequent demoralisation of society.

The parents of children consider it their primary duty to get the children married, but they never think of making any provision for their future well-being. Even intelligent handsome girls born of poor parents are given away in a hurry to old men and widowers with a number of children by their first wives, who die soon leaving the young wife and her children unprovided for. Girls of



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poor parents are given away to worthless and ill-brought up young men who do not hesitate to cast them away when it pleases their fancy. The last class of boys are very often infected with venereal disease and the poor ignorant wife also suffers from the ill-behaviour and immorality of their husbands.

We are glad that the widow's cause has found both public sympathy and Government help, but that of the deserted wife and the deserted mother and her children who face a harder lot, have not yet been sufficiently brought before the public eye. They suffer from both social and legal disabilities much more than a widow. There are a number of young women and girls who for no fault of their own have been deserted by their husbands who, to make matters worse, have remarried and live with their second wives. Parents of girls, though conscious of a similar fate befalling their own daughters, do not hesitate to give their daughters in marriage to a man who has proved a tyrant to his first wife, because girls must be married at any cost. Further the deserted wife is not very often left in peace. Even hospitals and adult women institutions will not admit them for fear of their being annoyed by the husband in the middle of their training for a profession, as the Hindu wife according to the present Hindu law is the absolute property of her husband.

Those of us who are associated with the Homes of shelter and protection for women have gone through unforgettable experiences. In Madras, on the one side, there were marriage celebrations, rejoicings, festivities and blessings to the newly wedded couple and on the other side there was the sorry spectacle of a number of poor and destitute widows, young and old, and deserted wives, young wives and mothers who undertake the responsibility of looking after their off-spring—it is by far wiser to remain single and content till such period when they could find sufficient means to run a comfortable home. Scientific research has shown that continence is conducive to health and longevity and to moral, intellectual and physical development of the individual. We have examples in our literature of a Bhishma and a Hanuman and innumerable Rishis and sages, the modern Ramakrishna and Vivekananda and all that noble band of workers that have adorned our motherland. Let us bring back to our modern society our ancient ideals of chastity, self-control, and renunciation as self-indulgence and selfishness brings in its train disease and death. We have been taught by our great men and women and also by our modern scientists that self-control is possible and should be practised by all. The practice of every virtue is no doubt very difficult, but on that account are we to teach our young men and women the contrary? It is true that some are not capable of being virtuous and good. But all the same it is our duty constantly to teach the application of the right principles of life. We should never advocate early and indiscriminate marriage and at the same time the evasion of its sacred duties and responsibilities by the practice of birth control.

In this connection, I may mention that Deshmukh's Bill which aims at giving inheritance and property rights to Hindu women, wives, widows and daughters might to a certain extent alleviate the existing conditions by securing for women better economic and legal and social status, and indirectly by lessening the demand of big dowries by the bridegrooms.

Further to prevent neglect and desertion of wives and mothers and their children for no fault on their part, the Hindu Law of marriage must be made just and equitable between the sexes. We all condemn

the practice of divorce in the west, but here in its place we have a one-sided divorce; the husband practically divorces his wife and has his own way without making any amends for her and her children. This is certainly equally bad, even worse as our present law gives the right only to the husband to do what he pleases with his wife and children. Even when the husband is well-to-do and is earning a good salary, the deserted wife, if she is parentless or when the parents are poor, has to suffer in poverty and in distress. She has neither the means nor the knowledge to seek redress from a cruel and unkind husband.

Meanwhile we have to give some immediate relief to distressed widows, deserted widows, deserted wives, mothers and children. Many of these are honest and willing to engage themselves in any honourable work or occupation and to maintain themselves and their children. And it is incumbent upon the society and upon the government to give them such a relief.

PARSI POVERTY.

(BY P. A. WADIA)

We have analysed the following five classes among recipients of charity relief:—

(1) Families with earning members ...	627 cases.
(2) Widows with earning sons... ..	166 „
(3) Widows with small children and grown-up girls	179 „
(4) Married couples	70 „
(5) Single widows	99 „

The question as to how much in the shape of income a family would require per head every month to provide themselves with the bare necessities of life including food, clothing and fuel has been very often asked. With a family of two to three souls the minimum requirements per head have been put down at Rs. 15 to 16 p. m. With a large family this amount would naturally diminish; but we would hesitate to put it at lower than Rs. 12 p. m. per head even in a family of eight to nine souls. These estimates are based upon figures worked out by the Sree Zarhosti Mandal and reproduced in appendix 4 of the book on Parsi Charity Relief by Dr. J. F. Bulsara, the joint Secretary of the Parsi Panchayat Funds. The estimates there given do not include clothing which is as much a necessity of life as food, and we have therefore added about Rs. 3 per head for this purpose. Dr. Bulsara in his book on Parsi Charity Relief estimates the total number of people who receive help in one form or other at 7,000 to 8,000 souls. We in our last annual report for 1933-34 have put down the figure of recipients of doles in the community at 2,500 families and individuals—that is, about 10,000 souls calculating on an average of four members to a family. We have also indicated in our last annual report that we were responsible for arranging help to the extent of Rs. 1,40,000 per year for 1,224 cases. We have further indicated that in the last year the total amount of help spent by the community was Rs. 4,25,000.

Planning for the minimum number of 2,500 families of 10,000 souls and assuming that the mean rents, earnings, help, etc., will be proportionately the same in the case of this 2,500 families as in the case of the 627 families which we have studied we would require for these 2,500 families an additional help of Rs. 63,500 roughly a month or Rs. 7,62,000 per year. With this additional help, 2,500 families can be lifted out of their present condition which is



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that of under-feeding and starvation and be provided with the prime necessities—namely, housing, food and clothing.

We should like to guard ourselves against misunderstanding at this stage. When we make an estimate of the total amount that our community would require to save 2,500 families from poverty and its consequences, we do not for a moment wish to imply that the community should spend this amount in the form of doles or otherwise on the families that need them or that these families should be provided with these necessities as gifts. We have repeatedly observed that such a system demoralises both the giver and the receiver. Under an economic organisation like ours resting on a basis of capitalism and individualism, if people can get a sufficient amount of money in the shape of doles to live on, most of them would shirk work and if the help is proportioned to the number of children it would be a strong incentive to reckless propagation. We are already noticing in our community this tendency to reckless propagation amongst the classes that are on the margin of subsistence or in receipt of doles. Our intention is to point out to our community that if a system of doles is logically followed out, and if the object of the dole is to provide the bare necessities of life to those who are unable to provide these by their own earnings or otherwise, we would require under present circumstances, in addition to Rs. 4,25,000 per year another Rs. 7,62,000. If such a total of Rs. 12,00,000 a year is secured and if the community employs its best available talent in carefully planning out far-sighted schemes for lifting these 2,500 families into self-respecting and self-supporting members of the community, it would be loyal to its traditions not only of large-hearted philanthropy but also of that common sense and intelligence which marked and were responsible for their prosperity in the past.

Our object on the present occasion is to point out the extent of poverty that prevails in the community, the under-feeding that exists in a fairly large proportion of the families that are helped, the vicious circle into which a system of doles has plunged us, and the amount of help in various shapes that would be needed if this policy of doles is persisted in. There are two alternatives before the community; one of them is to bring down the artificially high standard to which as a community we are said to be getting accustomed, so as to enable the members of our community to compete on more equal terms with other communities in the struggle for life. Assuming on the other hand that the present standard of living to which our community is accustomed is not artificially high, and that it has got to be maintained, the only other alternative that remains is to see that the large amount of money that our community spends in the name of charity, and the still larger amount that it may be possible to draw hereafter from the community, is spent in such a manner that those who are dependent on charities today will either in their own generation or in the succeeding generation cease to be so dependent, and be able to look after themselves as self-respecting and self-dependent units. With the resources at our disposal, and with co-operation between those who administer charities in various forms, it may be possible to establish colonies even in the city itself where with a common kitchen, cheap residences, medical assistance and efficient educational institutions, those who are receiving today doles and outside help will be saved their self-respect, will contribute by their work, in proportion to their ability, towards their own maintenance, and where the future generation may be brought up in health and educated as earning members of Society.

Fourteen years ago, that is within a year and a half after the institution of our Society, our Society drew the attention of the community to certain facts and figures concerning Parsi Poverty in a leaflet which the Society printed for the information of the community. The statements that we then made have been fully confirmed by the events of the last fourteen years. In this leaflet to which we have referred we spoke about the starting of an Institution "where (1) families might be housed in healthy surroundings and under sanitary conditions, (2) they might be fed on simple but wholesome food good enough to keep them physically fit, (3) they might have proper medical advice and treatment when ill, (4) they might have proper facilities for the education of the children, and for their own training in such occupations as would increase their earning capacity. In order that such families may not lose their sense of self-respect, nor have their finer susceptibilities benumbed, the members of such families who are fit for work should contribute out of their earnings towards their own maintenance a sum not exceeding a certain percentage of their earnings or not exceeding a fixed sum per month per head."

An Institution or Institutions like the one we suggested 14 years ago might not be difficult to organise and work, with the co-operation of the trustees of charity fund in charity chawls where already a large number of the recipients of doles are at present concentrated. Common kitchens, common laundries, and schools for the education of children worked in these centres on a co-operative basis partly with the help of the inmates of these new colonies, might bring an enormous amount of economy and saving as compared with the present unregulated system of doles to isolated families. Fourteen years have passed since we made this suggestion and we again earnestly call the attention of our community to the necessity of devising far-sighted measures along these lines instead of continuing the system of doles to which even our Society has in spite of itself been a reluctant party.

IN PRAISE OF THE MIDDLE-AGED.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

Mr. A. G. Vere's plea for the middle-aged which you published in your issue of August 8, was a good effort so far as Mr. Vere was concerned but is it good enough for the middle-aged? After all we are not a suppressed part of the community like the depressed classes or women, nor a despised section of it like the middle classes. We may not get the applause of the world as much as youth and old age do. But we more than others are the world. We are the persons who laugh young enthusiasms out of court and who are not taken in by the lamentations of the aged. The twentieth century in exalting democracy, has paved the way for the mediocre. The middle-aged has come into its own. There is no need to plea for us, for we have at last inherited the earth. Let Mr. Vere take heart from the two extracts given below from current literature.

Nowhere has middle age received a better tribute than in *Anthony Adverse* the novel which created a sensation in America two years back. The quaint Carlo Cibo, a Spaniard settled in South America, tells the hero: "When we are still young we think a great many people whom we meet are extraordinary. There is no one else in the world like them, we feel sure. Also our precious selves are without parallel. The world, we think, is not subtle enough to



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understand us. But we are wrong. The adult world is far too subtle to waste much time on us. It understands us instinctively by just remembering itself. It has thought through all our thoughts and is tired of our violent emotions. It does not need to care about youth because it knows youth will get older. Grow up as soon as you can. It pays. The only time you really live fully is from thirty to sixty, provided of course you are healthy and do not die. No, the young are slaves to dreams; the old servants of regrets. Only the middle-aged have their five senses in the keeping of their wits.

The Chinese writer, Dr. Lin Yutang, approaches very near this conclusion but stops short of it. "The Chinese young man," he writes in 'My Country and My People', "comes back from Europe or America and begins to manufacture tooth paste and calls it 'saving the country by industrialization' or he translates American free verse and calls it 'introduction of Western culture'. And since he has usually a big family to support and some cousins for whom to secure positions, he must think of ways and means to rise higher and by that way be a good member of his family. That process of rising higher teaches him some memorable lessons of life and if he escapes all that and remains a hot-headed, round-eyed innocent young man at thirty, he is either an inspired idiot or a confounded genius."

Bombay,
August 10, 1936 }

Yours etc.,
"MIDDLE-AGED."

CASTE IN INDO-EUROPE.

The Editor,
The Indian Social Reformer.
Sir,

Your reference to the breach of promise case, which ended in the award of a farthing to the country born European woman hair-dresser, reminds me of another interesting story.

A respectable Anglo-Indian gentleman of Madras decided to adopt an English child as his daughter. His offer of a happy home for an orphan girl was accepted by the authorities of a foundling home in London, similar to the "League of Mercy" in Bombay, and a little girl named Doris Hawker arrived in Madras in April 1923. When the child's prospective foster-father boarded the steamer to receive her, some of the European passengers discovered that he was not a "pure" European. To join them in their expressions of horror and indignation, they requisitioned the assistance of the *Madras Mail* which readily went to their rescue, and together they created such an uproar that the Madras officials were frightened into taking action in the interest of peace. Loaded with bags of sweets and toys, little Doris was sent back to her home in one of the slums of London.

Commenting on the incident, another newspaper called special attention to the indecision of the Anglo-Indian to declare his race as European or Indian, and wrote apologetically that the Anglo-Indian is in the position of the immortal ass which the Greek philosopher asserted would inevitably die of starvation if placed exactly equi-distant between two trusses of hay, from sheer inability to make up its mind which to attack first.

Sylvan Coonoor,
5th August 1936. }

Yours etc.,
M. G. JOSEPH.

"UNITY" OF CHICAGO.

The following appears in *Unity*:-

Unity's circulation is beginning to move again. New subscribers are coming in. We have been suffering losses during these last few years, and thus seeing our subscription list go down, and down. There was nothing we could do about it. No churches to appeal to for aid; no societies or organized groups of any kind to help us out; no money for advertising or other publicity devices! So we just sat tight, waiting for the depression to blow by, and hoping that we would not perish before the weather changed. That it was a hard struggle goes without saying. Had it not been for that peculiarly intimate and even affectionate loyalty which binds the subscribers of *Unity* to one another and to the paper in a fellowship which is itself as real as any church, we would not have survived. But the members of the family stood by—all did who could!—and now we are gaining new members, and the good old days are in sight again. What we need, right off, is a large increase in circulation. Why shouldn't we have it? The management of *Unity* was never more vigorous and alert, its editorial mind never more free, its array of writers, book reviewers, poets never before so large and able, its whole policy and purpose never so much needed as at this moment when prejudice, hate, and the menace of war lower upon us like approaching storms. We are constantly told, to our vast encouragement, that "there is no paper like *Unity*." But if that is so, why shouldn't more people, like-minded with ourselves, know about it, and join, as we believe they would be glad to join, our fellowship of faith? Come, friends, help us! Here is our paper, prepared and published with labor and love. But we can't distribute it without your cooperation. It is *you* who must take this paper and get it into the hands and hearts of those who rejoice in it and sustain it even as you do. Why should not each present subscriber find at least one new subscriber? Our subscription list doubled! Think of what that would mean!

WOMEN'S ELECTION MANIFESTO.

The Standing Committee of the All-India Women's Conference met in Waltham, held sittings from July 25-28 and discussed several questions concerning the women's movement in India.

The Standing Committee resolved to agitate for franchise and representation of women in regard to local bodies where these rights do not exist, as it is very paradoxical that although women have been accorded certain rights of voting and representation in regard to the Central and Provincial Legislatures and Municipalities, they have been left out of any participation in the activities of certain local bodies.

A joint memorandum on the political, economic, legal and educational status of women was drawn up to be forwarded to the League of Nations and international women's organisations, and a copy sent to the Government of India.

It was decided to hold the next annual session of the All-India Women's Conference at Ahmedabad from December 22 to December 24 this year.

It was also decided to appeal for a Central Fund for the Office of the All-India Women's Conference.

The following manifesto, to be issued on behalf of the All-India Women's Conference to candidates for the coming elections to the legislatures, was also prepared:-

We hereby desire to make an appeal to all candidates for the various legislatures to keep in mind questions concerning the general welfare and the



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social, economic and political progress of the country for which we stand.

It is now a recognised fact that women have their own special contribution to make in the public life of every country and the educated women of India are fully alive to their duties and responsibilities. For the attainment of full and free opportunities of service we feel that all sex disqualifications should be removed and that wide measures of social and educational reform should be sponsored by our legislators. To this end, we draw your special attention to the following questions which we consider to be of urgent importance.

Are you in favour of and will you give your active support to equal opportunities for all by removal of untouchability and sex disqualifications, whether legal or social, or in any sphere of public activity; are you in favour of and will you give your active support to educational reform by instituting free compulsory and universal primary education, by the removal of mass illiteracy, by a remodelling of the entire system of secondary education, with a view to turning out useful citizens and by instituting vocational training; are you in favour of and will you give your active support to Rural Reconstruction by patronage and development of indigenous and cottage industries and improved sanitation and medical facilities; are you in favour of and will you give your active support to social reforms such as the removal of purdah and polygamy, early marriage and immoral traffic in women and children, and the protection of young people from the evils of drugs, drink, tobacco, exploitation and cruelty etc.; are you in favour of and will you give your active support to public health questions such as infant and maternity welfare centres and creches, the early formation of a National Tuberculosis Association, adequate measures to cope with social diseases, leprosy, cancer, etc.; will you support social insurance for the sick, aged, unemployed and injured by accidents and maternity benefits; will you actively support the solution of the unemployment question both among the labouring and educated classes; and will you give your active support to the protection of civil liberties?

"CRITICISM WITHOUT KNOWLEDGE."

Writes the *Examiners* (Roman Catholic, Bombay):—

The *Indian Social Reformer* again writes on "Civil Marriage and the Catholic Church," but it has not taken our friendly advice first to study the question in an authorized Catholic Manual, with the result that it again writes nonsense. It is a discussion which arose out of an article by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, in which she accused the Church in Italy of "lending the odour of sanctity to concubinage." The *Universe* of March 20 gave a complete answer to Miss Pankhurst's charges and this is also an answer to the *Indian Social Reformer's* comment so far as we can understand that very confused note:

"Miss Pankhurst quotes certain documents which, she says, prove her case. The chief document is an Instruction issued by the Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments on January 25, 1927. Paragraph 18 of this instruction is quoted by Miss Pankhurst, but only in part. This section of the Instruction is concerned with persons who before the Concordat, had entered into a civil, but not a religious marriage, 'a hypothesis,' says the Instruction, 'which ought not to be realised under the regime of the Concordat.' If this purely civil marriage was entered into by Catholics, they did so in defiance of the laws of the Church, and their marriage was no marriage at all in the eyes of the Church. But

the Instruction makes provision for a religious ceremony, which however, will not be followed by provision for the civil effects of marriage, as in other cases, for these already exist, by virtue of the previous civil marriage.

"Now we come to the part quoted by Miss Pankhurst. This deals with a proposed religious marriage between two persons, one of whom had gone through a previous 'civil' marriage with another party. The Church, of course, does not recognise the religious validity of such a civil marriage, in the case of the Catholic, and, therefore, from her standpoint, the party may in certain circumstances be free to marry someone else religiously, in the Catholic Church. It is, of course, assumed that there is no moral obligation to marry religiously the original party. What is the Church to do in this case? The Instruction says that the parish priest is to refer the case to the Bishop. If the Bishop decides to permit the religious marriage proposed, this cannot, of course, be inscribed in the civil registers of the State, and equally clearly, such a marriage will not have the civil effects of marriage, from the standpoint of the State.

"It is obvious that this provision deals with what are called 'marriages of conscience,' and for a grave reason, the Bishop may permit such a religious marriage to be celebrated, even though it cannot be recognised as a marriage by the civil law. According to the civil law the person is married to one individual; according to the Church law the person is married to another. But neither civil nor Church law regards the person as married to two individuals, and there is no question whatever of 'lending the odour of sanctity to concubinage.'

"Miss Pankhurst goes on, not to quote, but to 'summarise,' another part of the Instruction, to the effect that 'State officials, soldiers, diplomatic officials and all who are forbidden to marry without special State authorisation, may be given a religious marriage without civil consequence.' But she omits the express condition which the document lays down 'if grave reasons of conscience shall persuade the Ordinary to permit it.'

"The other provisions to which Miss Pankhurst refers, all admit of a similar explanation. Once again, therefore, we suggest that Miss Pankhurst has completely misunderstood the situation."

DEPRESSED CLASSES AND CONVERSION.

Dr. Ambedkar's views on the relative advantages to the Depressed Classes of embracing one religion or the other, and the formula agreed upon between Dr. Ambedkar and Dr. B. S. Moonje, are disclosed in the correspondence released to the Press.

Dr. Moonje, writing from New Delhi, on June 30 to Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah, enclosed the formula which was:

"If Dr. Ambedkar were to announce his decision that he and his followers are prepared to embrace Sikhism in preference to Islam and Christianity and that he shall honestly and sincerely co-operate with the Hindus and the Sikhs in propagating their culture and in counteracting the Muslim and Christian movements for drawing the Depressed Classes into their folds, the Hindu Mahasabha will be prepared, in view of their having agreed to remain within the Hindu culture, to make an announcement that it will not object:—

1. To the conversion of the Depressed Classes to Sikhism;
2. To the inclusion of the Neo-Sikhs in the list of the Scheduled Castes; and



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3. To the enjoyment by the Depressed Classes of the Political rights of the Poona Pact by free competition between the Non-Sikh and the Neo-Sikh Depressed Classes as provided for under the Poona Pact."

Dr. Moonje also enclosed a copy of the statement of Dr. Ambedkar's case.

Dr. Ambedkar's statement, among other things, said that there are three faiths from among which the Depressed Classes can choose: (1) Islam (2) Christianity and (3) Sikhism. Comparing these three, Islam seems to give the Depressed Classes all that they need. Financially, the resources behind Islam are boundless. Socially the Muslims are spread all over India. There are Muslims in every Province and they can take care of the new converts from the Depressed Classes and render them all help. Politically, the Depressed Classes will get all the rights which Muslims are entitled to. Conversion to Islam does not involve loss of such political rights, as the right to special representation in the Legislature, right to services, etc.

Christianity seems equally attractive. If Indian Christians are too small numerically to provide the financial resources necessary for the conversion of the Depressed Classes the Christian countries such as America and England will pour their immense resources if the Depressed Classes show their readiness to embrace Christianity. Socially, the Christian community is numerically too weak to render much support to the converts from the Depressed Classes but Christianity has Government behind it. Politically, Christianity will give them the same rights which Islam gives. Like the Muslims, Indian Christians are also recognised by the Constitution for special representation in the Legislatures and in the services.

Compared to Christianity and Islam Sikhism has few attractions. Being a small community of 40 lakhs, the Sikhs cannot provide the finance. Socially they cannot be of much help to the Depressed Classes, they are confined to the Punjab, and as for the majority of the Depressed Classes the Sikhs give them no special support. Politically, Sikhism is at a positive disadvantage compared with Islam or Christianity. Outside the Punjab Sikhs are not recognised for special representation in the Legislature and in the services.

The second question is, looking at these three alternative faiths purely from the standpoint of the Hindus, which is the best—Islam, Christianity or Sikhism? Obviously, Sikhism is the best. If the Depressed Classes join Islam or Christianity they not only go out of the Hindu religion, but they also go out of the Hindu culture. On the other hand, if they become Sikhs they remain within the Hindu culture. This is by no means a small advantage to the Hindus.

What the consequences of conversion will be to the country as a whole is well worth bearing in mind. Conversion to Islam or Christianity will denationalise the Depressed Classes. If they go to Islam the number of Muslims will be doubled and the danger of Muslim domination also becomes real. If they go to Christianity, the numerical strength of Christians becomes five to six crores. It will help to strengthen the hold of the British on this country. On the other hand, if they embrace Sikhism they will not only not harm the destiny of the country but they will help the destiny of the country. They will not be denationalised. On the contrary, they will be a help in the political advancement of the country. Thus it is in the interest of the country that the Depressed Classes, if they are to change their faith, should go over to Sikhism.

The third question is if it is in the interest of the Hindus that the Depressed Classes should go over

to Sikhism are the Hindus prepared to make Sikhism as good an alternative to the Depressed Classes as Islam or Christianity is? If they are, then obviously they must try to remove the difficulties which lie in the way of Sikhism as compared with Islam and Christianity. The deficiencies are financial, social and political. The Hindus cannot help Sikhs to remove the social difficulty. But they can certainly help the Sikhs to remove the financial and political difficulties. Of these, it is most urgent to remove the political difficulty because it might become an obstacle in the way of the Sikhs.

The statement concludes with a discussion of the proposal to add Sikhs to the list of scheduled castes in the different provinces.

Rao Bahadur M. C. Raja, replying to Dr. Moonje, said:

I make a distinction between conversion which is a spiritual change and migration from one community to another for social, economic and political reasons. One would expect the President of the Hindu Mahasabha to view it as a religious problem and not merely as a political problem, without even looking at it as a social and economic problem. One can understand your concern if as President of the Hindu Mahasabha you placed the spiritual welfare of the Depressed Classes first and foremost and thought of the social and economic welfare next and lastly thought of them as a political factor. One would expect you as President of the Hindu Mahasabha to ameliorate the social condition of the Depressed Classes by removing civic and social disabilities of these classes, not to speak of securing for them the right of worship in Hindu temples on an equal footing with other worshippers, and to further the Harijan movement started by Mr. Gandhi all over the country. Instead of doing this what is it that you are doing? You are dissecting the Depressed Classes and affiliating them religiously to the Sikhs, while retaining them politically as Hindus.

The whole thing seems to me not to be conceived in the interest of the Depressed Classes but, on the other hand, to be planned in the communal interest of the Hindus and the Sikhs. We want to remain as a solid community moving of our own accord in the direction of progress and this we can best do by not throwing away our birthrights as Hindus but by remaining within Hinduism and changing it so as to make it more comfortable not only to our community but to other Hindu communities. We do not wish to be pawns in the game of communal conflicts and competition.

Your proposal involves the electoral fortunes of Hindus, Sikhs and the Muslims. If you want us to shift religiously from the Hindu fold, we shall have to choose religion between the Sikhs and the Muslims who are the bidders for our communal migration, wrongly called conversion. Why should we antagonise and stand arrayed against Muslims? They are our brothers as much as the Sikhs and the Hindus. If the depressed classes are all to become Sikhs and call themselves neo-Sikhs it will create all over India a Sikh-Hindu-Muslim problem as in the Punjab made more complicated by the fact that the so-called neo-Sikhs belong to the Depressed Classes even among Sikhs.

This question of conversion or communal migration as a move on the political chess-board does not disturb us much in South India. We are content to work under the Poona Pact. I would urge the Hindu Mahasabha to address itself to the task of making it easy for the Depressed Classes to stay within Hinduism and Hindu society instead of arranging for a ticket for entraining them to some far-off destination.

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Mr. C. Rajagopalachari writing to Mr. Rajah, characterised the whole thing as a "diabolical proposal."

Mr. Gandhi's letter to Mr. Rajah dated July 26 stated:—

"I have no difficulty about giving general endorsement to your letter to Dr. Moonje. I do not at all understand Dr. Moonje's or Dr. Ambedkar's position. For me removal of untouchability stands on a footing all its own. It is to me a deeply religious question. The very existence of our religion depends on its voluntary removal by Savarana Hindus in the spirit of repentance. It can never be a question of barter for me. And I glad you take nearly the same position that I do."

A telegram from Pandit M. M. Malaviya dated July 30 to Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah stated that the Pandit agreed with Mr. Rajah.

CHRISTIANS AND THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Under the title "A call to help in reaching the leaders of the Depressed Classes with Christian Literature" the Rev. J. Holmes Smith has addressed "a letter to all Christians living in India" which we reprint below from the *Dnyanodaya*:—

There is a vast restlessness among large sections of the population. The whole of the Depressed Classes, Aboriginal Tribes, and certain sections of the touchable Shudras are dissatisfied with their condition. They have a vague idea that the root trouble is the religious system which assumes that they are inferior peoples. They are in a frame of mind to hear about the Saviour who deliberately chose as the keynote of His ministry the declaration:

"The Spirit of the Lord is upon me: for he has consecrated me to preach the Gospel to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release for captives and recovery of sight for the blind, to set free the oppressed to proclaim the Lord's year of favour." [Luke IV : 18]

This restlessness has been augmented by Dr. Ambedkar's pronouncement. But it smoldered for many years before the rise of Ambedkar, and it is found in many parts of the country where Ambedkar's name is never heard. This restlessness and longing are part of the reason why 125,000 Untouchables a year entered the Christian fold during the last decade; and why probably a much larger number each year are now crowding into the Kingdom—wholly apart from Dr. Ambedkar and his pronouncements and programme.

It is of the greatest importance that the leaders of these people who are looking for a way out be reached with Christian Literature. Arrangements are being made to send to a select group of Depressed Classes and Aboriginal Leaders a monthly tract especially prepared for them. Our literature will include a covering letter each month, and month by month:—

1. Gospel of St. Luke, with appropriate comments.
2. The story of Ditt, a humble Church convert, who refused to be segregated in the Mission Compound, and led under God, a mighty Movement of his former caste fellows into the Christian Church.
3. "The Good News of Christ for the Depressed Classes" and "What Woman-hood owes to Christ," by the Rev. John Subhan and Mrs. Mohini Dass.
4. "The Christian Programme for Reconstruction," by Dr. E. Stanley Jones.
5. "Movements of Depressed Classes into Christianity"—a digest of Dr. J. W. Pickett's "Christian Mass Movements" by the Rev.

J. Holmes Smith. 6. Remarkable story of caste-Mass Movements in the Telugu Field—perhaps a digest of Bishop Pickett's forthcoming book.

These will be mailed out from the Ashram, Lalbagh, Lucknow. They will go to leaders all over India, in the language of the leaders themselves.

In order to assemble the names of such leaders we are appealing to all Christians in India, and especially to lay or pastoral leaders, who have a special responsibility, under God. Please get in contact with the local leaders of your Depressed Classes and please do it soon, for we must have the names of 100 leaders in a given language area before we print in that language.

We wish to define the term "Leaders of the Depressed Classes" so that those of you who are going to co-operate with us by collecting the names and addresses of these people may have a clear idea as to the type of people whose names we wish you to send to us. Please send us the names and addresses and the language they read of those of the Depressed Classes leaders in your city or district, who, if won for Christ, could because of their present position of leadership, pass on the message of Him to a considerable number of their people. While we are asking for the names of those leaders who can read we want to add that if you know of a real leader of these people who is illiterate, please by all means send us his name, especially if you can make provision for the literature being read to him. Kindly send these names to the Rev. J. Holmes Smith, The Ashram, Lal Bagh, Lucknow, U. P., together with a statement as to what language these leaders read with greatest ease and comprehension. In sending their names and addresses, please *print* both names and addresses, and make sure that the address is adequate.

Needless to say, after these names have been sent in it will be the natural Christian thing to be in constant brotherly contact with these leaders. In his letter on behalf of the Fellowship of Counsel of the National Christian Council, addressed "To All Heads of Missions and Churches" (for private circulation) Bishop Azariah says, "We desire once again to stress the importance of personal witness-bearing by Christians to their neighbours, and especially to those that belong to the exterior castes who are looking out to enter at religion which will give them full opportunities of a better life. If witness-bearing is always the duty of every Christian, it is doubly so at the present moment. Faithful witness-bearing now may win thousands of people; who later may become hardened, or may be infinitely more difficult to reach. We would therefore urge upon all Christians to begin an earnest campaign of witness-bearing to their neighbours of all communities and classes. The voluntary witness to the ordinary Christian man and woman is irresistible."

We would specially call to your attention the need for Christian women visiting and becoming friends of the women-folk of these local Depressed Classes leaders. Jesus Christ has done much for womanhood, and the women of the Depressed Classes need the friendship and teaching of the many Christian women whom Christ has redeemed. This is a unique service which only Christians can perform. There is a clarion call to Christian women, both foreign and Indian, in this situation.

Here is a nation-wide service of which you will wish to avail yourselves. Let us build up a list of names of the leaders who count, and see to it that they receive literature especially fitted for their needs. Please send the names and addresses soon.

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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice: I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not
excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard." WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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The Egyptian Settlement:—The conclusion of the Treaty between the British and Egyptian Governments, brings to a happy end an embittered relation between the two countries, which has lasted now for the best part of a century. British relations with the Irish Free State appear to be approximating to friendliness since Mr. J. H. Thomas left the Colonial Office. The settlement with Egypt will further lighten the pre-occupations of Great Britain with her associate States, leaving her free to devote her energies to the international situation in Europe. The Indian problem, however, still remains to tax British statesmanship. It is obvious that the solution for it must be found on the same broad lines as the solution of the South African, the Irish and, now, the Egyptian problems. The Hoare scheme embodied in the Government of India Act represents a line of policy altogether different from these. No one in this country is satisfied with it—not the Muslims, not the Liberals, not even Dr. Ambedkar whom Sir Samuel Hoare claimed to be its supporter. Two thoughts occur to our mind arising out of the British Egyptian settlement. Sir Cowasji Jehangir, among other Liberals, has declared that the retrograde provisions of the Hoare Scheme are due to the aggressive activities of the Congress, but for which the new Constitution, in his opinion, would have been a close approach to Dominion self-government. The Egyptian settlement flatly contradicts the view. That settlement is the achievement on the Egyptian side not of the Egyptian equivalent of Indian Liberals but of the Wafdists who correspond to our Congressites. The second thought arising out of the Egyptian settlement concerns Indian States. The position of the Khedive, now King, of Egypt was not dissimilar in its relation both to the Egyptian people and the British Government, to that of Indian Princes. In some respects it was worse. The people of Egypt had no neighbours to whom they could look for

support as the people of Indian States do to those of British India. Nevertheless, the Egyptians have succeeded in transforming their Government into a Constitutional Government while, at the same time, they have also achieved the independence of their country with the good wishes of their British overlord. The settlement is creditable both to Egyptian and British statesmanship.

Civil War in Spain:—The fires of the infamous Inquisition are ablaze again in Spain. Civil wars are proverbial for the embittering feelings which they invariably bring in their train. But the bitterness with which the Spanish civil war is being prosecuted, exceeds anything in previous history, and can be only accounted for as the inevitable consequence of a heritage of religious persecution accentuated by the blood thirstiness of the national character fed on bull fights. In this respect, there is nothing to choose between the anti-clerical, materialistic Socialists and the pro-Church, pro-Royalist Fascists. The latest development is the use of poison gas by the Spanish Government against the insurrectionists. In reply to a protest the authorities have broadcast that they will use poison gas against the native Moroccan soldiers and tear gas against Spanish rebels. Latins are supposed to have no race or colour prejudice. Socialism, again, is claimed, not without reason, to overleap race distinctions. In the United States the Socialists have nominated a white man and a negro as their candidates for the Presidentship and vice-Presidentship respectively, at the forthcoming election. The distinction shamelessly avowed by the Spanish Government, besides depriving it of the sympathy of humanitarians, constitutes a calculated outrage on the deepest sentiment of Asiatic and African people. Coming on the heels of the Italian use of poison gas in Ethiopia, the Spanish Government's action tears asunder the thin veil which hides the essential savagery of this oldest of Christian countries in Europe. The Government is obviously losing ground and any day we may hear of the establishment of an imitation Fascist Government in Madrid.

Mr. Panikkar Commends the Reforms:—That the legislatures under the new Reforms will prove a powerful instrument for advancing social reform and remodelling Hindu Society, is the theory propounded with enthusiasm by Mr. K. M. Panikkar at a recent meeting of the



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East India Association, London. We print extracts from his paper this week. Mr. Panikkar explained that, "what a Government, however well-meaning but alien in its composition, can never undertake with success, the new legislatures, composed entirely of elected representatives, will be forced by the pressure of political opinion to take up." Mr. Panikkar apparently forgets that the new Government takes over from its predecessor the pledge of religious neutrality, traditionally interpreted as social *laissez faire*. Because a mixed legislature with representatives of all communities in it, cannot be trusted to respect social customs, the Governors and Governor-General have been invested with overruling powers. To say that "Hindu orthodoxy was right in apprehending the creation of such a machinery as the greatest challenge" to it is to exaggerate grossly both the fears of the orthodox and the potentiality of the legislatures. The orthodox Hindu knows from his experience of the Sarda Act that he can count on rallying the orthodox of other communities to his side in opposing reform. Even if the reformed legislature accepts a measure, conservatives can always appeal to the Governor to veto it as an interference with the rights of the community and it is conceivable that the Governor might be persuaded to intervene on the ground that the legislature was not a purely Hindu body. In the case of other communities, he will feel morally bound to protect minority rights against legislation put through with the help of an "alien" majority. Mr. Panikkar, we are afraid, has fallen into the error of regarding the words, 'Hindu' and 'Indian', as synonymous—a mistake common in Europe and America. The new constitution far from being a source of strength to reformers is favourable to reactionary elements in society. Hindu orthodoxy has not protested against it so far as we are aware. It is the reformers who have felt that they will be hampered in their work by the cutting up of British India into provinces and communities. To place the responsibility of "remodelling Hindu society" through these legislatures on social reformers is ridiculous. Social reformers with a far greater record of practical work have expressed their fear that social legislation under the new constitution will be more difficult than under the present one. Mr. N. M. Joshi, of the Servants of India Society, who, besides being a pioneer in social service, has a wide experience of the Indian Legislature, said this in so many words in the Legislative Assembly not long ago. Besides, that a politically retrograde measure can assist social progress is a doctrine that finds no support.

Bhai Parmanand's Libel:—Bhai Parmanand may be a devout Hindu but he seems to be an intemperate politician. In a recent outburst against the Congress he seems to have made a sweeping statement about the women who have joined the Congress. We do not know why the Bhai made women the target of his invective and not the men. It was perhaps because he feared that men

might resent his abuse in a way which he might not like while it is safe to abuse women. When this leader of the Hindu Mahasabha went to Cawnpore to address the young men of the place, the latter had the good sense and the decency to howl him down and to make it a condition that he should withdraw and apologise for his attack on women before they would hear him. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who is at present keen on civil liberties, has thought fit to admonish the young men for their infringement of the right of free speech in the case of the vituperative Bhai. Free speech is not foul speech, and while we are as keen for freedom of speech as the Pandit we should draw the line at a wholesale libel such as Bhai Parmanand appears to have perpetrated. The young men of Cawnpore are imbued with the spirit of non-violence and the step they took to give expression to their outraged feelings must commend itself to everyone who values freedom of speech as distinguished from license. In an explanation which Bhai Parmanand has been compelled to issue, he denies having made any insulting remark about Congress women. Bhai Parmanand adds that he merely remarked that he has no respect or regard for Congress men and women who took part in the civil disobedience movement with narrow selfish motives. The Bhai ought to know best what he wrote. But it is difficult to believe that a harmless self-evident proposition of this kind could be distorted into a sinister libel. It is significant that Mr. Ganpat Rai, Secretary of the Hindu Sabha and a disciple of the Bhai, has also understood his remarks to be a criticism levelled at women in the Congress. He writes:—"Bhai Parmanand and many other Hindu Mahasabha leaders of the orthodox wing are of opinion that women should not be brought to the sphere of active politics and specially in association with men other than their relatives, in public bodies and public institutions. The sphere of women is primarily the home, and for public life they should form their own associations and institutions and should represent their matters to public bodies and institutions constituted by men. For Bhai Parmanand the ability to protect its womanhood is the acid test of a nation's prestige and power." From this outlook to abusing women who do take part in politics, is but a step and a very short step at that. Mr. Ganpat Rai is entitled to regard Bhai Parmanand as a social reformer in spite of his views. But we do not think any one else will agree with him.

Sir Eric Mievill's Appointment:—The London correspondent of the *Hindu* reports that *Reynold's News* puts a strange interpretation on Sir Eric Mievill's appointment as Private Secretary to the Duke of York. He says: "Attaching special significance to the appointment of Sir Eric Mievill as Private Secretary to the Duke of York, *Reynold's Illustrated News* sees in it a forecast of the Duke of York himself ultimately becoming Viceroy of India." Sir



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Eric', says the journal mentioned, 'was a discovery of the Marquis of Willingdon who appointed him his Private Secretary. Last October Sir Eric was promoted to be on the Secretariat of the Executive Council of the Governor-General—a highly responsible post. The fact that he has been suddenly recalled and appointed to the Duke of York's household is regarded, therefore, as being highly significant. For more than a year the appointment of a member of the Royal Family to be Governor-General of India has been under discussion.' The idea that Sir Eric Mievill's appointment as Private Secretary to the Duke of York portends the appointment of the Duke as Viceroy of India, is too grotesque to merit notice except as a flagrant instance of the ignorance of the British press of the elementary facts of Indian history and politics. The appointment of a member of the Royal Family to the Viceroyalty has been mooted before, only to be dismissed as involving complications of an almost insuperable character. The objections are far greater in the case of the heir presumptive to the throne, which the Duke of York is. It is more probable that his Royal Highness may be required to deputise for His Majesty in Canada in connection with the coronation next year. A Canadian Private Secretary who knows the idiosyncracies of his people, may be useful in that case. We suppose the King will follow the precedent set by his father and have his coronation performed at Delhi in person. Lord Linlithgow has laid out for himself a programme which may require an extension of his term of office to carry it even through its initial stages. A curtailment of it at the very beginning of his Indian career, is unthinkable.

Independent Labour Party :—Dr. Ambedkar has announced the formation of a new political party to be called the Independent Labour Party. He expects that all the fifteen members of the depressed classes in the Provincial Legislative Assembly under the new Act, will be his followers and will accept his programme. They will form the nucleus of the Party. But members of other castes and communities who agree to support it, may join the Party. It is in this view that it has been given a neutral designation. Disraeli said of the Peelites that they found the Whigs bathing and walked away with their clothes. The programme of the Independent Labour Party is a hotch-potch of odds and ends picked out of other programmes.

Instrument of Accession :—The draft of the Instrument of Accession to the Federation by the rulers of Indian States, was issued last week. It recognises the sovereignty of the rulers, declares that they enter the Federation voluntarily for the good of India, provides for the specification of the subjects over which each Prince agrees to hand over jurisdiction to the Federal Government, and fixes a time limit for the introduction of Federation. So far as a layman can see, the draft should meet all possible objections that can be raised by the Princes.

The new draft has been well-received by the Princes and their Ministers. We regard Federation as a half-way house to unification which is the historic goal of Indian nationalism. The Instrument of Accession leaves the constitutional problem of each of the States to be solved by the efforts of the people and the rulers between themselves. There is nothing in it to stereotype the system obtaining at present in any State. In the present circumstances, Federation of some sort can not be avoided and the sooner we get over it the better would it be for the country.

Congress and Municipal Elections :—Fuller information regarding the election of the Chairman of the Trichinopoly Municipality, which was the immediate cause of Mr. Rajagopala Charya's resignation from the Congress, is now available. It confirms our opinion expressed last week that Mr. T. S. Rajan (his initials were wrongly given in our Note) was in the right and that Mr. Rajagopala Charya was wrong in trying to thrust a Congress candidate on the Trichinopoly Municipality. In a dignified statement, Dr. Rajan has thrown some lurid light on the effects of Congress control over elections to local bodies in Trichinopoly. He writes :— "I found that the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee, in carrying on its campaign of capture of local bodies, was bent on securing somehow a majority under the Congress label regardless of the consideration whether the candidate who signed the pledge, generally at the last moment, sometimes on the understanding that he would be selected often to serve his own interests, understood the implications of the pledge, or would add to the real strength of the Congress. The Trichinopoly Congress Committee was no exception to the rule. I have seen the formation of its District Board party and the way in which the party secured the President's seat. I have also watched its work in the Board. There is a general impression that the reputation of the Congress has not been enhanced by its administration and I share this view. The position has been the same or even worse in some other Districts. The Trichy Municipal elections were approaching. The election was to take place after two years of supersession of a Council in whose last days Hindu-Muslim bitterness had reached its climax. The supersession itself was brought about by the Council re-electing, as Chairman, Mr. P. R. Thevar (who was then in the Justice Party) whose conduct was disapproved by the Government. The Moslim members and some others held strong views about his conduct. The local Congress Committee, under the inspiration of Mr. Thevar, was making preparations to enable him to get elected as Chairman again. He has, since the supersession, become a Congress M. L. C., and Congress President of the District Board. These important positions, one should think, are enough to engage one's full attention. But he was keen on becoming Chairman again to avenge the wrongs done to him by the Raja of Bobbili."



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THE CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

There are many people who, though not at all indifferent to the maintenance of what are known as "civil liberties", are doubtful about the congruity of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru sponsoring the movement to establish a non-party organisation for upholding them. Their reasons are not fanciful. The Pandit, they say, is President of the Indian National Congress. He is an uncompromising adherent of its goal of absolute independence. He is a believer in civil disobedience as a means of achieving independence. His mind is set on the attainment of political freedom. Why should he, while pursuing this great and all-comprehensive objective, start this side show for the vindication of "civil liberties," which pre-suppose the existence of political freedom? The ideology of "absolute independence" through "civil disobedience" has no point of contact with that of a demand for "civil liberties". Quite true, we shall perhaps be told, and that is why we want a separate organisation composed of all parties to work for civil liberties. But how can Congressmen with their ideology participate in a movement with another ideology entirely different from, if not opposed to, theirs? Are those persons entirely wrong who suspect that at the back of Pandit Jawaharlal's mind "Civil Disobedience" is bound up with "civil liberties" and that the "Civil Liberties Union" is wanted to throw its aegis over the next essay in "Civil disobedience"? Or it may be, the socialist measures which the Pandit's utterances foreshadow if the Congress accepts his socialistic ideology and comes into power under the new constitution with the object of wrecking it. The other alternative is that the Pandit's views about independence and civil disobedience have undergone change, and that the Civil Liberties Union is intended ultimately to take the place of the Congress. "Vested interests" have grown up within the Congress as at present constituted, which resist the opening of its door to men of other political complexions. It has hardened into a cult, a caste. The interests of the country, however, demand the co-operation of all schools of thought, and the only way of securing it is to start a new organization on the broad basis of Civil Liberties. When the Pandit ceases to be President of the Congress in the next few months, he will make this his principal platform, eventually, perhaps, a rival platform to the Congress. It is even possible that the Civil Liberties Union will absorb the Congress. The second alternative imputes to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru a designing mind of the possession of which he has given no indication so far. There remains, therefore, only the first alternative, namely, he has just now engaged in two major operations which in their basic ideas as well

as their logical implications are diametrically opposed to each other.

What are civil liberties? They can not exist without a reign of law. Civil liberties can not exist under personal rule. A recent writer declared that the civilization which teaches peoples to develop institutions, to observe laws, to require of governments that they respect the dignity and liberty of the individual—in short shows them how to be citizens of an organized State—this civilization is the gift not of Rome but of the Anglo-Saxon world. That, we think, will be generally admitted. Swami Vivekananda once told a Christian Missionary that in politics England is the world's teacher; we willingly sit at her feet; but let no one dare to teach India religion for India is the religious teacher of the world. Pandit Jawaharlal seems to acknowledge this, for he too seeks for his new organization guidance from Great Britain and the United States, though in doing so he overlooks the fact that in neither country is there at present any movement corresponding to the Congress with the ideology of independence *cum* civil disobedience. The argument of the British and American upholder of civil liberties, is: That the State is the expression of the soul of the people; everything that hinders the free expression of that soul weakens the State morally and spiritually and is therefore inimical to its best interests which are those of its people. Pandit Jawaharlal, president and principal leader of the Congress, can not use this argument. If he did, no one would believe him. That is by the way. The Magna Carta and the American Declaration of Independence, are the two authoritative documents in the history of constitutional government and civil liberties. It so happens that both these documents originated primarily as a protest against the State taxing people without their consent, in other words in the assertion of the rights of private property against the Sovereign—a King in the one case and a Parliament in the other. The French Revolution also originated in the autocratic impositions of an extravagant Court. It would seem, therefore, that the right of private property is the fundamental civil liberty. In the paragraph on the aims of the Civil Liberties Union, no mention is made of private property. "Orderly social progress," we read, "is promoted by freedom of speech, freedom of thought and expression, a free press and freedom of assemblage. The aim of the Union shall be to endeavour to protect these rights of citizenship, from all encroachment and infringement by executive or judicial authority, otherwise than by normal process under the ordinary law." Perhaps the right of property is covered by the phrase "other rights of citizenship." But in view of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's oft proclaimed views on Socialism, there is excuse for people who fear that the Union of Civil Liberties may become a "Union for the Expropriation of Property."

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HINDU WOMEN'S RIGHT TO PROPERTY BILL.

(BY R. V. V. TATACHARIAR)

Dr. Deshmukh in his Statement of Objects and Reasons for the Bill does not disclose the historical evolution of the law on the point of women's right to husband's family-property. The family is a joint family still, notwithstanding the various ways in which it can be broken up and the property held in separate and exclusive ownership. For as soon as the owner dies intestate the property becomes joint in the hands of his sons and grandsons. That is the Mitakshara Law. Vijnaneswara was the first to evolve the principle of the right by birth of son or grandson that started or continued the joint character of the property whether self-acquired or partitioned or inherited. It was in this way he found an easy means of explaining away the various texts that prohibited the alienation of property by a Hindu lest the issue born and yet to be born should be deprived of their means of subsistence. In fact the deeper idea lurking in his mind might be that the estate or property itself was "gotra" or that which fed the cattle, children, slaves and all the dependants on the family. Hence it was that the King had to feed these people before he took the estate by escheat for want of a proper heir. It was evidently on the score of a free right to re-marry another husband that a woman entering the husband's gotra by marriage was not allowed any such right to share in the property. But when re-marriage went out of vogue such a right was allowed by Yajnyavalkya though it was made to abide the decision of her sons or step-sons to partition the estate; and she was not given the right to demand partition. Such a provision seems to find a place in the present Bill also. But there is no use of it; for it won't stop there if logical effect were to be given to her right at all. For a similar provision found a place in Ancient Smritis in the case of sons in a couple of ways. The sons could not demand a partition against the father, but this was explained away by commentators ignorant of the evolution of the law by saying that the provision was directed against self-acquired property of the father. Secondly the sons got their shares when the father of his own accord divided the estate or were to be content with what share was given them by the father at his own sweet will and pleasure. The sons could not compel the father to a partition under penalty of gross sin, unless he were recklessly immoral, dissipated, or wasteful. But even these liberal interpretations by way of exception were due to the natural extension by respondentia of the sages or as the result of decisions of the king's courts. Such was the original rigour of the law of joint family, and of its property. Now we have not yet completely been weaned away from all notions relating to the theory and practice of joint-family principles, and the notion of 'gotra' is still dominant in matters of marriage and adoption. The Dayabhaga rule of right by death, or right in common tenancy accruing to the sons on their father's death is confined only to Bengal. Even there the rights of women are not very much greater than in Mitakshara countries. And after all is there any great necessity for enlarging them in these days of returning to the old state of things in matters of women's remarriage, post-puberty marriage, etc.? The long usage dating from the time of the sages of endowing the girls on marriage with all kinds of Stridhana, dowry or *seeru* by whatever name we call it, would have to be peremptorily discontinued on the institution of the new right in the joint family property for women born in the family, lest the balance of ultimate benefit from the family be more

in women's favour and much against sons' interests. Or such marriage would mark the time of family division of property; or else how are girls married away to enjoy their share and when? And what is to become of them if the sons should choose to conspire against their sisters and never think of any partition at all? And if the women cannot demand it, what then? Then the courts will come to the rescue and say that as in the case of the sons themselves the right to demand partition is only incident to the right to share in the property. History has a lesson for us in this respect. If this demand for partition were not granted the women would have neither the use as heretofore nor the ownership thereof under the new Bill.

Then again, if the widow after inheriting her husband's share in the ancestral property in her absolute right and after partial or entire alienation thereof, say to the very man whom she subsequently thinks of marrying under the Imperial Act, if only to circumvent its provisions, then how is the ancestral family to proceed against the alienated property? How is it possible to fetter her absolute right; and would it not be taking away by the one hand what was given her by the other? This aspect of the question has not struck anybody. So if the women who enter the joint family by marriage should be allowed to inherit the husband's share in her absolute right, then it must be distinctly understood that on re-marriage whether under custom or under the old Hindu law or under the Act all her previous alienations must fail in effect and become null and void *ab initio*. In these disquieting and distressing circumstances it seems best to meet the new demand for higher right for women in the joint family by a simple provision that their present right to a woman's limited estate be enlarged into an absolute right in succession first of the widow and then of the daughters, leaving it for the daughter's son to succeed through his mother or grandmother. More inroads would prove simply disastrous, and futile.

We shall now look to the history of the evolution as I have elsewhere elaborately traced, of women's right in their husbands' properties. Originally they were mere chattel bought and sold in marriage among Dravidian and some Aryan peoples, whose purchase-money went into the coffers of their fathers. When they had their right to remarry on the death of their husbands they had to marry any one among the sapindas or sagotras among Aryans and any stranger among Dravidians. In such circumstances there was no necessity to allot separate property for women. They in fact earned and saved for the benefit of their husbands and not for their own as they could own no property, and were always dependent upon their father before marriage, upon their husband during coverture, and upon their son thereafter. So too the son and the slave had no independent status and could own no separate property of their own. Times changed; and the slave could redeem himself; the son could own his independent earnings or property got at his marriage through his wife. And the widow, on losing her right of remarriage, could rear up a son for her husband on the bed of her brother-in-law or other sapinda or sagotra of her husband and hold his property for the benefit of such son who was to continue the line of her husband. In fact her guardianship grew into her right for life in the enjoyment of her son's property after his death. This, then, became the order of the day and when she could no longer re-marry she was allowed to come in for inheritance before the parents and brothers. Alongside of it or probably even in advance of it, the daughter in the absence



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of son, grandson and great-grandson stood in the shoes of son or other male issue, first in her capacity of a putrika-putras guardian, next as a putrika, and lastly in her capacity of a daughter merely or as the mother of her son who was latterly regarded as equal to a son's son. In all these cases it must be clearly understood that the widow or daughter took an absolute estate of inheritance on failure of a male issue; and there was no indication of their taking instead what is latterly known as a woman's limited estate for life, under the Mitakshara. The question as to why this was so limited is pertinent to our present inquiry. Leaving alone the penniless paupers and the rich millionaires who are not really affected in any appreciable degree, the average Hindu family forms the bulk of the entire society; and these middle class families rarely possessed anything more than a few thousand rupees worth of property. The persistence of the joint family traditions, the preference of the Brahma over the Asura and other forms of marriage, the consequent endowment of the Sulka or the bride's price on the bride herself as part of her Stridhana, the necessity, under the Brahma form, of the marriage samskara at the expense of the bride's father or his family property just like a son's upanayan or other samskaras, the fast-disappearing re-marriage of women and the perpetual widowhood imposed on young girls, among several other causes, contributed to the emergence of two of the most important institutions relating to women, namely the limited widow's or woman's estate and the woman's absolute Stridhanam. This was no doubt the result of long and tedious evolution by constant adjustments and compromises consistent with the original principles of joint family and woman's dependance on father, son, or husband. This was an achievement of the wise sages themselves, which was no doubt partially lost upon their long line of commentators. For upon a correct reading of the original sources in the oldest smritis themselves, it is clear that *there is no good foundation for the limited estates in favour of the widow and daughter*. They took an absolute estate as well as the daughter's son, in the absence of son, son's son and son's son's son. It is the commentators that have since, in the light of degenerate customs, curtailed it into a life estate. We can safely return to the old tenor of the ancient Smritis and enact that the widow and in her absence or after her the daughter shall get full and absolute right to the estate of the propositus of male issue. The widow and the daughter—if I may go the length of emphatically asserting in the face of much more emphatic and authoritative because official, or rather judicial assertions and pronouncements, to the contrary—never in the least and nowhere in all India including Bengal enjoyed the joint family property in their right as such as a co-sharer so long as *there was male issue alive* to continue the line and to protect the family dependants. The mother's right to a share equal to that of a son was recognised by Yajnyavalkya evidently because she happened to survive her own husband where she would naturally get on the death of her husband after separation from his sons, etc., as the surviving half and nearest Sapinda of her husband. The present law of succession of the son, son's son and son's son's son to the separated or self-acquired property of the propositus is a *perverted interpretation* of courts and commentators and is in the teeth of Bodhayana's specific texts (L5.113 to 118) on the subject: On separation the male issue is civilly dead as regards succession to their father's self-acquisition or separated family property, especially while the widow and daughter are alive and survive the propositus. In other words their absolute estates

cannot be done away with or postponed according to the true light of the ancient Smriti literature. But in the undivided joint family property they hold not even the limited estate since developed in relation to separated estate of an issueless propositus. The male issue get it exclusively, subject to the maintenance of the chaste widow or even the unchaste mother, and to the daughter's maintenance and marriage expenses, which last burden was always held equal to a quarter of the share she would get if she were a son. This does not mean that she ever or anywhere had a right to a share equal to that of a son. If she were a Brahmin's daughter by a Kshatriya wife then she would take a fourth fraction of what she would take if she were a son by the Kshatriya wife which was only three fourth of what a son by a savarna or Brahman wife would get. This interpretation of the Mitakshara is correct in the light of the historical evolution of the law. Hence it would be wise on the part of the legislature to revert back to the ancient Smritikartas and enlarge the widow's and daughter's limited estates into absolute ones in succession to the inheritance, if only to command the same obeisance to the law as the sages have till to day done. But if the so-called social reformers should in their eager anxiety to put the fair sex on a par with the other sex, exceed this safe limit and newly and for the first time in the history of the Hindu Law try to create an equal right of women born or married in the family to the joint family property, equal to that of the son or other male issue, they would be hazarding too much and spoil an otherwise good case for Hindu women.

As I conclude this article, I come across Dr. G. V. Deshmukh's learned contribution at page 778 of the *Indian Social Reformer* for the year under the heading of "Wives in Hindu Law." Towards the end of it he says, "A wife in the presence of the son gets equal share with the son. 2. A wife in the absence of the son on the death of her husband inherits the whole property of the husband, though kindred and kinsmen are alive." The first proposition is rather too wide as the qualifications as to her being endowed or not with a marriage or other portion by her father-in-law or husband are, I suppose inadvertently, suppressed from the version of Yajnyavalkya on the point. The second proposition is correct according to commentaries and judge-made law if "whole property" means a limited estate in the whole; but it is also correct according to the letter and spirit of the ancient rishis if the expression "whole property" means an absolute estate in succession to the inheritance. The learned contributor does not appear to essay into the historical evolution of the law on the questions involved, probably because he has not laboured in that field or does not like to venture into generally unfamiliar and unknown fields. Otherwise he happens to be fairly accurate, and concise.

Mr. Jinnah's Advice to Students:—In his presidential address to the All-India Students' Conference, Mr. M. A. Jinnah asked students to cultivate fellow-feeling, show toleration, and develop a sense of brotherhood, which, according to him, was the only solution of the problem confronting the country. Mr. Jinnah agreed with Pandit Jawaharlal's view that students should not indulge in aggressive politics, but must keep abreast of world problems as they were the architects of the new age. Regarding the communal question, the speaker observed that it would exist so long as religion remained, but he exhorted students to think as Indians when India's interests were involved. Mr. Jinnah added that they should not preach idealism because that accentuated differences.

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AN EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION

(By S. MUTHULAKSHMI REDDI)

The Avvai Home and Orphanage for Girls, Madras, has been promoting adult women's education by a system of part-time work and part-time study, in addition to its other activities. A certain number of destitute mothers, wives, widows, unmarried young women are given shelter and protection, and they are further trained if it is found that they are capable of pursuing an independent profession. They have to work in the morning and in the evening in the orphanage section or in the hostel. In the afternoons they study under a trained teacher. Their work consists of cooking, house-keeping, such as cleaning, washing, dusting and store-keeping, and the care of children in the orphanage and in the nursery school.

During a period of probation, if they show aptitude for a mid-wife's or teacher's life, they are given tuition up to the necessary standard and they are sent up for the required training on the condition that they pay back the money spent on them by the Orphanage. In case they are over-age or are not found suitable for either of these two professions, they are employed in the Home or recommended to private families for domestic service.

All applicants for admission to the Home have to sign a bond before admission guaranteeing return of the money spent on them during their stay in the Home and for any training outside for a profession. They have, of course, to accept the rules of the Home and to submit to its discipline during their stay.

We have trained three women as midwives and they have found employment. Two of them are returning in instalments the amounts lent to them. Two more women are undergoing training in the Raja Sir Ramasami Mudaliar Lying-in-Hospital and another in the Government Victoria Hospital, Triplicane. One young woman who showed neither aptitude for study nor a desire to remain single and be employed, has been married to a teacher.

We know as a matter of fact that even the Higher Elementary trained teachers after their long period of training earn only a scanty salary of Rs. 15 to 20 in the mofussil which is not even sufficient for a decent living; whereas our cooks and our governesses of children can easily earn that amount in addition to their food and clothing. All the same many of our women carry the wrong notion that cooking and house-keeping, which if adopted as a profession will give a better remuneration, is not dignified enough. These professions can be easily learnt and practised with success by a majority of our women there being no age limit, no expense, and not much of an intellectual strain.

We cannot but point out that the Indian public also have to change their present attitude towards domestic services and they must develop a mentality to treat their domestic servants, namely their cooks and other servants, with respect and consideration which is their legitimate due. Honest manual labour of any kind ought to command our respect as much as that of the intellect.

Domestic Service is organised and respected in the West. In European countries a cook commands as much respect as a clerk or a stenographer in an office, and they have their rights and privileges. These servants get one complete day off in a week. Masters and servants realise their respective duties and responsibilities. Hence they are able to get on smoothly and amicably. There are also recognised employment bureaus in Western countries which recommend good and honest cooks, governesses, attendants etc., to families who need their services. If there is any difference between the master and the servant that is referred to the Employment Bureau.

We do need such a system in India. Meanwhile we have to teach our women, rich and poor, not only

the dignity of household work but also the importance of domestic science which consists of Home hygiene, home nursing, mother-craft, dietetics, nutrition, preparation, cooking and preservation of food. In these days of acute distress and unemployment among our graduates and highly educated and trained men, it would be a wise policy on the part of our women not to swell their ranks but tap the normal and the natural source of employment for women, namely, Domestic service. We hope that the educated public, at least will create facilities enough to attract respectable trained women for domestic service by way of adequate ways, sympathetic treatment and provision for old age in the case of loyal and faithful servants.

THE DEPRESSED INDIAN CHRISTIANS' ASSOCIATION.*

The following resolution was passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of a Depressed Indian Christians' Association held at "Balasudra Vilas," Thousand Lights, Madras, on Sunday the 2nd August:

"Resolved to request all Christian Associations, Catholic and Protestant to set apart one electoral area each time by turn to afford an uncontested seat for the Depressed Indian Christians."

The following letter is being addressed to some of the Christian Associations in South India.

It is unquestionable that converts to Christianity from among the Depressed Classes groan under all the disabilities arising from caste distinctions. Although the benign Government have been pleased to grant privileges to them, they are not sufficient to bring them to the level of the other Depressed Classes enjoying higher and more privileges. The said converts form the majority of the whole Christian population. Yet because of grinding poverty, deep seated ignorance and illiteracy due to long standing negligence on the part of others, they are unable to compete in open and defied elections. As Christians are expected to evince a spirit of charity in all their undertakings, it will not be too much to expect a sort of mutual arrangement in respect of elections so as to avoid recriminations, bitterness and expenditure incidental to contested election campaigns.

On behalf of the said converts persistent requests have been made to the authorities concerned to have them merged in the general electorate or set them apart for electoral purposes as a distinct community similar to the Anglo-Indians composed of Catholics and Protestants. The Government have not been pleased to grant any of these requests for reasons best known to them.

It becomes, therefore, incumbent on all right thinking, broadminded and charitably disposed ladies and gentlemen of the Indian Christian community to view the peculiar situation of the said converts in an unbiased light, and afford them such a facility as to make it possible that one at least of the said converts is returned to the Local Legislature from any one of the constituencies in an unopposed manner. This will go a long way to foster true Christian feelings and at the same time contribute towards solidarity and unity in the Christian fold.

Considering the sort of atmosphere necessary for the realisation of the aforesaid object, it will be congenial to start the experiment in the Madras cum Chingleput constituency.

I, therefore, request you to give this matter the sympathy and consideration it deserves, and canvass the support of your Association.

(Sd.) V. J. AROKIASWAMY,
Officiating Secretary.

* Guardian, Madras, August 6.

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THE NEW PEOPLES' PARTY.

The Editor,

The Indian Social Reformer.

Sir,

What appears to be filling the minds of those responsible for starting the new party at Madras is perhaps an over-powering sense of dread at the risk of being found out, even in thought, anywhere near the poor Justice Party, simply because it has been made for sometime a target for un-reasoning abuse all round day in and day out. It looks as if that unless one begins by denouncing it, he would have no credential to be heard in matters concerning public affairs. The tyranny of it is so frightful that even many of those who are at heart 'Justicites' feel ashamed to acknowledge their creed. If there is demoralisation any where in public life, it is here in plenty.

To the opponents of the Justice Party its besetting sin is its anti-Brahmin stand euphemistically called 'Communal Out-look'. The Brahmin-Nonbrahmin controversy is as old as the hills with its first traces in the time of Vasista versus Visvamitra. It is a truism that when power, prestige and privilege are allowed to accumulate in any one community it breeds a spirit of exclusiveness militating against all national fusion, whether that community happens to be Brahmin or any other for the matter of that. In the Hindu social economy an innate power of resistance to such baneful accumulation has been a constant feature in the mechanism of its social order operating like beneficent break at critical periods. That is the advent of Buddha, Mahavira, Ramanuja and Basava as among the successive leaders of this protestant anti-Brahmin movement from time to time, is a matter of history.

With the advent of the British rule in India, a settled Government once again brought to surface the concentrated power and prestige of the Brahmin community and it is a matter of common knowledge that till recently members of that community happened to predominate in public offices which are the seats of power. The Montford Report revealed, as the shafts of glaring light from the headlamps of a motor car slowly gliding along a village road would, the un-evenness of the social structure of the people amidst whom an instalment of political power was sought to be transferred. The flower of the Non-Brahmin community became conscious of the peoples' rights as opposed to what they felt to be Brahmin monopoly and the result was the coming into being of the Justice Party with its creed of 'equal justice for all,' bringing in its train the irritating communal G. O. We see the effect of this resistance manifested during these fifteen years, making it possible for a Oosman Saheb and Venkata Reddy to mount up the steps to the Governor's throne which is the crowning glory of the Party's achievements, let alone all abuse and vituperation.

I do not claim that the Justice Party is free from foibles. Its leaders might have, intoxicated by momentary triumphs, behaved causing needless irritation among those who first felt affected by this new upheaval. I am personally aware of how the anti-Brahmin bitterness of the period kept out from the executive Councillorship that constitutional enthusiast the late lamented Sir M. Ramachandra Rao, making the Government of the day poorer for it. But the Justice Party was a steam roller engaged in levelling up and such individual grievances were inevitable in its operation. Its creed of equal justice for all remains even to this day. It does not differ

from that of the new Peoples' Party nor of the Congress for the matter of that. There is no fundamental difference between the aims of the Justice Party and of the Congress though the methods, ways and means may differ. That is absolutely no excuse for bringing up a new party into existence.

If the leaders of the new party have not the courage to throw in their lot with the Congress, the best way for them would be to join the old Justice Party in large numbers, infuse fresh spirit into it giving it a new orientation, endowing it with all the special features which they think it is their monopoly, now that the ban against the Brahmin entry is removed.

The pity of it is that the new party's attitude towards the Congress either is likewise characterised by the same lack of moral courage and bold thinking. With civil disobedience given up and the entry into Legislature favoured, they have no excuse whatever to keep away from it. Their constructive temper, sober and steady out-look of life, might in the new order of things steady the fire of patriotism kindled by the Congress harnessing it into constructive channels.

It is sheer moonshine for the country to think of shaking off the British yoke for the time being. The whole Europe is in the melting pot, while the latest Russo-Japanese tension in Asia does not promise to ease the situation. What repercussions this fearful state of things are likely to produce in India, it is impossible to predict. Independence in the abstract for the country is unthinkable. We should not wonder if in the near future we are forced to seek the very shelter which some of us would discard. Congress leaders like Sardar Patel and Mr. Prakasam are crying 'halt' to coming into conflict with Government calling upon people to develop strength from within. It is idle to keep harping on the shortcomings of the new constitution impairing and dissipating our energies which deserve to be conserved for re-construction work.

The present Government is like a huge locomotive with innumerable number of brakes. To think of wrecking it is like breaking your head against a stone-wall. Wisdom lies in the way of endeavouring to run parallel to it and get control thus making the best of the situation. It is bad economy for parties to keep quarrelling and recriminating each other frittering away country's slender resources.

Penukonda,
16th August 1936.

Yours etc.,
T. SIVASANKARAN.

[We publish Mr. Sivasankaran's letter although we have as yet made no reference in the *Reformer* to the new Party formed in Madras, which he attacks. That Party, it is obvious, is an attempt to steer clear of the rank anti-Brahminism of the Justice Party, once compared by the friendly *Catholic Leader* to the anti-Semitism of the Nazi regime in Germany, as well as the Socialism which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's political propaganda has enabled its opponents to doist upon the Congress as its accredited policy. The appointment of two Indians as acting Governors of Madras, which Mr. Sivasankaran claims to be the crowning achievement of the Justice Party are clearly due to the agitation carried on by Parties opposed by the Justice Party. There have been acting Indian Governors in the Punjab, the United Provinces and there is one now in the Central Provinces, all out of the beat of the Justicites. The Governor of the Central Provinces, moreover is actually a Brahmin and a Congressite at least in his apparel, 'which oft proclaims the man,' both anathema in the eyes of Justice Party. There was a permanent Governor of Bihar who was a Liberal. In any case, the appointment of Indians as acting Governors or even as permanent ones, is no gain to nationalism. Further light on the point, may be found in our editorial note on the Egyptian settlement.—Ed. I. S. R.)

A Convert's Regret:—Mr. Raghavan, who recently embraced Sikhism has forsaken that religion on the ground that the Sikh leaders in the Punjab failed to fulfil certain promises, said to have been made to some of the 'Bahavas' including Raghavan.

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THE SOUL'S SINCERE DESIRE.

(BY WALTER BROOKS FOLEY)

" My heart's desire and prayer to God.....is,
that they might be saved. "—Romans 10 : 1.

*Hushed was the evening hymn,
The temple courts were dark,
The lamp was burning dim,
Before the sacred ark :
When suddenly a voice divine
Rang through the silence of the shrine.*

The soul's sincere desire is to hear a voice that sings, a voice beyond the range of earthly things, a voice that stirs all efforts in order to save men.

Many voices are listened to in the hope that one shall be authentic. We are listening to many voices today. The millions who listen to Hitler, or Mussolini, or Stalin, or Gandhi, or Roosevelt are seeking the fulfilment of their desires. Too obviously, though, many are not seeking the soul's sincere desire.

The power that sends men out and up must come from a voice that is tuned to a programme that saves men. Some feel that the throbbing drums of that call can be heard between the bursts of world confusion. Some are saying in the words of the mountaineer song:

*Down in the valley, the valley so low,
Hold your head over, hear the wind blow.*

While there many are twilight souls with bandaged eyes, others have the flash of a divine wonder in their faces. Such are divinely sensitive because they have attained a higher spiritual intelligence. The keenest souls are those who know what they have found. The traveller who analyzed that fisherman's ambergris returned to find it thrown away.

I. DISCIPLINED LIBERTY.

To gain the soul's sincere desire it is necessary to reach results through a disciplined liberty rather than through a following of arbitrary authority. Instead of using fear as an impelling motive of religious devotion, we must use hope as a releasing motive. We must keep our intelligence in repair by a deliberate self-control.

One very definite guide through the present perplexity is the doing of one's duty. Through duty we will come to discernment rather than delusion or disillusion. While discipline is probably not the supreme purpose in life it may play an active part in moulding strong character. Two forces struggle for the souls of men: 1. The authority of the outside world; 2. Individual spiritual vision. Perhaps we must compromise between personal power and community collectivism. Always remembering with caution that it is not enough simply to agree, but that we must agree on the truth. It is often too easy to say what a friend wants us to say in order to give him transient pleasure rather than to point out to him the way, the truth and the light. Christian courtesy ought never to degenerate to lower levels of compromise and convention. True disciplined liberty is imposed from within as an independent creative impulse of the individual Christian. Such liberty is expansive as over against the greed of self-interest which furnishes very rocky soil for the seeds of the Gospel. Only men with no religion have no duties.

Just as there are pressures in the physical world like the wind resistance of a moving object which caused scientists in engineering to suggest the manufacture of stream-lined cars, or the pressures of planes of light against the new polarized wind-shields that prevent glare from approaching headlights, so are there pressures in the spiritual world that

require us to adjust our lives to facts. When our desires run contrary to known facts we must discipline our free liberties to fit the situations, if we would get the maximum result in Christian value. We must eliminate the projecting parts of our ideas to conform to realities in other lives that we are anxious to serve and to save. If certain attitudes, expressions actions are stumbling blocks in the way of our friend's progress we must use the idea of disciplined liberty to correct the hindering methods. It is the highest we want, for whatever is highest in a man's soul represents the kingdom—we need to find something that cannot be doomed or destroyed by anything on earth.

We hear much of conservation. It is the modern term for saving. It is as essential in the spiritual world that we conserve souls as it is in the agricultural world that we conserve soils. Spiritual reforestation is possible, as well as spiritual irrigation. We must plant the proper seeds of Christian principles to furnish the necessary stimulating personalities who will prevent the erosion of the fertile soil of Christian possibilities. The man of disciplined liberty knows that religion begins with, "what should be, can be," and continues with, "what can be, shall be."

II. MAN'S HIGH PLACE IN THE UNIVERSE.

The soul's sincere desire insists likewise on the high place of man in the universe of God. That does not mean the nonsense of a conceit which puts man in the place of God. Such humanism has no eastern windows of divine surprise. There was once a man who thought he was above other men. He was—until he had that thought! In the best sense there can be no human operation without some divine cooperation. What we mean also is that while God can work without a man he can't make Stradivarius violins without Stradivarius.

One thing that keeps most of us from being great—or at least as great as we might be is that we don't read the great prophetic books, such as the Bible. And we don't read them because when we do we realize God is criticizing us. And criticism is something we just can't take. So we turn our backs on our best. We don't see the surrounding landscape. We are like a man rowing backwards in a boat. We do not see clearly until we are past. Or we are content to be like the dormouse in "Alice in Wonderland," always asleep in a crisis.

We say often that the stimulus seems to be gone from us—that we can't pray—that we can't feel the presence of God—that we are suffering from what might be called a "dry religious time." Then we need the illustration of the man riding a camel in the desert. A dust storm swirled down on him. He got off, instead of trying to plow ahead, covered himself with a blanket, and breathed quietly until the storm was over. Then he got up, mounted his camel and went on. Getting excited about our difficulties will not help. We need to think and act quietly "until the storm passes." "We have learned to peer and pore; we have learned so much from our youth; we are the three wise men of yore; we know all things—but the truth."

What are the qualities that will help us to live on a higher plane? Simplicity, tenderness, patience, love.

The consciousness of vital spiritual power comes for the most part as a slow deposit. The idea of getting all kinds of power by some sudden and secret guidance ought to be resisted. We need to be cautious about accepting secret messages from sociable angles who claim to have a private telepathic connection with the Almighty. Paraphrasing an old remark, "God does not grow Royal



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Palms in a year," "In the past," says a friend of mine, "too many claimed to get a quick glimpse of spiritual living, claimed, indeed, to have found God, then let the world stew in its own juice while they ran around like Pollyannas enjoying their Beulah land." On the other hand we used to hear the pious testimony of the good brother who whined, "I'm serving the Lord in my poor, weak way." God doesn't want weakness any more than he wants over-confidence. What he wants is a capable, qualified, high-minded strength of conviction that men and women are important enough to be worth saving.

The chances are that what we ought to do is associate with the other fellow instead of praying for him in absentia.

III. HONESTY.

The soul's sincere desire is for honesty of purpose and objective. Too many lives are held back by a creeping paralysis of all the forward-looking faculties. We have too many disciples of Lot's wife who, you will recall, was turned into a pillar of salt when she looked back at that which she had been told to leave behind forever. We seem to sit around waiting for some expected crisis before we try to put a trunk-line call through to God. Such a course is downright dishonesty. Prayer is not a reservoir. It is a tuning fork. The God to whom we will not pray is only a ghost of God. Talking with God should strike the keynote of life at all times. We do not have to absolutely certain, but we must be honest.

The spiritual parents of legitimate religion are: (1) A vision of the ideal and (2) Insight into the real. Religion with such honest parents can become a vital force in the world. Without such parentage it is a misnomer. To keep one eye on perfection and the other on practical reality will seem to many people a feat conducive to a kind of cross-eyed futility. They will remind us that all things are relative according to the newest scientific theories of the universe; and that relativity means there is no hitching post in the universe. Relativity in a spiritual sense means what the great philosophical minds have always proclaimed, that we do not live in the present but in eternity. The last statement is more than a metaphor, just as the Bible metaphors mean more than is obvious at first glance. We need the dramatic—the appealing at times. When you hear a man say, with emotion, "My love is like a red, red rose," you don't expect to see a crimson rambler when the lady appears. Honest reality is the desire of our inmost souls, but that reality need not necessarily be as drab as dust.

Let's be honest enough to admit that one reason we do not go more often into the presence of God is because that line of march would take us from where we are, and we are not quite ready for divine direction. Perhaps we often adopt the attitude, "Hear am I, Lord, come and dwell in my presence." In other words, God should compromise His everlasting principles in order to gain our allegiance. That is not honest enough to be spiritually legal. Consigning ourselves to the guidance of God is a desire that we need to cultivate.

Do you know the story of the blundering bishop? He was always embarrassing his friends by his lack of tact and good judgment. He was goodhearted but—His wife said one day to a neighbour that he used to worry her greatly, but that she finally attained peace when she turned him over to the Lord. There are times when we need to be honest enough to admit that only the Lord can help us. No one wishes to be so dependent as to be worthless. On the other hand we

must be honest in our realization of the source of all inspiration. In the simple words of a child we may be strengthened:

*I am a little child,
And I am ignorant and weak;
I gaze into the starry skies,
And then I cannot speak.
For all behind the starry skies,
Are paths no man has trod;
Beyond the universes is
The Infinite of God.*

Such a wisdom will give us a creative will to power, and will take our deep desire for power and Christianize it. Honesty is, then, controlled power. To be frank with one's self when necessary is the height of honesty. When we do that, we may become enough at peace with ourselves to know that we have made a first step towards being at peace with God.

And being honest does not mean wearing a halo of hate because of circumstances over which we have no control. Being at enmity with circumstances or people often means being at enmity with God who is far wiser than we.

We need to get out of experience only the wisdom that is in it—and stop there, not attempting to add a great deal of imaginary material. When a cat sits on a hot stove lid she won't sit on one again—or on a cold one either. In other words the cat has made a decision beyond what the experience justified. Strict honesty in analyzing the facts is essential.

All of us have known for a long time that construction is not all building. There must be some planning and waiting. Yet most of us like to rush ahead—to be doing something, regardless of what the consequences may be.

When we arrive at a day of decision that makes us sit down and think freely and honestly we really ought to celebrate that day ever after as Thanksgiving Day.....It is not by any means a waste of time to know whatsoever things are honest, for in knowing them our lives are apt to be more nearly saved lives.

"My heart's desire and prayer to God..... is, that they might be saved." To accomplish that purpose, as with Paul, so with us, we need to indulge in a disciplined liberty, experience the worth of our humanity, and be honest, and be honest enough to accept the verdict of the schoolboy, "Faith is believing what you know ain't so!" In these three qualities of disciplined liberty, worth of men and women, and downright honesty are the height and the depth and the breadth of wisdom as expressed in the soul's sincere desire.

HINDU SOCIETY AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION.*

(By K. M. PANIKKAR.)

It is only with the introduction of English common law and the gradual change of the English authority in India from an administrative machinery to a legislative State that the basis of Hindu customs and law came to be questioned. But, until now, the British Government in India has been particularly anxious not to undertake social legislation, especially when the customs and institutions which such legislation would affect were claimed to be semi-religious. Moreover, the British Courts, following the principle of common law in this country, gave legal effect to customs whose existence were proved before them, thereby crystallizing and strengthening their hold on the community. Thus, except incidentally, the main body of Hindu institutions, like caste and the joint family, has been left untouched.

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But the new Constitution completely changes the position. What a Government, however well-meaning, but alien in composition, can never undertake with success, the new legislatures, composed entirely of elected representatives, will be forced by the pressure of political opinion to take up. Hindu orthodoxy was right in apprehending that the creation of such a machinery is the greatest challenge it has ever had to face. Never before has there been an authority in India which claimed power to change the old social institutions of the Hindus.

The pressure on Indian legislatures even at the present time to enact measures for abolishing the civic inequalities based on caste is sufficient proof of the desire of the Hindu community for the exercise of the power of the State in social matters. In fact, the very prospect of political power has agitated the Hindu community beyond all previous experience. The widespread movements of the untouchables for the immediate removal of all social disabilities based on Hindu law and custom is one example. The demand of the Indian women's organizations for comprehensive legislation giving them equal rights with men is another. Both of these touch the basic conceptions of Hindu law. The disabilities of the untouchables are based on no less a legal authority than Manu, and it is interesting to note that the symbolic protest of meetings of the depressed classes is the burning of the Code of Manu. The acceptance of the claim of the untouchables, which the legislatures, constituted as they are, can neither resist nor delay, spells the final extinction of caste-society, though not of caste as a social institution.

The demand of educated women who also will find representation in the legislatures, affects Hindu society even more fundamentally. The far-reaching effects of a legislative programme giving effect to the claims of women for equal status may be alluded to here merely to indicate the real nature of the crisis which the new Constitution has created in the Hindu society. Inheritance for women means the extinction of the joint family as an economic unit; freedom of divorce spells its extinction as a social institution. Civil marriage undermines the conceptions of caste. Attacked thus from inside by women and from outside by the depressed classes, the present social organization of Hinduism becomes the very first object of the legislative activity of the new State.

The point which I desire to emphasize is that the demand of the depressed classes on the one hand and of the women on the other arise mainly because it is realized that the legislatures have now the power to remodel society. The purpose behind the movements was to force the councils even as they are constituted today, to enact social legislation. The support that the women's movement gave to the Sarda Bill for the raising of the marriageable age of girls, and the constant vigilance exercised by them for the proper enforcement of the legislation that resulted, should indicate to what object the activities of the women's organization will be directed under the new reforms. Thus, in the new legislatures the demand for social legislation will become irresistible. Representatives of Hindu orthodoxy who appeared before the Joint Parliamentary Committee, were undoubtedly right in the alarm they expressed that the customs and institutions so long considered sacrosanct will not be safe with a democratic legislature functioning for the whole of India.

Of such institutions, the first to feel the effect of the new legislatures will be the joint family. How universal it is among the Hindus need not be pointed out. How it conflicts with the conception of State, which India is trying to evolve, is clear on examination. Those reformers who had hoped that by the mere permeation of ideas the joint family will break

down underestimated its strength and perhaps its value to the individual in a non-legislating state. The Hindu society in theory is organized outside the State and of its organization the joint family is the basis. It cuts up Hindu life into so many fragments as to make the community a sociological fiction. It extinguishes the social sense, as the feeling of obligation to a social whole is impossible when there is no social unity.

From the point of view of the joint family, the Hindu community is nothing more than an inchoate mass of small units each unrelated to the other. The joint family is therefore incompatible not only with a State claiming plenary secular obedience, but with the conception of a unified Hindu society, and naturally every kind of social legislation which tends to unite the Hindus will mean the weakening of the joint family.

The continuance of the Hindu community in its present practically static state is based on a blind obedience to the extra-state laws - known as religious customs and institutions. Though these institutions are old, the problem that they face today is new. The social power in these institutions or customs has vanished with the growth of the legislating State and only the outer forms are left as a dead weight on the community. In primitive society custom and tradition mean the accumulated wisdom of generations. What differentiates civilized society from an uncivilized one is its attitude towards custom. In civilized societies, a custom in itself is not entitled to general acceptance, unless it has a clear social or moral purpose that justifies it. In primitive societies the validity of custom is that it has been so in other times. The mere fact that such was the habit of our ancestors is supposed to be a sufficient justification for even the most unreasonable practices.

Where the problem in India today differs from the problem as it has existed during the last 2,000 years is not that there is widespread protest against irrational customs, but that the motive force of the protest is different. In every age since the time of Buddha there have been vigorous movements of reform in Indian society. In fact, India's claim to civilization is not based so much on her social institutions as on her movements of protest. From Gautama Buddha to Mohandas Gandhi, India can claim to have produced an imposing array of men to combat the evils of her social institutions. But these great men, though they gave expression to the protests of their individual conscience, did not have the machinery of organized State to give effect to their reforms. The principle of social obedience in India remained familial and local and Hinduism continued to live much in the same way as in prehistoric times, in spite of her great men. The difference today is that such a machinery has been created with the help of Indians themselves and is available for the radical reform of Hindu Society.

It is often said in India that without political freedom, social legislation cannot be undertaken, and that as the new Constitution grants only limited freedom the utilization of its machinery for social organization would be impolitic, as it may lead to a division in national ranks and a consequent weakening of effort in the fight for Swaraj. To argue that because a nation is not free, it should not devote its energy to the reorganization of its institutions which were, in the main, the cause of its own loss of freedom is to argue in a vicious circle. Besides, the experience of India itself disproves the contention that social reform is dependent upon and must await political freedom. Mr. Gandhi's extraordinary efforts in the cause of the Harijans and his free acceptance of the principle of legislation by the existing



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Assembly in this behalf, would show that the Mahatma does not accept the view that political freedom must precede social reform. Even assuming the argument to be true that a community which is not free has not the liberty to put its own house in order, I do not think that with the establishment of the new Constitution this argument could have even the shadow of validity. It may be that the power of the new Government is limited in a number of directions; but even its most determined opponents have never said that the legislatures under the Government of India Act are in any way restrained from putting into effect the most comprehensive social policy.

The real conflict between Hindu orthodoxy and the State will come when the legislature raises in some obscure form the question of divorce between religion and custom. Such a conflict was very nearly forced when the Sarda Act was under consideration. But it is obvious to every observer that the Sarda Act is only the beginning of social legislation; how it will develop is the question. The Hindu community offers so wide a field that to forecast a scheme of social legislation is almost

impossible. But a few of the more important questions may be indicated. The proper control of the religious endowments of the Hindus and their utilization for the good of the entire community; the education and control of Hindu priesthood; the equal economic and marital rights of women; the abolition of social inequalities of the untouchables; reform of inheritance laws—each one of these will directly affect the organization of the Hindu community and will, if properly directed, lead to its rationalization.

For the first time since the origin of Hindu society, the chance has now come to us to organise it on a purposeful and rational basis, to make it re-act to the ethical sense and social vision of the thinking section of the community. How the Hindus utilize this opportunity is the main problem of the next few years before India. The chance is given to the Indian leaders to sweep away the accumulations of ages which have marred the face of the Hindu community. Let us hope that those in whom the power of legislation will be vested will have the social vision and the ethical urge necessary for this glorious purpose.

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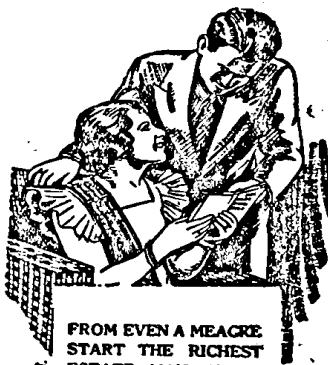
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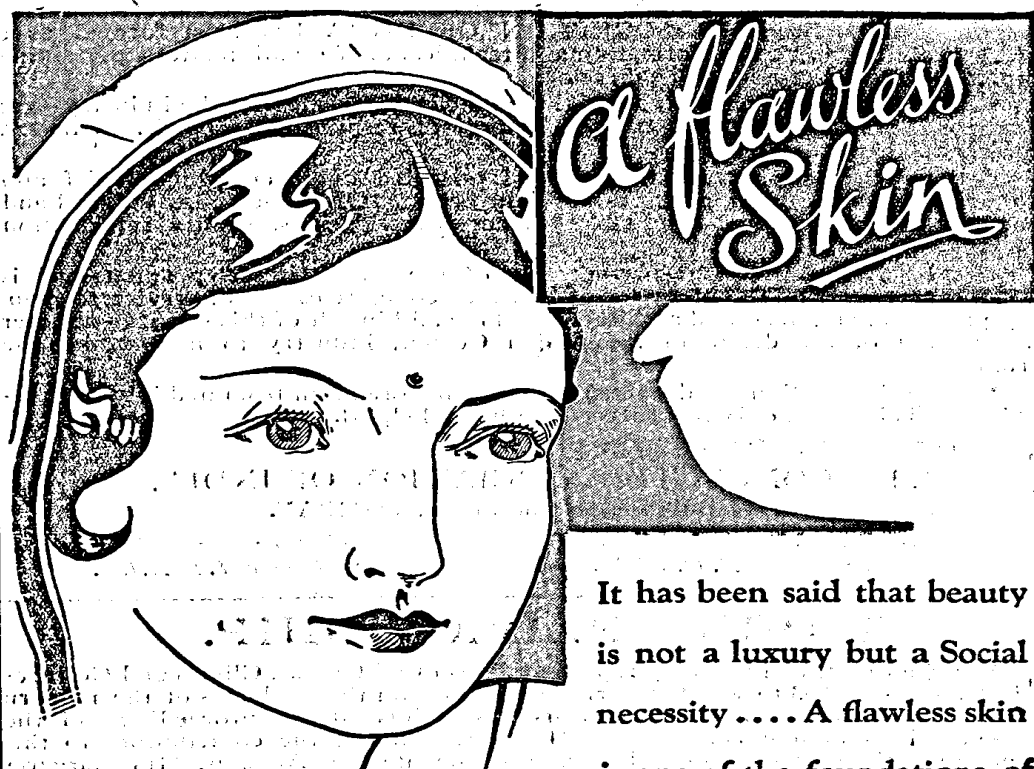
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"I will be as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice; I am in earnest—I will not equivocate—I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch—And I will be heard."
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON in the *Liberator*

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NOTES

Manifestos:—This is the season of manifestos. We have seen three of them and, doubtless, there are others which have escaped our notice. Communal manifestos have no interest outside the community for whom it is intended. Of the three manifestos which we have seen, two, namely, that of the Agricultural Party in the United Provinces and the People's Party in Madras, are simple and plain and the man in the street can not mistake their meaning. Being both new parties, they have a clean slate to write on, unembarrassed by prior commitments. The Agricultural Party has no ambition beyond ensuring the happiness and prosperity of agriculturists, cultivators and landlords, who form some sixty percent of the population. The Party believes that by securing this, it will secure the prosperity of all classes. The non-agricultural 40 per cent. depends for its existence on the agricultural 60 per cent. and when the latter is prosperous, the former is also sure to prosper. Such is the naive reasoning of the Agricultural Party's manifesto, and there is no denying that if we accept the premises, the conclusion follows as the night the day. The manifesto of the People's Party of Madras is even more unsophisticated. It catalogues the mistakes and failures of the Congress and the Justice Parties and proclaims the determination of the Party to avoid them by steering a middle course. The third manifesto is that adopted by the All-India Congress Committee last week. We expected it to state clearly that, non-co-operation having failed, the parliamentary mentality having come to stay, and the goal of independence being whittled down into whether to accept or not to accept office under the new constitution, the Working Committee had to find the best way of cornering as many seats as possible at the forthcoming provincial elections; and that if Congress members were

returned in a sufficient majority they would, besides trying to prevent any other party from adopting measures detrimental to the country's interests, exert themselves to have certain specified measures adopted as their programme. Instead of that, the manifesto makes a laboured attempt to show that seeking election to the legislatures, taking the oath of allegiance, moving Bills, resolutions and otherwise taking part in the proceedings of these bodies, is a new and most effective way of carrying out the policy of non-co-operation. Conscious of the spaciousness of this dialectic, the manifesto besprinkles itself plentifully with nouns and adjectives which by their associations have come to have an emotional appeal. Some phrases here and there are apparently intended to mollify Congress Socialists; and the Congress nationalists are sought unsuccessfully, as it has turned out, to be conciliated by a direct condemnation of the Communal Award, which the Congress has hitherto resisted. But the astounding part of the manifesto is that it pledges the Congress Party to prevent the introduction of the Federation, which is the apex of the new Constitution. The manifesto does not indicate how this is to be done. We have not studied the Government of India Act, but it is our impression that, at this stage the formation of the Federation depends solely on the ruling princes and that if they agree to join, as they are sure to do, in the requisite proportion, nothing that the Congress party can do can prevent the Federation from coming into effect. We are not enamoured of this or any other Federation. But to prevent Federation when British India has been cut up into independent, autonomous provinces, will imperil the very existence of Indian nationalism. Apart from the States, Federation is needed to bring the sundered provinces into some sort of union. The Congress Working Committee was probably lured into this blind alley by the hope of conciliating Mr. Jinnah who from the first, for reasons of his own has opposed Federation. It is a fatal blunder which will cost the Congress Party the support of intelligent people who, in the past, have stood by it in spite of differences as to methods. The greatest mistakes of the Congress have been made when, departing from its own judgment, it adopted a course with the object of attracting this or that group into its fold. This is one of such mistakes.



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The Poona Torture Case :—In the *Reformer* of June 27, we called attention to the disproportionately lenient sentence of nine months imprisonment passed by the Sessions Judge of Dharwar on a Police Sub-Inspector, Agnihotri, whom he found guilty of the offence of torturing a mother and her daughter, twelve years of age, in order to extort a confession in a suspected theft. The mother died of the effects of the injuries inflicted on her. We pointed out that the offence was a grave one and merited more severe punishment and hoped that Government would move the High Court to have the sentence enhanced. Agnihotri appealed against his conviction. The appeal was heard by the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Wasudev last week. In rejecting the appeal, their lordships observed that the sentence was too lenient but as there was no application for enhancement and no notice was given to that effect when the appeal was admitted, they did not think it necessary to take any action in that respect. This means that the High Court's exercise of the power to enhance sentences depends on the discretion of the Executive Government. If the Executive Government do not choose to apply for enhancement of sentence, the High Court will, apparently, not exercise its power. The Government of Bombay would seem to have thought that the Sub-Inspector's offence was adequately punished by nine months' imprisonment and a fine of Rs. 100, and though their lordships were of a different view, they did not act on it.

Warning to Wife Beaters :—The Madras High Court had before it not many days ago a case which is analogous to the Dharwar Sub-Inspector's case. There, also, two women were the victims of a brutal assault and one of them died of the injuries received by her. The assailant was the husband of one of the two and son-in-law of the other. The mother-in-law died of the injuries. The man was first tried by the Session Judge of Madura District who took the view that the injuries to the wife were inflicted "in the exercise of a right which every husband has to punish his wife for impudence or impertinence," and acquitted the accused on that charge. As regards the unfortunate mother-in-law, the learned Madura Judge thought that her intervention in the quarrel between her daughter and son-in-law might have provoked the accused to inflict on her the injuries of which she died, and sentenced him to one month's imprisonment. The High Court under its revisional powers felt obliged to repudiate the doctrine of the husband's right to inflict injuries on his wife for impertinence. Their lordships (Justices Panduranga Row and K. S. Menon) observed : "The learned Sessions Judge was so much obsessed with the right of the husband to beat his wife that he went to the length of criticising the police for having included the charge of causing hurt to the wife in the charge-sheet and even the Sub-Magistrate for including it in the charge sent by him for trial in the Sessions Court.

It is perhaps enough to say that, though the learned Judge may be entitled to have his own views on the subject in a private capacity, yet he was not justified in laying down the law in this manner from his seat on the Bench, declaring that the husband has the right of punishing his wife by beating her for impudence or impertinence. No such right is recognized by the Indian Penal Code, and wife beating is not one of the exceptions in the chapter of 'General Exceptions.' One can easily imagine the serious consequences of such a declaration being made from the Bench by a Sessions Judge unless the declaration is declared to be wrong and unfounded by this court. That is the reason why we think it necessary to state in unmistakable terms that the learned Sessions Judge's declaration of the rights of husbands in this regard has no foundation, so that no one may rely upon that in future as any justification or excuse for beating wives." The sentence on the second charge was considered too lenient and was increased to nine months imprisonment.

The Civil Liberties Union :—On Monday evening Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurated the Civil Liberties Union in a speech which we should not have felt it necessary to comment on but for his observations regarding those who did not see their way to accept the invitation to join the Union. Of about one hundred and fifty persons, he said only ten had declined. Gandhiji, he excused, as having many pre-occupations—and Working Committee members on the ground that they are always ready,—though in the case of others he seemed to hold that no preoccupation should stand in the way of their joining the Union in a "slave" country like India. (Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is mistaken in assuming that persons who are not members of the Working Committee do nothing to safe-guard civil liberties merely because they do not advertise their activities.) We can not speak for all the rest, but one of them did not plead pre-occupations as his reason for not responding to the call to associate himself with the Union as a first or foundation member. His principal reason was that civil disobedience and civil liberties were opposite ends of the political pole and that, since Congress retains the right to launch Civil Disobedience, it is the proper body to undertake the duty of safeguarding civil liberties also. Every right should be correlated to the responsibility of dealing with the consequences to which its exercise may give rise. One party can not enjoy the right, leaving it to another to shoulder the responsibility. That this is not a vain fancy, is shown by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's observation at the meeting : "Supposing civil disobedience was started and those who took part in the movement got into jails, then it would be the duty of those who remained outside to fight against the suppression of civil liberties." This duty, in our opinion, will surely not arise unless those



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who are expected to fight outside, the members of the Civil Liberties Union, had been consulted beforehand and had approved of the launching of Civil Disobedience at the particular time and for the particular reason. Mr. Bakhale of the Servants of India Society in seconding the principal resolution said that if he (the speaker) could co-operate with the Government by being nominated to the Council, there was no reason why he should not co-operate with friends in the Congress on matters of common grievance. But the point here is, if Congress starts civil disobedience without consulting the new Union or against its advice, what would be Mr. Bakhale's position *vis a vis* the Government on the one hand and his Congress friends on the other? In any case, it is not possible for every one to act on the reasoning of Mr. Bakhale.

Rajan-Rajagopala Clash :—The resolution of the Congress Working Committee condemning Dr. Rajan's action in setting up and, what seems to be regarded as more heinous, getting a candidate elected Chairman of the Trichinopoly Municipality, was, perhaps the only one which it could have passed in the circumstances, although it did not help Mr. Rajagopala Charya to reconsider his decision to retire from the Congress. At the same time, the resolution is a warning to those who like to think for themselves on public questions and who feel it their duty to stick to their considered views on them, to steer clear of the Congress, as plain as if "No one who has a mind of his own need enter here," were inscribed on its portals. To those whose lives have been devoted to fight against the autocracy of caste in social matters, the claims to implicit obedience of the Congress Working Committee, would seem to be an undoing of the good work so far done. In two respects the authority of the panchayat, rested on a surer foundation. The members who constituted it, were the elders of the same group and were in a position to give due weight to all the circumstances, involved including the imponderables, which count for so much in human conduct, and not merely to the exigencies of the moment. Then, again, panchayat decisions had to be unanimous in order to acquire the prestige of an inspired judgment binding on all men. The Congress Working Committee enjoys neither of these advantages. It is a body of scattered individuals put together and from year to year at the personal discretion of whoever happens to be elected President for the year. The weight to be attached to its resolution depends wholly on the estimation in which its individual members are held for their experience, sagacity and foresight. The issue in the Rajagopala-Rajan dispute, was whether the Congress Committee is entitled to force its own candidate, regardless of the conditions which make for good administration, on a municipality. We understand Mr. Rajagopala's standpoint to be that, unless Congress Committees have such a right, it is impossible for Congress to capture the Legislatures. But it is permissible to think that

the capture of the Legislatures by the Congress at the sacrifice of local administration, is not in the best interests of the country. Millions of the population are not interested in, are not affected by, high politics. Good municipal administration, on the other hand, enters into their daily lives.

Congress Discipline :—Dr. Rajan in Madras would have been drummed out of the Congress Party because he could not agree with Mr. Rajagopala Charya on a matter which had no connection with the Congress, had he not put himself in a secure position by resigning all connection with the Congress. The President, no other than Pandit Jawaharlal himself, has demanded an explanation of the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee for having expressed its sympathy with the public protest against the Communal Award at a meeting held under the Presidentship of Rabindranath Tagore, President of the Civil Liberties Union. In the Central Provinces two Congressmen have severed their connection with the movement because they were asked to explain their conduct in calling upon the acting Governor Mr. Raghavendra Rao. We have come to feel that people who talk loudly of liberty, have one idea of it for themselves and quite a different one for others. What in the captain is a choleric word is rank blasphemy in others.

Conversion and the Franchise :—The "scheduled castes," popularly known as the depressed classes, have a certain number of seats reserved for them under the Poona Pact incorporated in the Communal Award in the new Legislatures. The Order in Council relating to these seats declares that no Indian Christian shall be deemed to be a member of a scheduled caste. The preliminary electoral roll for the Bombay Legislative Assembly has been published and objections and claims are to be made before the Chief Judge of the Small Causes Court in Bombay. Mr. B. J. Deorukhkar, a leader of these classes, applied before the Judge objecting to the entry of the name of Mr. P. G. Solanki in the register of voters of the scheduled castes on the ground that Mr. Solanki was a Christian. Dr. Ambedkar who appeared as counsel for Mr. Solanki admitted that his client had embraced Christianity some years ago, but said that, about nine months after conversion, he reverted to his original fold after performing the necessary expiatory ceremonies. Since then he had signed the Poona Pact as a member of the Depressed classes and has been nominated to a seat in the present Legislative Council to represent these classes by Government. Affidavits showing that Dr. Solanki had been taken back into his caste were presented to the Court. The Judge accepted them and dismissed Mr. Deorukhkar's petition. Several interesting points arise out of this case. One and not the least important of these, is if one convert can revert to his "scheduled caste," all can do so.



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INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER, BOMBAY, August 29, 1936.

IN VISHNU-LAND, WHAT AVATAR?

The retirement of Mr. Rajagopala Charya from politics, leaves Mr. Satyamurti the most articulate leader of the Congress movement in Tamil Nadu and, generally speaking, in the Madras Presidency. Mr. Satyamurti has always shone better as a lieutenant than as a leader. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and, then, Mr. Rajagopala Charya have served as ballast to the light craft of his political oratory whenever it seemed likely to be caught in a gale. It remains to be seen how he will shape as a leader in his own right. He spoke at Khar, the suburb of a suburb of Bombay, on Sunday and his speech was reported in the *Times of India* on Monday. It was in effect if not in intention a strong criticism of the Congress manifesto. Seldom has a Congress leader spoken so depreciatingly of Indians' capacity for self-government. The *Times* gave prominence to his declaration that "even after the last British soldier left the shores of India it will take us fifty years to clean up our Augean stables." If this means anything, it means that the withdrawal of the British, voluntarily or involuntarily, will not usher in the millennium, a straight hit at the declaration in the manifesto that independence alone can save the masses. Mr. Satyamurti went farther. He had no patience with those who argued that the presence of "the third party" prevented the adjustment of Hindu-Muslim differences, another dig at a vital point of the manifesto. "To argue in that fashion was to go round in a vicious circle," he said. In his opinion, communalism was due to a Hindu, Muslim, Parsi, Christian or Jew thinking of himself and describing himself as such. "This basic outlook had to go." Mr. Satyamurti is not quite right here. The Hindu, Muslim and others, do not think of themselves or describe themselves as such except on occasions when they are required to do so by authority. In the Courts, in administrative offices, even in registering documents, in the electorates, a man's 'caste' has to be mentioned. The Census schedules contain a column for religion, which is not the case in any other country. In Britain, we believe, a Census enumerator is forbidden to ask any question bearing on religious belief. The Roman Emperor, Trajan, administered a stern rebuke to the Greeks and Hebrews of Alexandria when they approached him with separate addresses of felicitation when he assumed the purple. He insisted on their approaching him as Roman citizens, on pain of his severest displeasure. But his successors did not adhere to his principle and our British rulers follow the policy of his successors. There is something in the argument of "the third party" after all. The basic argument of British Imperialists is that India is not a country but a continent, not a nation but a 'geographical

expression.' It was not always so. The founders of the British Indian Empire made no distinction of caste or creed, and the Queen's Proclamation in 1858 embodied resounding declarations of even-handed dealings with subjects irrespective of race, colour or creed. The policy of discrimination had its beginnings in the third quarter of the last century. It rapidly grew and blossomed in the famous Minto declaration fifty years after the Queen's Proclamation.

Mr. Satyamurti said that the average level of character was not very high in this country. Character is one of the most difficult things to define. Putting it bluntly, he defined want of it as being afraid of telling the truth and standing by one's convictions. A few sentences later, the same orator declared that "the feeling 'right or wrong, my party,' and the readiness implicitly and faithfully to carry out the party decision, whatever one's private opinion on a given subject may be, was essential to the conduct of democracy," and that Indians were lacking in it. This is the kind of surrender required of a soldier, and Mr. Satyamurti evidently regards regimenting opinion as the instrument and main purpose of democracy. These are perhaps matters of opinion but even on facts the South Indian leader was more than shaky. He said that India (that is, the Congress) would not stand a dictator, adding: 'Even the Gandhian dictatorship, based as it was on love as opposed to force, was unacceptable to India.' Good Heavens! Gandhiji resigned the dictatorship not because India wanted him to but against the pathetic protests of Congressmen as a body not to leave them without a dictator. He was himself tired of the part. If Mr. Satyamurti believes that the country (the Congress) wanted Gandhiji to retire from politics, he will believe anything. In fact the Congress wants nothing so much as a dictator. It would be glad to have Gandhiji back at the helm at any price. It would even be content with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru but that he never misses an opportunity for emphasizing his aversion for the lonely pedestal and his preference for playing the eternal freelance. If one thing more than another is clear in his personal make-up, it is his determination not to be fixed to anything or any body. The dictator must have an infinite capacity for blowing bubbles in the air. Pandit Jawaharlal, however, cannot, to save his life, resist the temptation of pricking them, as when, with reference to a proposition to make Hindi the sole medium of Congress proceedings, he drily remarked that Congressmen spoke a language which they believed to be Hindustani but which was not Hindustani. We are tempted to say something about corruption in this country, on which Mr. Satyamurti spoke with all the fervour of a convert, but we must bring these remarks to a close. Corruption, like character, is a loose word to define. Cash bribes are perhaps the most innocuous form of it because they can be easily detected. Even



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cash bribes are not unknown in other countries. In this and more insidious forms it is universal where great powers are entrusted to poorly paid persons. When money-making is regarded as the highest object of endeavour, even well-paid Ministers and Civil Servants, cannot escape the infection. Only it is to nobody's interest to expose the corruption prevailing in other countries. The Asiatic and African are fair game to every one. We least expected Mr. Satyamurti to be in that gang. But he is obviously now intent on securing the support of Englishmen to his party, and what more handy for the purpose than to abuse his own people? We shall not be surprised to see Mr. Satyamurti emerge in the new regime as the leader of the European Party.

HINDU WOMEN'S ABSOLUTE AND LIMITED ESTATES.

(By R. V. V. TATACHARIAR)

In the face of Dr. Deshmukh's Bill for Hindu Women's Right to Property in the ancestral share falling to the husband, it has become necessary to probe more deeply than in my last article on the same subject and examine how far the ancient sages or law-givers extended to women born or marrying in the family the rights and privileges of a coparcener such as father or manager of the family, and how much, if any, they curtailed them, and why. We shall also see how the later commentators shut their eyes to the slow evolutionary aspects of the matter in question and lost sight of the true significance of the special texts relating to women's rights in the family property. I may at once and at the outset say that no such invidious distinction was ever thought of or sharp line drawn between absolute and limited estates, by the ancient rishis. True that Katyayana (Kane's Edn line or sloka 92) says that after the life of the chaste widow without issue who enjoyed her husband's (share of) property without let or hindrance from any of his kinsmen or dayadis, the latter took the same. Does this really curtail her estate and make it a limited or so-called life-estate? If her powers over the same be analysed and compared and contrasted with those of any coparceners including father and manager, it will be seen that there is very little difference. This small difference, though it might appear to a superficial eye to be rather invidious, really amounts to nothing more than a necessary precaution that she could claim no greater powers than the head. Even a father who had ample powers over the moveables including gems, pearls and corals (all being illustrative no doubt) but none over the immovables, whether ancestral or self-acquired, lest he should otherwise leave his issue and dependants altogether destitute, was enjoined first never to alienate them at all, next not to do so without the consent of the other coparceners and lastly not to do it unless they were self-acquired, without aid from the joint family estate. All the restrictions on the women also are, not better and no worse than these directions, the primary idea being that the 'gotra' or family should in no event be rendered destitute by the women who might chance to exercise wantonly or inadvertently the same powers over the joint family property as they could and would over their own stridhanam. Stridhanam was only of long later origin, and plebian and far from 'sacred' in character as compared with the old Vedic or Aryan joint-family property. By 'later origin' I mean the time when the Dravidian institution of absolute, separate, individual and unburdened

property came to be engrafted slowly upon the older one. The impact of this idea was, by the way, responsible for the evolution of a coparcener's separate self-acquisitions, even within the joint-family institutions. Now when such separate property has made such violent inroads on the ancient traditions and destroyed the corporate holdings for all time, is it fair or necessary to force the procrustean and primeval bed upon the poor widow without issue, who is after all to get only her husband's share and not the whole joint family estate intact? When the reason of the rule has vanished, there seems to be no necessity to maintain the old order of things simply because of rules of religious or spiritual efficacy of remoter kinsmen or dayadis of her husband. By the way I may mention that the Privy Council has grievously erred in upsetting the correct Madras decisions in favour of Dr. Sarvadhikari's views on the capacity of the brother's son's son as being superior to that of the next heir when they specially welded both principles of sapindaship, *visu*, of consanguinity and religious efficacy into one harmonious whole, in which process the remotest descendant was eliminated in favour of a nearer ascendant.

Similarly the commentators and the British Courts in their wake have persistently ignored the true evolution of things in the light of history and internal evidence in the Smritis themselves and ignored the mutual or reciprocal action and reaction on one another of Aryan and Dravidian institutions in law as in all other fields and made an utter confusion without trying to keep clear of such tendencies to doubt and dismay.

But for this action and reaction one can easily understand why and wherefrom the points of similarity arise between the parallel institutions of diverse origins. The principle of representation and taking inheritance per stirpes is peculiar to joint-family traditions; while the principal of taking *per capita* relates to the Dravidian inheritance from maternal grandfather. But this latter principle was given the go by in favour of the former in the case of succession to stridhanam on the part of heirs like daughter's daughters, daughters' sons, and son's sons. Conversely the women who took their mother's stridhanam got only a women's or limited estate instead of an absolute one as one would naturally expect.

She was held, though again absolutely unwarrantedly, to inherit only a woman's or limited estate therein, in the wake of her own mother in the same property. Even the safeguarding expression "After her the kinsmen or dayadis get it" is altogether absent in her case, unlike in her mother's. Some rishis give her a full share and some a quarter only. While some say it is the unmarried daughter that gets it by way of provision for marriage, others say nothing of the sort but merely say the daughter gets it. Evidently she was expected to be more considerate to the members of the family of her birth and so required no such safeguarding injunction like her mother. Moreover who and what was she some ages ago? She was, by appointment or mere intention or act of the mind, a "putrika" who got the *entire* property in the absence or failure of her son who was as good as a son to her own father. Hence it is an awful travesty of justice that the daughter should be deemed and held to inherit only a limited instead of an absolute estate. It would be more in consonance with justice and legal history to hold that the childless widow steps into the shoes of her husband in respect of his ancestral share or his own self-acquisitions in absolute title of her own as the surviving half of her husband and that her daughter by the husband in question takes also



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absolute interest therein as being no worse than male issue, though both her own and her mother's rights of succession may be postponed to that of the male issue out of deference to greater religious merit. But for this element of religion and for the historical account of the origin and development of the joint family institutions down to date, and for the fact that at no time did they take a share when male issue was in existence, there would be really no ground of objection to the equal right of all women born or married in the family to get an equal share in the joint family property, however small in value it be, and however ruinous to the economic aspect of the country as a whole by the division thereof into hopelessly minute parcels.

Now we shall see how the woman's estate compares with joint family managership whether of father or other coparcener. Both fully and effectually represent the property in respect of suits by or against it, compromises and family arrangements, management without waste or danger to corpus and possession of the estate for full and effective management. But while the manager is liable to account for the income, savings and expenditure, the widow or daughter is not so liable, need not save anything, and, if she does the accumulations need not be made part of the corpus but may be disposed of as she pleases. Like the coparceners she may partition the property with her co-widows or sisters as the case may be for more effective enjoyment, and alienate in whole or in part even the corpus much more liberally than the male coparceners, and give the alienee even an absolute title in certain contingencies, that is, a greater title than her own. Like the father she can also renounce or surrender all her interest in the property with or without retaining a small share even absolutely for her own maintenance and allow the next heirs or reversioners to come into possession, provided she does it *bona fide* and not with a view to divide the estate secretly with them. This surrender need not include that of her *stridhanam*. Now this short resume would go clearly to show how in some respects the widow or other woman is entitled to much greater rights than even the father or manager of the joint family. The reason is not far to seek. Her estate is really not so 'limited' as supposed to be but only an absolute one with certain safeguards in the interest of the people dependant on the property whom she could not refuse to support nor deprive of their future means of subsistence. This has been rendered necessary because of the joint family incidents of the property in her hands, and not because of any special attribute attached to her so-called estate. Because of the above incident she was given greater, nay, unfettered right over the entire income, which in average families would not be very much. But she has amply paid the penalty for this free intrusion into the joint family property by losing very many precious incidents of absolute property in her *stridhanam* above referred to. Incidents of coparcenership, such as survivorship, principle of representation in taking per stirpes, tracing heirship to the last full owner, instead of becoming a fresh stock of descent, spiritual efficacy to some extent extended at the instance of Vaishnavism to widow and daughter, and the non-exclusion of male issue are some of the characteristics that have crept unawares into non-Vedic or non-Aryan institutions that have been engrafted on the old Aryan or Vedic or joint family traditions. The fruits of the graft no doubt have been so sweet and so great that we have failed to see the local points of engrafting of new upon the old tree but have imagined in our exultation that it was a divine tree revealed to us by

the wise rishis of old. Hence also one should be rather unwilling to remove root and branch all the traces of the old tree below the points of grafts in the hope or expectation of reaping the same or superior results from the exclusive sources of the newer portions above the graft-points. *But to give full effect to the sages' intentions* one may agree to legislative changes without prejudice to the joint-family rights of sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons as a compact series of coparceners or heirs of propositus, while alive and undivided from the propositus himself. In other words one may in fairness to women's new demands concede that they may be allowed to take a full or absolute estate instead of their usual limited estates whether it be widow, daughter, mother, sister or paternal aunt, or even the new heirs created in 1929 with many more that can be, with logic, reason and fairness easily added to their list. The Bill will, therefore, have to undergo several changes in the light of all the above considerations before becoming law acceptable to the wishes and conscience of the Hindu Community.

WOMEN'S RIGHT TO PROPERTY BILL.

(By K. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR, PLEADER, SATARA.)

The principle of Dr. Deshmukh's Bill that the Hindu women should be entitled to property rights is accepted by all sections of people. People who desire the welfare of Hindu women in general wholeheartedly support the principle of the Bill. Of course there are people who, in and out of season, oppose any legislation in regard to the personal law of the Hindus basing their opposition on the ground that "Religion is in danger." One absolutely fails to understand how a Bill like the present one affects the Acharas of the people, who worship custom as their only religion without looking to the principles underlying therein. These persons are raising the same cry for the last 80 years even from the time the Widow Re-marriage Act or the Law prohibiting Suttie was passed. The same cry is even blindly echoed now.

The Bill purports to give some rights of inheritance in the property to women. Do these people mean to say that that right was totally denied to the women in old days by the Rishis?

I would like to say that the idea put forward by some people to the effect that Legislation must not be undertaken in regard to the personal laws of the Hindus or any other community is surely an extravagant claim. If accepted it would be tantamount to prohibition of Legislation in any shape. For there is no system of personal law which would satisfy the opinions and sentiments of all people living under that system. With regard to the measures of Legislation affecting a whole class of people, the only correct and feasible test is furnished by the principle of aiming at the greatest good of the largest portion of the community without sacrificing the legitimate interest of any. Where therefore an important measure of reform is detected by the true well being of the people as a whole and is supported by the mass of enlightened public opinion, the fact that there may be a certain amount of dissatisfaction amongst the more conservative elements should not prove an unsurmountable obstacle. Past experience shows that such feelings of dissatisfaction are always evanescent, they usually give place to acquiescence and after some experience even to a cheerful acceptance of the new situation. Women's education of the present times is a good and convincing illustration of this proposition. As is said before, the principle of the Bill is accepted by



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all intelligent and levelminded people. There would not be a single woman who would not agree with the principle of the Bill. But clauses of the Bill as framed by Dr. Deshmukh are not happily worded and they certainly need to be drastically changed. For instance the provision of the Bill that a Hindu widow should be entitled to a share in the property of her son for the simple reason that she was entitled to a share in the property of her deceased husband cannot be universally acceptable. The question as to what share of the Father's property a married and un-married daughter should receive also deserves careful consideration. The provision in the Bill that daughter should receive property both from the father and husband is also open to serious objection. The succession to the property inherited by the woman is not clearly mentioned. There is similarly a defect in the drafting of Clause 4. For example it is stated that the widow and daughters of a coparcener shall have a share equal to that of his son if he has any. This means if he has no sons but has a grandson there is no basis for determining the share of the widow and the daughters. The Bill does not also state whether the principle of equality is to be applied to son, daughter and widow as a class or to them as persons only. Dr. Deshmukh also failed to notice that his amendments will have far reaching effect on other branches of Hindu Law and he has not therefore made any provision for those contingencies. These are some of the objections against the Bill as it is framed at present. In short the Bill deserves careful consideration, and drafting at the able hands of expert legislators in the Select Committee.

The present writer honestly believes that it would have been much better if Dr. Deshmukh had placed the Reform made in the Baroda State affecting rights of inheritance of women, before his eyes in drafting the Bill.

The changes made in the Baroda State some of which are noted below, have freed Hindu women in that State from many of the injustices practised upon them under the old Mitakshara Law of Joint Family and have placed them in a far more advantageous and enviable position than their sisters in other parts of India. The Law as now amended in Baroda has made the widow of a deceased, a coparcener herself *i. e.*, a member of a Hindu Joint Family. This has made a great change in the status of widow. She has as much right to ask for partition and get her own share in the family property determined and separated as any male member of the family. When she exercises that right she gets a share equal to that of a son if there is one, and in the absence of a son she gets what her husband would have got, if he had been alive at the time of partition. This change assuredly places a widow in a far more advantageous position than the one she had formerly in this property. The woman has now absolute interest in the property worth Rs. 12,000/- and limited interest in the rest of the property above that limit. She has now as much right of alienating property which she holds absolutely as the male owner has. The limit of Rs. 12,000/- is fixed only as a tentative measure and it will not be long before absolute right over all the property inherited by a widow is given to her.

The position and rights of daughters has also been improved in Baroda. An unmarried daughter is now given the right to ask for the separation of her share (equal to one-fourth of her brother's share) in lieu of maintenance and marriage expenses even if no partition takes place in the family. This places her in a more independent position and she is now free to live apart from the family and mould her future life according to her own wishes. With

regard to the married daughter she had formerly no right of maintenance in father's family even when she was a widow and had no means of maintenance from her father-in-law's family. According to new Law in Baroda State a widowed daughter is given a right to maintenance in her father's family under some special circumstances.

This scanty account of the development of law regarding women in the Baroda State is given here in short, it is earnestly hoped that the Select Committee on Dr. Deshmukh's Bill should keep the law as modified in the Baroda State before their eyes. Let us hope that the Bill be referred to the Select Committee and law will be ultimately framed improving the status of women in British India. Will this auspicious day really dawn?

EDUCATION UNDER THE HARIJAN SEVAK SANGH.*

(By A. V. THAKKAR.)

The Harijan Sevak Sangh has completed the third year of its activities in September, 1935. During this short period its activities have gone on increasing both in quality and quantity:

	1932-33	1933-34	1934-35.
Prov. Boards ...	26	26	29
Dist. and Local Committees ...	213	333	372
	239	359	401

Correspondingly, there has been a progressive increase in the total expenditure of the Sangh under all heads from year to year: 1932-33, Rs. 2,31,089; 1933-34, Rs. 3,31,791; 1934-35, Rs. 4,48,422.

At the annual meeting of the Central Board, held at Delhi on 1st January, 1935, a new Constitution replacing the old one was adopted. According to it, the President shall form from among the members of the Central Board an Executive Committee of seven members, including himself as Chairman of the Executive Committee and the two Secretaries of the Central Board. The Executive Committee thus constituted, met twice during the year under report; at Calcutta from the 26th to the 28th April 1935, and at Wardha on the 29th and 30th August 1935.

Another important feature of the new constitution is that every member of the Central and Provincial Board district and other committees is required to sign a pledge declaring his belief in the complete eradication of untouchability. The pledge enjoins on every member that he should treat no one as an untouchable by reason of birth or caste, and that he should give proof of his intentions by actually helping the cause of the Harijans, either by personal service to them or by such other help that his position and means would permit.

During the year Rs. 41,245 were paid by the Provincial Boards and Rs. 17,834 by the Central Board as scholarships, thus making a total of Rs. 59,079. 117 students were in receipt of scholarships during the year 1934-35 as against 99 in 1933-34 and 47 in 1932-33. The value of scholarship ranged from Rs. 10 to Rs. 30, the average being Rs. 15, according to the course the student was undergoing. The 117 scholarships mentioned above were given to students in the various provinces in India from Jammu in the North to Trivandrum in the South, and from Karachi in the West to Jorhat in Assam in the East. Of these 117 students, 7 were lady students, 4 of whom were in the medical course in Bombay, Madras and Agra.

*Extracts from the Annual Report for 1934-35, realpatidar.com



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An analysis of the scholarships given shows that 34 were for technical and professional courses and 83 for Arts and Science courses. The total expenditure for 1934-35 on this item amounted to Rs. 18,445. It should also be borne in mind that in addition to this a certain sum was spent by Provincial Boards on collegiate scholarships, especially in big cities like Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Poona. The applications for scholarships are scrutinized and scholars are selected by a small committee consisting of Principals N. V. Thadani and S. N. Mukerjee of the Hindu and St. Stephen's Colleges, Delhi, respectively and the General Secretary of the Sangh.

The Sangh is indebted to the Trustees of Raghmal Charity Trust, Calcutta, who donated a sum of Rs. 750 p. m. for three months and Rs. 400 for nine months in the year which was utilized for giving scholarships to 112 Harijan boys and girls in schools. Besides the Sangh awarded 120 scholarships from its own funds to Harijan students receiving similar education in the different provinces and distributed Rs. 41,425 as scholarships last year for pupils in Middle and High Schools.

The policy of this Sangh has since its inception been to discourage separate schools and recruit Harijan children to common schools.

As far as Municipal areas are concerned, our efforts in this direction have been fairly successful. But it is a distressing tale of woe in the case of some district and local board schools whether located in caste quarters or outside. Harijan children are not tolerated, though they are not refused admission. Harijan children are asked to sit outside in the pial of the school and the teacher if he happens to belong to the higher castes, shrinks from approaching the boy to teach him. There is another aspect of this question. Though large sums of money are spent by local boards on primary education, there are as yet vast tracts and areas mostly inhabited by the backward classes and Harijans without any schools. Thus the Sangh has been forced to start primary schools on its own responsibility, mostly in rural areas where there are no District Board or Taluk Board schools for 2 or 3 miles round or where Harijan children find it difficult to attend common schools.

In towns, the Sangh has similarly started schools intended mainly for the sweepers who have no access to public schools. The Sangh has been found fault with for duplicating the work of the local bodies. If it is only remembered that our schools in addition to imparting the three R's, to the pupils, serve as a social centre as well, looking to the social and economic needs of the community in the neighbourhood, this charge will not be levelled against us. This is a speciality of schools started by the Sangh. The Sangh, at the same time is conscious of the many shortcomings of its schools and the staff and had made arrangements last year to make the teachers more efficient by giving them training in first aid, hygiene, sanitation and elementary accounting.

From the information available, there were 1,298 preparatory schools with 34,273 boys and 2,816 girls last year as against 902 schools with 23,164 boys and 1,660 girls in the preceding year. The total expenditure incurred on these schools in the year under report amounted to Rs. 109,438 as against Rs. 75,814 in the preceding year. The Bihar Board of the Harijan Sevak Sangh leads the other provinces with 256 schools under it.

From the very beginning Orissa has been endeavouring to get Harijan children admitted into the common schools, and this year more than 1,000 have been admitted. Similar attempts were made in

other provinces also and from the incomplete information available it is learnt that about 3,021 boys and girls had been admitted into common schools; still there are thousands of Harijan children living in the villages in the interior without schools of any kind for miles around.

The Sangh has been encouraging Harijan boys to take to industrial and technical training as a sure means of earning a living. A beginning was made in Tanning last year by starting the Cottage Tanning Institute at Calcutta under the able supervision of Sjt. Satish Chandra Das Gupta. The object of this centre is to apply chrome and bark tanning to cottage conditions without any elaborate machinery. A select batch of 21 pupils recruited from various provinces is undergoing a thorough training in chrome and bark tanning with a view to starting provincial tanneries on a cottage industry basis.

As an auxiliary to this, another scheme full of promise and significance, the carcass disposal scheme at Howrah, was started last year called the Dead Cattle Institute, again under the able guidance of Sjt. Satish Chandra Das Gupta. The object of this scheme, apart from utilizing the hides of animals for the manufacture of leather articles, is to convert by chemical processes the fats, bones and meat of the dead animals into rich and useful manures. From the very beginning it has paid its way, but its real importance lies in attempting to convert a part of a great national waste into national wealth. The course of training lasts in these two institutes for 18 months, after which the students will return to their respective provinces to set up small establishments.

It is expected that the village Chamar who is now used to primitive and crude methods of skinning and tanning will greatly be benefitted by the new methods. Until September 1935 a sum of Rs. 13,079 was invested in the tanning institute and the finished leather to the extent of Rs. 7,193 was sold up to that period. For the Dead Cattle Institute, the Sangh sanctioned Rs. 5,000 on Mahatma Gandhi's advice for practical experimental work.

Sjt. G. R. Valunjkar is also running a good tannery at Wardha under the immediate supervision of Gandhiji and it is probable that during the current year it will be running at full capacity so as to show a margin of profit. Both the Calcutta and Wardha Tanneries have recently added departments of shoe making which is finding a ready markets for its finished articles.

One other institution that deserves to be mentioned under this head is the Kodambakkam Harijan Industrial Home near Madras. Here students are trained in carpentry, smithy, cane work, tin smithy and weaving. There were 25 boys in the home who were given free board and lodging and the monthly expenditure came to about Rs. 400. In other parts of the country, in places like Cuttack, Navsari and Sabarmati, training in carpentry, boot and chappal making was given to Harijan boys.

There has been a rapid increase in the number of free hostels for Harijan boys and girls. 92 hostels with 1,133 boys and 148 girls were maintained during the year as against 60 hostels with 827 boys and 291 girls in the preceding year. Of these, 6 were girl hostels run by the Madras City, Karnatak, Gujarat, Andhra and Kerala Boards, with 140 girls. Andhra province topped the list with 22 hostels with 313 boys and 38 girls. The total amount spent during the year on hostels alone amounted to Rs. 62,888 as against Rs. 28,377 spent in the previous year.



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The average cost of food per head came to a little over Rs. 4 a month.

The Sangh spent Rs. 18,261 in supplying books, clothes, stationery articles, etc., free to Harijan students. The total amount spent by the Central Board and the branches of the Sangh under all heads, for educational work amounted during the year to Rs. 2,75,480 as against Rs. 1,63,945, i.e., an increase of Rs. 1,11,425 over that of the last year.

In almost every school, run by the Sangh, there is provision for rendering medical aid to Harijans for ordinary ailments. It is wellknown that the Harijan patients are neither promptly attended to nor properly treated in our public hospitals, staffed as they are with caste Hindus who are prejudiced against Harijans. The Harijan, therefore, would rather suffer patiently than go to hospital for medical relief. Thus the medical help given by our teachers to Harijan living in the area has been a God-send to Harijans in their sickness.

WILL AMERICA RETURN TO PROHIBITION?

"Liquor drinking in America has reached such a revolting stage that the liquor interests are alarmed at the prospect of a return to Prohibition," declared the Rev. John C. Bieri, D.D., before a meeting of the Landour Women's Christian Temperance Union held on 12th August at Abergeldie, Landour, the home of Mrs. J. E. Moody.

"Wet leaders are warning liquor sellers that they must not allow their customers to drink to excess, or the traffic will be inevitably outlawed," the speaker continued.

The Rev. Dr. Bieri, father of Miss Kathryn Bieri a teacher in Woodstock School, Landour, is on leave from his pastorate of the St. Luke's Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, Pa., U. S. A. At the beginning of his address he stated that he was not a special investigator of social conditions, not identified with a special temperance organization, not an "authority," but that he spoke as an ordinary observer of everyday conditions.

In reply to the accusation that there was more drinking in Prohibition days than before, Dr. Bieri quoted Bishop Edwin Hughes, who said that in eight years of commuting from the heart of Chicago to the suburbs during Prohibition days he had seen but two drunken men. In attending a football game at the University of Pennsylvania in 1930 where 60,000 people were present, Dr. Bieri had seen but two empty whiskey bottles where in pre-Prohibition days, as the ground-keeper told him, wheelbarrows full had been taken out after a game.

"During Prohibition," Dr. Bieri reminded his audience, "there were no saloons, no liquor shops, no magazine advertisements, no newspaper advertisements, no bill board advertisements, no radio advertisements, no cinema advertisements. It is easy to see that the temptation to drink was greatly lessened. Positive proof of less drinking was to be seen in jails, poor-houses, missions, delirium tremens wards, and Keeley Cure Homes almost emptied of alcoholics. If you wanted liquor, you had to know where to go for it. Now the liquor business is going for drinkers."

The speaker described the church was "deluded" and "smugly comfortable" after the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment, while the liquor forces subtly worked night and day with false propaganda, proclaiming the rights of "personal liberty," well financed by multi-millionaires. "The cry that the bootleggers were getting the millions that should go to the Government as revenue persuaded many to

vote for the repeal of the Amendment," Dr. Bieri said.

"In repealing the Amendment," the audience was informed, "the promise was made that the saloon would not return. Within a few months the stools required at the bar by the new law were discarded, screens were put up at the windows, and the old time brass-railed bar was in vogue under the name of tap-room instead of saloon, and with the added allurements of cabaret, orchestra, and bar maids instead of men. Women are now at the brass rail with perambulators waiting in the street, a condition practically unknown in the old days. Boys and girls are served without restriction in most places.

"The country is being deluged with advertisements of liquor through magazines, newspapers, cinemas, radios, bill-boards, and department stores. My custom in America was to take an early morning walk daily. On Sunday mornings the pavements in front of the liquor shops in League Island were filthy with the results of Saturday night carousals. Midnight fights and arrest are frequent. Jails and poorhouses are filling, street beggars and drunken drivers are being multiplied.

"The result is that the church is once more aroused. Parents whose children come home drunk are aroused.

"Merchants who have to share their profits with the liquor dealers are aroused. Educational and pledge-signing campaigns are being organized." Dr. Bieri predicted that the next few years would see a fight to the finish on the alcohol question, and Amendment in the Constitution that would stay for eternity.

Dr. Bieri is serving as pastor of Kellogg Memorial Church, Landour, during August and September, and expects to tour widely on the plains before returning to America in December.

Mussoorie.

JULIA NORTON CLEMES

MR. SACHCHIDANANDA SINHA.*

(By VISHWANATH SAHAY VARMA.)

Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha comes of one of the most respectable Kayastha families of Bihar. Murar, in the district of Shahabad, is a well-known place having proud traditions of its inhabitants. It was here that the ancestors of Mr. Sinha settled down when the Rajput founders of the Dumraon Raj moved down from Oudh to Shahabad. Mr. Sinha's grandfather the late Bakshi Shiva Prasad Sinha, was the head of the collection and treasury department of the Dumraon Raj. He left behind him two sons, Ram Gulam Sinha and Ramyad Sinha—the latter the worthy father of the hero of this sketch. Bakshi Ram Gulam Sinha, Mr. Sinha's uncle, spent his life in the service of the Government in the North-Western Frontier as a Deputy Magistrate and Deputy Collector and distinguished himself in service. His younger brother Ramyad Sinha was also in executive service in the N. W. F. till after the Mutiny in 1857. But he resigned his job and came down to Benares to practice as a pleader. He soon shifted his practice to Arrah in his native district and by sheer dint of merit rose to the highest rung in the professional ladder and became the recognised leader of the Arrah Bar before long.

On the 10th of November, 1871, a son and heir was born to him who was named Sachchidananda Sinha.

He was the only child of his parents and naturally received their tender care and attention. At the age of 5, his 'Maktab' ceremony, then a common feature

* The Indian Nation Patria.



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in the Kayastha families but now in disuse, was performed. Two years later he joined the Arrah Zilla School where he gave abundant promise of a brilliant career and always stood first in the class.

He sat for the matriculation examination and passed in the second division in 1888.

In the same year, Mr. Sinha joined the Patna College. But the idea of going abroad was growing stronger and irrepressible in his mind. The difficulties in his way were almost insurmountable. Not a single Biharee Hindu of the higher castes had till then ventured to cross the black water. Besides the unwillingness of his parents, the question of money was a material consideration.

At last, he managed to raise a small sum by selling off his shawls, watch, chains, rings and books—in fact, every thing of any value that he had with him at the time—just sufficient to cover his passage to Aden. So he booked his passage and with but Rs. 50 in his pocket, shook the dust of India from off his feet, on the 26th of December 1889. He was then just eighteen. The evening before he wrote to his people asking them to remit money to Aden. When he reached Aden, he found the letters and the necessary sum of money which enabled him to proceed further.

After a week's stay at Aden, he caught the P. and O. mail steamer, in which after a rather rough passage in the Bay of Biscay, he reached London early in February 1890, and was received at the landing place by his friend Mr. Hasan Imam. Until the late Mr. (Sir) Ali Imam's return Mr. Sinha lived separately, after which he and Mr. Hasan Imam lived together, until the latter returned in July 1892. He joined the Hon'ble Society of the Middle Temple and the University College, London, at which he regularly attended lectures of distinguished and eminent professors in Law, History, Politics, Economics, Logic and Philosophy.

His allowance was not large but he managed to save a fair amount every month for purchasing books and he brought with him on his return—in place of the trunkfuls of fine clothes which many young men do—a large number of choice and valuable books, which formed the nucleus of that fine collection, which was formerly housed in Mr. Sinha's Library at Allahabad and now decorate numberless shelves of the Sachchidananda Sinha Library at Patna. Having passed his examinations, he was called to the Bar on the 26th January 1893 and shortly after, returned to his native country. It was suggested to Mr. Sinha by his relations that he should atone for the sin of having trespassed to the forbidden regions. This he stoutly refused and in doing so, he wrote in the shape of a learned thesis discussing the philosophy of 'prayaschitta' and its absurdity and inapplicability in case of those crossing the seas. To this view he stuck even when he returned and was determined not to budge an inch from the bold stand he had taken on the rock of a principle.

After some time, Mr. Sinha enrolled himself as an Advocate of the Calcutta High Court and settled down to practice at Bankipur in May 1893.

He made up his mind to start an English weekly. In the late Mr. Mahesh Narayan, a name yet remembered in Bihar with affection and admiration, he found a brilliant colleague with rare gifts of journalistic ability. With his co-operation, and that of the late Mr. Krishna Sahay and others, funds were raised. Before Mr. Sinha had been six months at Bankipur, he had the satisfaction of finding his scheme, not a wild goose chase as some people thought, but an accomplished fact.

The journal was named 'the Bihar Times', which later transformed itself into the 'Biharee'. It made its appearance in January 1894. The policy of the paper was vigorously pro-Biharee, and it was intended to create and rouse public consciousness among the Biharees.

With untiring zeal the two Biharee youths were living and striving for instilling in to the mind of the younger generation of Biharees the ideal of a self-contained Bihar holding equal status with other provinces. Unfortunately, Mr. Sinha's health broke down and he had to leave Bankipur for Allahabad on medical advice. Under the stress of circumstances, Mr. Sinha began his practice at the Allahabad High Court. It did not take him long to rise in the profession even in his land of adoption.

From July 1900 to June 1904, Mr. Sinha worked as the Honorary Secretary of the Kayastha Pathashala and the Honorary Editor of the 'Hindustan Review,' successor-in-title to the 'Kayastha Samachar,' a journal conducted under the terms of the will of the late Munshi Kali Prasad. As the Honorary Secretary, Mr. Sinha introduced many reforms in the administration of the institution. Mr. Sinha's connection with the Pathashala came to an abrupt end with the election of Rai Bahadur Gokul Prasad as the President of the Pathashala in July 1904. He managed to acquire the proprietorship of the 'Hindustan Review' from the Pathashala. Meanwhile, he thought of making further adventures in journalism by bringing out a weekly in 1902. The 'Indian People' as the journal was named by the late Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutta appeared in January 1903. Mr. Sinha brought over from distant Madras as his colleague that brilliant and capable journalist, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, now the renowned Editor-in-Chief of the 'Leader' of Allahabad. The 'Indian People', achieved for itself a position in a very short time along with the most respectable Indian journals. In January 1904 the 'Indian People' was converted into a bi-weekly, and continued as such till October, 1905, when it was converted into a daily under the name of the 'Leader.' Mr. Sinha was a prominent member of the directorate of the company that was formed to own the paper.

People felt Mr. Sinha's absence from Bihar and he was approached by friends to return to Bihar. However for some time, Mr. Sinha's allegiance as a lawyer was divided between the U. P. and Bihar, but ultimately he settled down in Bankipur. Here he set his heart once again upon realising the dream—the ideal of a regenerated Bihar. He was instrumental in organising the Bihar Provincial Conference—the Bihar Industrial and Educational Association and so many other public institutions which really served to infuse a real and novel spirit of patriotism and public service. He was then the propelling power behind all the movements in Bihar.

Even a casual visitor to the 'Singhashan', Mr. Sinha's residence, cannot help being lost in a world of books he sees around him. Right from his verandah to the bed room, it is all a mighty array of choicest books, books, and nothing but books. The Sinha Library and the Radhika Sinha Institute, which are Mr. Sinha's invaluable gifts to Bihar and the City of Patna, are his life-work. The Sinha Library is undoubtedly one of the largest libraries in India. There is hardly a book which Mr. Sinha's vigilance has overlooked. The red lines placed here and there in almost every book show what an untiring reader Mr. Sinha is. There is hardly an Indian newspaper which he does not receive and upon which he does not cast his cursory thought searching looks. There is hardly an important matter in whatever corner of the paper it may be, which his trained and



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discerning eyes though old, will not detect. He has a priceless treasure-house of important and useful informations, newspaper cuttings and references collected year after year.

From the airy regions of books to which he soars and keeps soaring, he descends down with the precision and speed of the skylark to the minute details of his household. He is seen directing all the affairs of his domestic life with characteristic thoroughness and care, no less than what he will bestow on the most intricate public work. He is a remarkably practical man, a trait indeed very rare in scholars, philosophers and even politicians, who look contemptuously upon these "small things." His house displays perfect order and discipline and reveals a system in everything, big or small.

THE JAPANESE HIMALAYAN EXPEDITION*

Whatever success may attain the first Japanese expedition to the Himalayas, their choice of the peak—Nanda Kot—appears to be a very happy one. The peak situated in what is geographically known as the Kumaon section of the Himalaya is only 22,510 ft. in height from the sea level and lies at the head of the Pindari glacier. Within this section there are, according to Mr. Charles A. Sherring, an ex-Deputy Commissioner of Almora and much travelled mountaineer, four peaks above 23,000 ft. high above 22,000 ft. and eight above 20,000 ft. At no point of this area is it possible to cross the border of India without rising 16,750 ft. on the Niti pass or 16,780 ft. on the Lipu Likh pass; whereas other passes range from 17,580 ft. viz., the Untadhuna to Mana 17,890 ft. and Neo 18,510 ft. and the Lankpya 18,150 ft. It will thus be seen that not to speak of the Himalayan peaks even its passes existing in this section are higher than Mount Fuji the highest peak in Japan proper. In their turn, however, all these peaks in Kumaon section excepting two pale into insignificance when the proper Himalayan giants about 50 in number from a mean height of 24,000 ft. are taken into consideration. The two exceptions are Nanda Devi (25,645 ft.) and Kamet (25,440 ft.).

If, however, Nanda Kot is comparatively a less high peak, satisfaction will be found from the fact that its summit, like many of the other Himalayan peaks, big or small, still possesses the virgin snow untrodden yet by human feet. There is yet little information about the climbing potentialities of the peak in spite of the fact that it must have been seen many times both from the Pindari glacier at the mouth of which the peak stands and from the Gori valley running south of Milam. As seen from the west, the summit of the peak is bounded by two ridges each with an average inclination of 30 degrees. The ridges themselves do not seem to present any severe climbing difficulties but the approaches to them from the glacier below are probably not at all easy.

All these considerations become of less importance when it is noted that the first choice of the Japanese of a Himalayan peak has fallen in that region which traditionally is held as the most important and sacred part of the Himalaya and every peak, river and temple wherein is credited with a popular legend. Behind such legends remains the fact that the first Aryan exploration of the Himalaya commenced here. "Names like Gangotri and Badrinath," according to the Survey of India, "are reminders of the courage and enterprise of the Aryan pilgrims who were the first explorers to penetrate the Himalayan gorges

and passes." In no other region of the Himalayas have the mountain features been given so poetic a nomenclature as here; in no other region has such a valuable legacy of geographical names been handed down from so distant a past. "These names," says the same Department "furnish a unique example of ancient geographical art, an example that modern geography has admired and perhaps even envied." Amidst the striking scenery surrounding the peaks and gorges of this region many of the great events in the mythological history of Hinduism are reputed to have taken place. Temples and sacred shrines—about 800 in number—rocky paths worn during centuries by feet of myriads of pilgrims tell the traveller that here of all places in India the artistic soul of the philosopher Hindu has through unbreakable generations sought satisfaction.

If one casts his glance northward from a place like Almora one will see that the particular town is surrounded by an amphitheatre of snowy mountains, a scene which with a different background and on a smaller scale, is comparable with that of the Ganges at Benares surrounded by a similar amphitheatre of stony ghats. At the western end of this amphitheatre stands genial Badrinath (Lord of Badri, 23,399 ft. in height) known since the days of the Ramayanic and the Mahabharatam heroes. There are many stories woven round Badrinath—the residence of Lord Vishnu—which even now attracts thousands of Hindu pilgrims to it every year. Opposed to Badrinath stands the grim-looking Kedarnath (Lord of Kedar, 22,770 ft.). The peculiar sanctity of the peak lies in the fact that it is here that the great God Siva took refuge when flying from the Pandvas in the form of buffalo and being hard pressed he dived into the ground, leaving however his hinder parts of the surface, an object of adoration for ever afterwards.

Then there are to be met such mountain names in this region as Trisul (the trident of Lord Siva, so named from the irregular shapes of its two summits as high as 22,320 ft. and 23,360 ft.); Bandar Punch (tail of a monkey which act as a beacon to pilgrims visiting the shrine of Jamuntri and is 20,720 ft. high); Srikanta (glorious throat of Lord Siva; 20,120 ft.) stands near the source of the Bhagirathi branch of the Ganges and has been supposed to be descriptive of the "sharp point" it possesses. Nilkanta (blue throat of Lord Siva 21,640 ft.) Nanda Devi (goddess Nanda or the wife of Lord Siva dominating all the peaks in the neighbourhood and venerated in the plains by thousands of her votaries and is 25,645 ft. high); Nanda Kot (the peak where the goddess Nanda dallies with her celestial friends and holds her court) and Pancha Chulli (five fire places of the goddess Nanda and is 22,630 ft. high). At times, says the Imperial Gazetteer when the wind blows the snow from the peak like smoke the votaries of the goddess in the hot plains of India will say the goddess Nanda is lighting her kitchen fire. Long long ago Atkinson in his "Himalayan Districts" spoke in connection with this region: "All the aids to worship in the shape of striking scenery, temples, mystic and gorgeous ceremonial and skilled celebrants are present. He must indeed be dull who returns from his pilgrimage unsatisfied."

It was Dr. T. G. Longstaff who in 1905 made an attempt to conquer the peak of Nanda Kot. He was accompanied by his two Italian guides and all of them were veteran Alpine climbers. The party succeeded in exploring the three large valleys on the east of Nanda Devi and Nanda Kot. They crossed two hitherto unattempted snow passes of about 18,000 ft. with their own baggage, as the climbing

*Anurita Bazar Patrika.



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was of too severe a character to be attempted by the local coolies. In attempting to climb the peak they established their base camp at Narspan Patti on the North-eastern foot of Nanda Kot in the month of June. On the following day the party attained a height of 19,300 ft. where they pitched the tent for the night. Next day (June 11) Longstaff fought his way up for about five hours reaching an altitude of 19,800 ft. and along the North-eastern ridge finally reached a height of 21,000 ft. but was turned back by the risk of starting an avalanche. Writing about his experience in Nanda Kot Longstaff reported the possibility of conquering the peak if there was sufficient time for the effort.

The Japanese expedition will follow in the footsteps of Longstaff and will be better equipped particularly when instead of local coolies who are no mountaineers they will have the assistance of the "Tigers" of the Everest Expedition. The expedition will follow the northern "high-way" to Tibet, the way to Manasarover and Kailash, followed annually and for centuries by devout Hindus and Buddhists—until they reach the Gori Ganaga. They will then follow its course and finally reach the village Martoli. From the latter place they will next move westward and reach Narspan Patti to establish their base camp there for ascending the peak along its north-eastern ridge, as did more than 30 years ago that veteran mountaineer Dr. T. G. Longstaff.

FASCISM AND SOCIALISTS.

Mr. J. B. Priestley, author of "The Good Companions," and at this moment about the most popular novelist in England, is, according to his own statement, a Left-Wing Socialist. He delivered a striking address on politics before the Independent Labour Party Summer School at Letchworth and warned the I. L. P. that while they argued Fascism was consolidating itself.

Saying first that he hated to deliver or receive lectures, Mr. Priestley declared that he was primarily interested in people not in politics; but he, like others, had been driven to study politics and economics by the present state of things.

If he was a Socialist it was perhaps because his father and mother were Socialist, though he confessed that he had always thought that capitalistic society had come to the end of its usefulness. His trouble was that he wanted people to have freedom and comfort, but that he could never believe any one political system or economic theory would achieve that result. His rough test for all systems, theories, and philosophies was to compare them with that profound saying "The Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath." And he found the Left quite as often as the Right wanted to make man for the Sabbath.

He implored them to ponder well on that point. One tyranny instead of another was not freedom as he understood the word. There were Socialists who if shown that their ideals could be more easily attained by some novel method would fight against that method because it was not their own. In short, their first desire was to see their theories put into practice.

In the same way he deplored the Jesuitical attitude of many of his Communist friends, who, if the authorities put some extremist into gaol, came whimpering to him about freedom and toleration. But when he asked them to try and understand the case for authority they called him a sentimental Liberal. Nor could he get them to see that material luxury for all without absolute freedom of opinion for all was no Utopia.

Going on to denounce the intellectuals of the Socialist movement "for their stupidity in not presenting a united front," the well-known novelist said:

"I am frightened by this for we shall go on explaining what hair divides us until we find the Fascists in command. While we are quarrelling the Fascists all over the world are consolidating. Some of you will finish your debates in concentration camps if you are not careful. We on the Left-Wing have to find a common denomination quickly."

He himself would put it that he wanted a world in which the ordinary man had justice and the exceptional man opportunity. In so far as the basis of Communism and trade unionism was compassion, he was with them; but in so far as the Communist showed hatred of those above rather than pity for those below, in so far as the trade unionist merely wanted to defend his wages rather than to create a better society, he viewed both with hostility.

He was afraid the Left-Wing was not realistic enough. Its tactics were deplorable. It must busy itself converting the executive classes—the men who knew how the machine worked. No society could be run without their co-operation. The Socialists should wave the flag of patriotism against the Jingo. English people were patriotic. They loved their country. It was a feeling to be revered, and not to be sneered at because it led them to be humbugged.

The way to begin to interest this influential section of English society was to make it clear that the Socialists also love their country and want to make it a happy land for all. The Socialists were guilty of not knowing how to use these people. They were content to sneer at them. Yet, added Mr. Priestley, the letters he had received after writing his "English Journey" proved how many well-to-do folk were horrified at learning what misery there was in the country and were anxious to know in what way they could help—*The Hindu*.

DR. SOLANKI'S INCLUSION IN SCHEDULED CLASSES.

The Poona Pact and the fact that it was signed by Dr. P. G. Solanki, as a representative of the Depressed Classes was mentioned before Mr. A. A. Chitre, Chief Judge, Small Causes Court, on August 22.

The matter arose out of a petition filed by Mr. B. J. Deorukhkar, who challenged the claims of Dr. P. G. Solanki, a member of the Corporation and a nominated non-official member of the Legislative Council, to be included in the scheduled castes constituency in the electoral roll.

Mr. Deorukhkar stated that Dr. Solanki had been converted to Christianity in April, 1925, at St. Andrew's Church, Agripada.

Dr. B. Ambedkar, assisted by Mr. N. C. N. Acharya, appeared for Dr. Solanki. Dr. Ambedkar admitted the fact of conversion but represented that nine months thereafter, Dr. Solanki reverted to his caste and was functioning as a member of the community. He was formally adopted in the presence of a panch and a priest officiated at the adoption.

The judge directed that affidavits be filed asserting the fact of reversion to the caste.

The affidavit was filed at 5 p.m. after which Mr. Deorukhkar asked for copy of the affidavit to enable him to cross-examine Dr. Solanki and others. The Court, however, informed him that it was merely a revising authority and that he could proceed in the proper court if he wished to pursue the matter further. Mr. Deorukhkar's application was eventually rejected.

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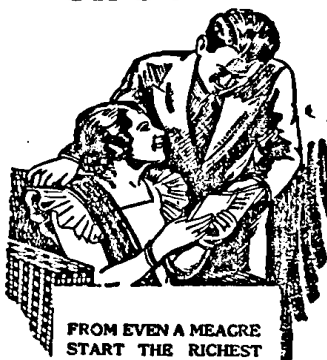
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